

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF
SOCIAL WORK

Formerly National Conference of Charities and Correction

AT THE
FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL SESSION
HELD IN
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

MAY 2-9, 1928

PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS
277 EAST LONG STREET, COLUMBUS, OHIO

PUBLISHED FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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Published November 1928

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

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A. GENERAL SESSIONS



A. GENERAL SESSIONS

WHO NEEDS SOCIAL SERVICE?

(PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS)

Sherman C. Kingsley, Philadelphia

Our Conference is fifty-five years old. Fifty-five years is about the measure of individual life expectancy in the United States. Fully fifteen of these years have been added within the life of this body. It is certainly within the bounds of modesty to say that the units which together constitute this organization have had no mean part in the attainment of this result.

However, the achievement of one day becomes the obligation of the next. Indeed, our health statesmen have already assured us that another fifteen years can be added in the next fifty-five. We are also informed that the winning of this new goal depends, not upon new discoveries or new inventions, but rather upon the effective application of the knowledge we already possess to problems which we likewise understand, and upon the vigor with which these same social forces carry on. But the supreme challenge of the years ahead is not attainment of longer life merely; it is rather a fuller realization of the possibilities latent in the minds and souls of men. If these things are true, one may hasten to say, everybody needs social service.

Has any equal period ever seen so many changes as have taken place in the life of this Conference? The first meeting had to be arranged without a typewriter, telephone, trolley car, taxicab, without a recognized social service technique, for it was not yet born. Certainly without benefit of our present untutored efficiency defense, "in conference." The wizardry of the air came in the late half of this period. By that time a general immunization against surprise had been set up. It seemed that the gamut of possibility had been run, and that to show signs of thrill or exultation at hearing or telling any new thing might indicate emotional instability.

Since each annual meeting has certain birthday aspects, perhaps it is permissible to observe that there is an incurable interest in birthdays; birthdays of individuals not only, but in anniversaries of organizations that have made a contribution to human welfare. Each new life is precious to someone and holds a promise all its own for individual adventure and social usefulness. Anniversaries of movements that have made a contribution to society grow in significance because governmental agencies need the active participation and support of cooperative forces as well as the lessons to be learned from familiarity with kindred experiences of elder days. This added interest in the individual, the

normalcy of his development and of his relationships to his fellows, has begotten new tests and measures which we check with increasing exactness against birthdays. Long lists of pointed questions, couched in ingenious and arresting words, are marshaled to help determine that new and devastating question, Are we at age?

A humble prophecy of what was in store for children in that day when psychiatry should come to flower was found in the homes of early America, and in turn along the trail of the covered wagon, as the customs of that period were spread across our country by the pioneer. First, the name and date of birth of each new life was recorded, ever so carefully, on the birthday page of the family Bible. Then you may still find the names of Ernest and Amos, Alexander and Frank, Mary, Sarah, Alice, and Jane registered on door sills and woodsheds of these earlier homes. These simple annals carved with a jack-knife, scratched with an awl, or written with pencil record how tall the children severally were on recurring anniversary dates and afford a homely evidence that there was mindfulness also of their physical development and progress.

Life in those days was an open book. Relatives and neighbors knew how boys and girls were coming on in school, in the home, the garden, on the farm, in the shop, doing chores, breaking colts, and making bread. Everyone shared the "corrective tutelage" of neighborhood intimacies and opinions. Besides, they nursed neighbors in sickness and helped when there was trouble. A better Main Street did its bit to pass along behavior news until it got to father or mother or teacher or to someone whose opinion counted. This did not keep everybody in the prim and narrow path, but it helped, and folks somehow struggled along with these simple substitutes for psychoanalysis, Binet-Simon, and I.Q.'s. Today people shift too rapidly to be called neighbors or to effect the disciplinary and stimulating influences on conduct which has had so large a part in human development. Something has to take its place.

Today when we check up on our conduct and achievement to find whether we are "at age" we do not have a sense of attending a particularly simple party. To the score of stature and weight must be added teeth and adenoids, metabolism, oral acuity, Narcissism, mind blocks, and a generous category of complexes, distilled, we conjecture, from the complexities with which more, bigger, and better civilization has surrounded our lives. Perhaps some such tests should become the order in judging welfare agencies. Longevity has been an outstanding cause for institution veneration and jubilee. Already, however, we tend to check agencies for usefulness as well as age, for future promise as well as past report. Who knows but that we shall some day audit the motives of board members and executives as well as institution books? Why not test for eleemosynary fixation?

On our birthday in 1873 we had about forty million people in the United States. Approximately 75 per cent of them lived in the country, and about 25 per cent in towns and cities. Now well over one-half of our population lives in

cities, and the rate of urban growth still far outruns that of the country. Millions who have come to our shores have plunged into the congestion of great cities, and have within a few short years been obliged to adapt themselves to conditions that did violence to habits and customs centuries old.

The shifts from one section of our country to another and from country to city have involved changes in adjustment almost equally difficult for many other millions. These shifts have been peculiarly acute in the lives of children. Step by step this lure of the city has changed their environment from the frontier, the farm, the home with the garden and the yard, from the villages of the Old World, from the familiar surroundings and more elemental occupations that taught consecutiveness and responsibility, that gave opportunity for initiative and self expression, to the congestion of great cities, with their three-roomed tenement homes, the back yard gone, the front yard the sidewalk, the playground the city streets.

Then, added to the problems of adjustment and adaptation, we are in a revolutionizing machine age with specialized processes, quantity production, personnel turnover, its labor pull which shifts workers *en masse* and again displaces men with labor saving devices. We are more and more dependent on somebody else for a job, and, because of combination and bigness, on fewer somebodies. It is an age geared to sell everything, including ourselves, and the motto seems to be, "Behold I make all things new." But despite newness and size, possessions, the heyday of assurance, and sense of power, we are still our humble selves. And in common with all experience, in the deep moments of life, as tired children welcome a mother's arms, we turn quite simply to the solaces that stay good: kindness, loyalty, understanding, mercy, God. Is not this the inner covenant of social service?

Somebody in trouble is the beginning of social service. That seems to be belated logic, but it is the story. Each community and every age fortunately has had at least a small company of persons who are wont to visit those who are sick and in prison, those who are troubled in mind and body and who are without estate. Of such were the founders of this Conference. And when they visited the prison they saw the lock step and prison stripes. They saw men whose sentence resulted in damaged health and added moral degradation although it was not part of the penalty imposed. Strait-jackets, padded cells, ankle chains, and handcuffs were in common use in the treatment of the insane. In the almshouse they found little children, old men, old women, epileptics, the feeble-minded, handicap rejects. They found orphan asylums full of little children; they were familiar with carload shipments of little people to regions far distant from their homes to be indentured or bound out. They witnessed an outdoor relief administration carried on with very little information and devoid of any constructive plan, in the form of baskets of beans, pairs of shoes, red flannel, and buckets of coal. These were the people who had failed socially; they had fallen through the social and economic structure of their day and

were unable to adjust themselves to their environment. They were the clinical material which stirred these leaders to action and made a beginning of a new era in social service.

Although the name was not yet called into existence, it was done in the name of social service. Back of all this was a social attitude which, if not satisfied, was at least complacent in these answers to troubled people. These founders raised their voices in a far clear call for a greater concern in our nation's human resources.

Again, in the light of past accomplishments and in view of welfare service as it is today, who needs it? Perhaps the achievement that has had the widest application to community problems has been the development of an efficient working procedure. Because it needs a name we call it technique. But this seems to be infelicitous, for the word is not loved and lends encouragement to those who like to think of social service as mechanistic and predisposed to much conference and red tape. But the principles back of this working plan deserve respect and affection. They insist on understanding, on diagnosis, because they contemplate constructive ends and definite objectives. It is not merely opportunist; it is not unenlightened good will. It wants its alms, if they must be given, to do away with the need of alms. Then it takes the next step and provides schools, training, and experience which prepares workers competent to deal with the delicate problems of human behavior and adjustment.

How then have we come on in the exercise of our mandate? The same old kinds of trouble appear in the pages of every volume of our conference reports: delinquency, dependency, defectives; they are all there, sometimes with slightly freshened and more euphemistic names. We have then a method of procedure and sources of personnel with which to attack individual case work not only, but the causes which are themselves the roots of trouble.

Delinquency and correction seem to be about the most stubborn field. I think it is fair to say that we have made some progress here. We are probably advancing in probation and parole and in the field of child delinquency. For instance, we no longer ask little children to plead to indictments which are as meaningless to them as they were inappropriate for grown men, judges, clerks, lawyers, and juries to ponder. We are told that while the number of boys haled to court is holding fairly steady, the delinquency among girls is increasing.

We still have some pride in reformatories and institutions for delinquents, but this satisfaction is tempered by a growing suspicion that after all such institutions are quite as much indictments as they are ornaments to a community. We took an advanced step certainly when we established the juvenile court. This provided a more sensitive and discriminating procedure for dealing with little people who are in trouble; but here again we are beginning to realize that we should not be satisfied with the establishment of an instrumentality for

handling the trouble merely, and are more and more inclined to be disturbed by the conditions revealed through the stories poured into the ears of friendly judges by Tony, Sarah, and John as a procession of two hundred thousand pairs of children's feet march through the courts of our country in a year.

Then the subject of mental health, it would seem, is the next big field of conquest. We are told that more than ten thousand people a year are being added to the permanent population of institutions which afford custodial care for this group. Outstanding authorities declare that restoration to usefulness and a place in society can be effected on much the same scale that has been achieved with victims of tuberculosis, and that much the same process and approach is needed.

The figures from the United States Bureau of the Census show the expenditures for forty-eight states for the maintenance of institutions for the mentally afflicted in 1916 were \$38,322,383, and \$74,274,073 in 1926. This was merely the yearly maintenance expense, and takes no account of buildings and capital expenditures. From 5 to 8 per cent of all the tax money in some of our commonwealths is required to meet this particular expense. Only the most astute actuary could compute what will happen in twenty-five, fifty, or one hundred years unless we invoke the aid of the strongest constructive and preventive program that science and knowledge and our resources can afford.

The only way out seems to be to execute flank movements and to take this matter of behavior problems and mental disturbances in their incipiency. We know that the sick body responds to food and care, that life can be lengthened and efficiency increased. Perhaps it is because the mind and the spirit or the emotions are so infinitely more subtle and elusive of understanding and definition that we know so little and have done less in this great field that is more than white to the harvest.

Again, not very many years ago people injured in the process of duty had no resource but fight through the courts for redress to meet hospital and doctor bills and to get something to help feed their families. Blanket casualty insurance was the rule. Cases dragged through the courts, witnesses scattered, and the accident victim usually lost his case. The main reliance had to be on the charitable resources of the community, and a paltry reliance it was. Fortunately, through the efforts of forward-looking people and organizations, the last twenty years has seen workmen's compensation laws enacted in all but five states of the union. In the state of New York alone last year \$35,000,000 was paid to injured persons through this provision. This was done, too, without the delays incident to court procedure.

More recently the Rehabilitation Assistance Act, backed by the United States government, has come into the field. This meets the handicap victim with a new hope and a new psychology and with a plan to make it good. The handicap victim has been doubly afflicted. In addition to his bodily injuries he has faced an attitude of mind which consigned him to the deadly solitude

of the discard and the side lines, to a lead-pencil and shoe-string status. There is a phrase in industry known as usable rejects. Business has for a long time applied this idea to railroad ties, scrap iron, waste paper, to bones and hair. Indeed, the margin of profit in many businesses now comes from materials which only a few years ago were thrown away. We are told that some fourteen thousand people a year are victims of these handicapping casualties in the United States. The age-old spectacle of the lame, the halt, and the blind publicly presenting themselves to their fellows on the basis of their infirmities attests the deadening effect of confirmed neglect. We even cherish the assumption that the dropping of coins in cups and hats helps the dropper's soul. The new frontage on this important question will have the dual effect of more humane and radical help to the handicapped and will stimulate and quicken efforts to wipe out the causes which are responsible for such afflictions.

Where do we stand on unemployment? If you will look at the charts which some of our economic and statistical agencies afford you will notice that in 1873 the country was in the grip of a major industrial depression. You will also observe that such depressions have occurred with sickening regularity every seven to ten years since then. These depressions are indicated by dark shadings below a median line. There are data in the files of welfare agencies that, if available, would paint the other side of the graph. As the industrial shadings fall below the median line, corresponding peaks representing appeals to charity rise above it. In the severest of these depressions the number of unemployed beyond the normal will rise to three and four million in the United States. If this was computed in terms of lost wages, I think you would find that a week of this excess unemployment would more than equal all the relief administered by public and private relief services in the United States for a whole year.

Every such depression leaves its deposit of trouble, sickness, desertion, and demoralization. One end of the rainbow of this new social service hope represented by our Conference, as I have indicated, rested on one of these jagged unemployment peaks. The query seems to be, Is the other end due to settle down on another? It would seem that there should be wisdom and concern on the part of social engineers, business men, statisticians, financiers sufficient so to adjust the social and industrial affairs of our country that there would be less of this periodic and gigantic distress.

These illustrations of activities in the broad fields of social service endeavor seem to indicate that quite properly we have given greater attention to details and methods of caring for individuals who have fallen into need than we have to the causes which themselves are the roots of trouble. Is not the call of the future along this line? We have perfected our mechanism with intake desks, face sheets, social service exchanges, with case workers, case conferences. We have applied intensive treatment to these individual clients. Do

we not now need collective understanding and collective action applied to the sources of the never ending flow of individual cases?

It would be interesting and should be helpful to know fairly accurately the magnitude of welfare service, public and private, in the United States. Roughly, we know that we spend more than a billion dollars annually on the current expense item of caring for the delinquent, the dependent, the defective, for health, recreation, and other fields coming under the head of welfare work. Certainly it should be as important to know the facts which concern the care and placing of persons as it is to have similar data for the employment and placing of dollars. There are many depositories of information. The United States Bureau of the Census has valuable data; it can set its net to gather more. It can make these more quickly available and more socially useful if there is a market for them. Our colleges and universities are creating departments and facilities for gathering, interpreting, and disseminating such information. They find it is very difficult to get such data. Our cities have, according to size, tens, hundreds, one of them over a thousand, welfare agencies.

Although bookkeeping has been practiced for a long time, financial data even are difficult to get. Service accounting is young and usable data are almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that a demand for this kind of information seems to have been awakened. There has been so much individualism in the expression of social service that each unit seems to have been sufficient to itself. The motivation has been along denominational, fraternal, racial, and similar lines. As these individual agencies have grown in size and as a more cooperative sense has necessarily infused itself into the work, we are beginning to sense the need of integration of understanding that will at least enable us to know how many agencies we have, what the program is that the public ought to support, and what the bill should be for the maintenance of such work. To accomplish these results we must recognize the larger self of social work and augment the practice of collective thinking and action.

One point of view which has stimulated the multiplication of private agencies is the assumption that there are certain kinds of work which governmental agencies cannot do. An instance of this was the crusade against public outdoor relief thirty or forty years ago. One by-product of this attitude is rather a sharp division between private social service and that carried on by governmental agencies. If there is not a sharp division between the two, there is at least a much wider no man's land than ought to exist. The citizen has two pockets: one, his taxpayer's pocket, and the other, his private gift pocket. He also has a dual responsibility: one, to exercise his interest and his influence as a citizen with reference to measures and procedures which shall be met through this taxpayer's pocket, or official welfare government; the other offers him a wider latitude of choice as to how he will exercise his influence and prerogative with reference to the conduct and support of private social work or unofficial government.

If met at all, we shall achieve our welfare objectives through these two avenues. The American Association for Community Chests and Councils has made a rather careful study of the sources and amounts of income for welfare service in nineteen cities in 1924. The total population of these nineteen cities was 10,180,032, and the income for welfare purposes from all sources, \$112,780,524. Of this, 43 per cent came from earnings; 22 per cent, from contributions; 4 per cent, from endowments; and 31 per cent, from taxes. Thus it will be seen that citizens paid more for welfare service out of tax pockets than from voluntary gift pockets in these nineteen cities, while, on the other hand, a little more than two-thirds of this income was spent through the instrumentality of private agencies.

It is interesting to note that there is a steady increase in the amounts of tax money used for welfare purposes, and also that this represents new kinds of service. For instance, tax money pays for more public health nursing at the present time than is paid for through voluntary gifts. Some of the members of this Conference present may recall the discussion on mothers' assistance that took place in Cleveland in 1912. The general opinion at that time seemed to be that the care of widows had best remain with private agencies. The opinion was freely expressed that the money response from the giving public was easier to obtain for widows than for almost any other cause.

It was argued that governmental agencies could not handle so delicate a problem as administering public funds for widows and children. Those who were not at this Cleveland Conference might be interested to read this discussion in the 1912 proceedings. I think that most of us will agree that the administration of these mothers' assistance funds or widows' pensions affords some of the best examples of social work now going forward. Some \$12,000,000 is now administered annually in the United States in this way, and the incurable desire of mothers to be matron to their own children is correspondingly realized.

The helpless child makes the strongest appeal to the imagination and sympathy of the average person. Accordingly, the orphanage has had the right-of-way to the pocketbook and to last wills and testaments. Such names as orphan asylums, half-orphan asylums, little wanderers' homes, and similar names have accordingly been a strong inducement and have led to the urge for more and bigger institutions for children.

The public in general and managers of institutions in particular have not been much concerned with conditions that produced orphans and dependent children. They have been busy building and managing institutions and homes. They have loved to see the clean floors, orderly linen closets, and a lot of well-behaved children who could sing hymns and repeat texts. It is natural to take pride in exhibiting an oil portrait of the founder as well as the names of past and present managers. These people have faced toward imposing structures and façades where children were gathered, and have had their backs to the problems out in the community which produced the necessity for their bounty.

There has been a noticeable lack of concern about preventable accidents to fathers, high death rates of parents, bad housing, and a host of home-destroying influences. This Conference came along with its inquiring mind, its members and agencies who were all the time working toward the bottom of problems, and who asked in open meetings of this body why the orphan, the widow, why the broken home.

In the first Conference which I attended this whole question of the care of children was in the throes of heated discussion. Someone rose and repeated, "He setteth the solitary in families." A movement was on that looked toward another family home if the child's own home was permanently broken up and impossible of rehabilitation. These people had found that there were such homes. The lamp was on the table and the fire burned in the hearth; lilacs bloomed in the yard. There were men and women with minds and hearts and open arms, glad to welcome and give the nurture and care which children needed.

Here again a far-reaching plan based its reliance on careful work, investigation and supervision through trained and experienced workers. The whole procedure received the indorsement of the famous White House Conference called by President Roosevelt. The weight and emphasis of this conference was first on throwing props and safeguards about the home and of making the child's own natural setting safe and secure, if possible, before even another family home should be resorted to. Anyone who contemplates the making of a will should give very careful attention to what has happened in this field before creating endowments or trust funds for the orphanages or children's homes of any kind.

Now a word on another topic. One hesitates to comment on this subject because lack of records and faulty records have been one of the shortcomings to be supplied and faults to be corrected. Like all professions—law, and medicine, and engineering—we build on experience and depend largely on records and information, both for the case in hand and for the basic material on which to construct a dependable procedure. Nevertheless, as I have observed the growing bulk of records, the perplexity of the worker to get time to read them, to find someone who can give her the gist of it, as I hear discussions about limiting intake, which, being interpreted, means stop helping more folks, I sometimes wonder if our case load is not at least partially self inflicted. The patient dictaphone absorbs everything that is talked into it; the typist's job is to write it; the field worker and supervisor have to read it; case conferences try to get time to understand it; somebody has to summarize it and again summarize the summary; files have to accommodate it; the public has to pay for it. These records are the aid, and not the object; the vehicle, and not the goal. Take a look at your last ten years' files. Said Will Durant, "Every form of government tends to perish by excess of its basic principle." I suggest that this or some similar formula be had in mind during such scrutiny.

A question to be discussed in one of the sections of this Conference is, How can the rich material in our records be made available for study and use? Let me close these observations with something written about the middle of the first century A.D. by the physician member of the little band of apostles: "And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and man." A picture of the eighteen hidden years in fourteen simple words.

And finally a word on a subject which challenges the intellect and conscience of the whole world. We learned long ago, we still remember, and often repeat that pearl of wisdom which has become an American proverb: "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure." Here is a sixteen-to-one idea which is sound. Have we practiced it in the past? Are we practicing it now? Shall we practice it in the future? Here is something which seems to be an eloquent invocation for its application.

A League of Nations Committee has recently issued a brochure that sets forth its findings on the World War costs. It says the war cost 37,000,000 lives: 10,135,000 killed in action, 6,016,000 deaths due to increased mortality, and 20,850 diminished births. This takes no account of the wounded or of health damage to soldiers and civilians. The money cost is fixed at \$362,500,000,000. Can you grasp that figure? Can you picture what the fruits of a constructive use, rather than a destructive use, of such a sum might accomplish on this planet? We seem to grow less certain as to who started the trouble, what it was all about, or what benefits it gave the world.

It is interesting to recall that age finding on the most majestic scale ever tried was applied to Americans not only, but to the draftees of all combatant nations. The average mental age was found to be something like twelve years. It does not appear, however, that any tribunal either before, during, or since that most devastating of all conflagrations has undertaken to pronounce on the mental age of the methods, formulas, or efforts used, or to be used, to avert war. It might help, not only to test such formulas, but also the causes themselves for which men are asked to fight. Then the mental age rating of these principles and procedures should be stated alongside the twelve-year mental age finding assigned to the legionnaires and *poilus*. In the name of the 10,000,000 boys who are sleeping the years of their manhood away and whose valor and fighting performance, in spite of the tender mental years, has spoken for itself, why was there not a united world-voice to rise and cry "Too young to fight"?

Both precept and experience seem to teach that social obligation is measured by talent, possession, and opportunity. Here a wide latitude of choice and practice is left to individual conscience. This truth was simply and eloquently revealed in the story of that man of old who was heavily blessed with fruits and grain and who invited his soul to a long era of sheer mirth and appetite. Apparently his only concern was more and bigger barns. What suddenly happened, the story runs, was not bigger barns for his grain but smaller quarters for himself. The implication seems to be that there was then nothing

left to do, but, like Dives, think it over in as little discomfort and regret as possible and vainly try to get a message back to his brethren commending a different philosophy and use of life than he himself practiced when he had his chance. Because he was not rich toward God, he seems to have been poor in the exercise of neighborly relations.

Is not social service in simple essence the meeting of one's human relations with a sympathy and understanding begotten of reliance on a spiritual source? Let me state the conclusion of the whole matter with a supplication, voiced in a tribal prayer of the American Indian: "Father, a needy one before Thee stands; I am he."

SERVICE

Mrs. John M. Glenn, President, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, New York City

Graham Taylor was president when the Conference met in Memphis in 1914. Many here this evening remember that Conference and the keynote Dr. Taylor struck at the opening meeting. He spoke of humanizing social work; of the importance of the small unit, the county, and of the volunteer in social work administration. Mr. Kingsley has spoken eloquently of the various contributions that the National Conference has made throughout the years. If we look back, those of us who have been in attendance for many sessions realize that it is the individuals who stand out in our memory, individuals who have enunciated certain principles, certain ideals, and have thereby caught the imagination of the rest of us so that we have carried back these principles and these ideals to our several communities.

The Conference has always served as a forum ready to give an opportunity to anyone to present a picture of efforts which have brought results. We think of you, Alexander Johnson, and what you in the old days said about the care of the feeble-minded and how they might be self supporting. We think of some of those early leaders who described how dependent children might be cared for in cottages rather than in great buildings; Mr. Reeder, for instance, who established the cottage system in a congregate building on Riverside Drive in New York before the institution was built farther up the Hudson. Inspired by yet other voices, and because of individual presentation, we have carried back to our own communities the visions that have resulted in better work for our several localities. The Mayor has just spoken of how this Conference, contrasted with the great political conventions to be held later this year, may make a more significant contribution than they. Is it not fair to say that the National Conference of Social Work, or of Charities and Correction, as it was called in 1914, has had an important part in developing character, and thereby in helping to shape the destiny of the nation?

An Englishman, Ernest Barker, principal of King's College, London, says in *National Character and the Factors in Its Formation* that there are three sovereigns which dispute for our allegiance as members of a nation. These are: first, blood, our tendency as individuals to think of our nation in terms of blood relationship, setting apart as alien those who are of different stock. This he terms false nationalism. Second, contiguity, the sweet ties of neighborliness strengthened by old and common traditions, building the nation on a basis other than that built on blood. This is true nationalism. Third, occupation, that bond of a common profession which unites by common ties of work. This may be anti-nationalism because of the emergence of a class consciousness.

I take it the National Conference has always owed allegiance to the second of these sovereigns, that it has stood for the principle of contiguity. Think of how the pioneers of the settlement movement, Jane Addams, Lillian Wald, and Robert Woods, taught that we must learn to know our neighbors; of how the principle has been served through social case work which strives to get the true facts about each individual, whether through the medium of medical or psychiatric social work or through case work for families or children.

Here in the South this principle of contiguity has had a part in determining the relation of the white people to the colored race. One of the delegates was impressed, as he stepped off the train from the North on reaching Memphis, with the greeting given a white man by a colored porter who came forward to carry his bag. They met as friends, and only after a hearty handshake were the bags lifted. If this principle of contiguity is to serve as the basis for true nationalism, we who are in a measure responsible for social progress must realize that it calls for an exercise of patience on our part and for a readiness to come to know people through intimate contacts. These enable us to overcome our tendency to standardize or to build a program through which we put people into categories rather than let our ranging of people emerge as a result of our readiness to treat people as individual human beings.

The *Irish Statesman*, in a recent article, quoted Mr. Dooley's comparing so-called "progress" to a merry-go-round on which self deluded humanity is whirled round deliriously to the animating strains of a steam organ only to find, when the contraption slows down, that humanity gets off at about the place it got on. Dr. Dillard, the executive of the Jeanes Fund, in a recent address on primary education for the colored people, states that there are two objectives which the teacher in training should bear in mind. These objectives are accuracy, or the truth of things, and culture, or the beauty of things. I have in mind, in thinking of social work as a whole, that we, serving in its behalf, should hold to the principle of contiguity, and that we must strive to attain accuracy and to a grasp of beauty. I, as well as Mr. Kingsley, deprecate the necessity for bulky records. It is of first importance that we should learn to write concisely in order to convey the truth as to the lives of those whom we are trying to help. We need to be concise in order that the time of the recorder

and reader may be saved, and to make our records of value for purposes of study. We must work for facility in record keeping for the sake of the individual client whose personality must be revealed. To see an individual as an individual we have to pursue without ceasing the delicate task of learning to know him for what he is and for what he may become, and to draw an accurate picture of our findings. One should bring to such a task an appreciation of the relation of beauty and accuracy to one another. Such an appreciation leads the worker to resolve to take time to develop case work plans.

I am conscious that I am a southern woman speaking in a southern city. As such I think of the terms in which Edgar Gardner Murphy described service. He spoke of the ascendancy of service over the ascendancy of power or wealth. If there is to be an ascendancy of service in the South, where social service has lagged, it will come, I believe, because of two great lessons the South, through her years of adversity, had to learn. The first is that of endurance. The second she has held throughout her period of adversity, namely, hope. The South is too great not to have been sustained by the consciousness of ultimate recovery. Endurance and hope bring the picture of two southerners. I possess a letter written to my father by Robert E. Lee in the early seventies. It had been proposed that he should become the head of a great insurance company. In declining he gave reasons for his non-acceptance, and added that he could not leave Lexington, where he was devoting himself to the education of young men. I like to think of him as planting the seeds of endurance, the contribution he made at Washington University through training young men to endure whatever might come as an aftermath of the Civil War.

The other southerner is Edgar Gardner Murphy. I think of him, not as I saw him at the Conference years ago, fighting with ardor against wrong (he was an early leader of the movement for bettering the working conditions of children), but as I saw him in New York in the last years of his life when he was suffering from an incurable heart trouble and devoted his time to the study of the stars from his hotel window. He wrote a small textbook on this subject shortly before his death. As Mr. Glenn and I saw him in his hotel room and he talked about the stars, he had the look of a person whose flesh has been subdued by the spirit so that the soul is revealed. We saw that look in the face of Dr. Trudeau, when, shortly before his death, he attended the International Tuberculosis Congress in Washington—the look which denotes the triumph of the spirit over the ills of the flesh. Edgar Gardner Murphy, with the stamp of a hope achieved, did literally hitch his wagon to a star, and one had a sense of his having attained a goal after a lifetime of service, and of being in the hands of God.

We, in our willingness to serve, may likewise recognize that results are being determined by the shaping hand of God, in whose ultimate keeping we feel ourselves to be. With General Lee and with Mr. Murphy in mind, I feel that this Conference will touch the South with a new desire to put itself in the line

of service, strong in the assurance that it has a peculiar contribution to make because of the lessons learned during its period of adversity. The maximum gift must be of one's self. Greater in value than the money contributed will be the free offering of service of one soul in behalf of another soul. I believe, Mr. President, that this Conference meeting in Memphis will strike a new note; that as a result of this gathering in the South, following upon the recent adversities through flood, there will come a new birth of service.

IS SOCIAL WORK CONTRIBUTING TO RACIAL DEGENERATION?

Howard E. Jensen, Professor of Sociology, Butler University, Indianapolis

I am informed that at six o'clock tonight there were over twenty-two hundred people registered for this Conference, of whom not less than 90 per cent may be considered in some sense at least as professional social workers. I am amazed that so many intelligent people should have the brazen effrontery to come right out into the open and confess before the whole nation that they are engaged in a vice so heinous! During the past decade I have read scores of popular books and magazine articles unmasking your whole nefarious business. You have been pilloried before the world as the ignorant practitioners of a misguided humanitarianism. You have been fittingly denounced by many sane, right-thinking people as "race slumbers," whose soft sentimentality about the poor and the handicapped is leading the vanguard of humanity down the slope toward irretrievable racial deterioration and social decay. You are impractical idealists, reformers, who have found in modern social work a sort of fool's paradise in which you can take refuge from the necessity of facing realistically the ugly facts of life. You have become unwittingly, but none the less dangerously, society's "enemies within the gates," for the net result of your feverish activities is weakening the racial stock by preserving the biologically unfit, and so contributing to the ultimate downfall of civilization.

I am sure, therefore, that no informed person will be surprised to hear that you have recently been indicted again for your high crimes and misdemeanors. You were arraigned before the last session of the Indiana Academy of Science in a paper entitled "Misguided Benevolence." It is charged that every social agency, every technical process of social work, is but multiplying evils upon mankind. We shall be headed straight to racial perdition until public opinion, aroused and enlightened by science, arises to put an end to your misguided benevolence, to your unintelligent social agencies, and to that ignorant meddling with the divine plan of natural selection which you dignify by the term "professional social service."

The first to be arraigned are the family case workers. You provide food and shelter for the economically incompetent, for the biological weaklings who are unable to stand the strain of modern industrial life, and for the unskilled

and shiftless ne'er-do-wells whose economic inefficiency causes them to be the first to be laid off when employment slackens and the last to be taken on when industry recovers. You foolishly suppose that your denizens of the slums are the victims of circumstance. If you would only read Mr. Wiggam you would know better. You would know the plain teaching of science that "slums do not make slum people," but that "it is slum people who make slums." In a ruder state of society the weaklings whom you coddle were ruthlessly eliminated in the strenuous struggle for existence; but with your family case work and relief you are interfering with the beneficent process of natural selection in purging the race of the biologically unfit.

But nature is still kind. Even though you provide the economically incompetent with the material necessities for animal existence, they will nevertheless perish as victims of their own folly. Left to themselves, they will break every known law of sanitation and hygiene; they will live in filth; they will eat bad food; they will tax themselves physically beyond their strength; they will soon succumb to disease and unsanitary living. But you social workers in the field of public health will not permit it. With your dietetics, your clinics, your preventive medicine, your compulsory vaccination and inoculation, your control of infection and contagion, you further protect the inferior against the consequences of their own stupidity. You are weakening the race in two ways: Not only are you preserving unfit adults for a longer period of human breeding, but with your Shepherd-Towner laws and your prenatal clinics you are bringing forth alive weaklings that, except for your interference would be stillborn; and with your post-natal clinics, your maternity and infancy hygiene, your nutrition classes and fresh air schools, you are rearing to adulthood and potential parenthood those with too little physical stamina to survive without your aid.

You recreation workers become the aiders and abettors of the family case workers and the health workers. You save the children of slum people from the hazards of the streets. You fill their leisure time with wholesome activities. You prevent their elimination by accident and vice. You assume that by giving them a more wholesome environment you can make them something else than their parents were. You do not understand the relative importance of heredity and environment in the making of men, and that human personality is due, 90 per cent to heredity and only 10 per cent to environment. Plainly, you do not know your Wiggam. You still persist in thinking that with a little environmental improvement you can make a silk purse out of a sow's ear.

You child welfare workers must be indicted next. You do not know what the popularizers of eugenics have so plainly told you, that orphanage is hereditary. Parents die young because they are biologically weak. Parents of sound stock with high immunity and good resistance need have little fear that their children will be orphans. But you gather up the offspring of these weaklings in your institutions. You rear them to adulthood. They marry and have chil-

dren who will be orphans like their parents, and they in turn will grow up and have children who will be hereditary orphans too. The popularizers of eugenics have plainly told the truth about you: you are promoting the degeneration of the race. It would be bad enough if you would be content with institutions. Then these hereditary orphans, these offspring of weaklings, would grow up in orphanages with the offspring of other weaklings like themselves. They would mate with their kind, and good, sound stock would not be contaminated by them. But you are hostile to institutions. You want to place these children in families, and in our very best families at that. Here they associate with young people of good blood, and marry, not their own degenerate kind, but into the proudest families of our old American stock, and so hasten the "passing of the Great Race."

We have yet to arraign in this high court of public opinion those of you who would improve conditions through social legislation. You would control gambling, prostitution, and the sale of alcohol and narcotics. You would prevent the vicious from destroying themselves by the practice of their own vices. Do you not understand the laws of natural selection, that vice is a racial purifier in that it leads to the death, the sterility, and the barrenness of those whose nervous systems are so inferior that they are biologically incapable of normal self-control? With your factory acts and safety legislation you would protect those whose wits are too slow and whose bargaining power is too weak to enable them to protect themselves. With your social insurance you would provide security against the normal hazards of life for those too unprogressive, too lacking in intelligence and initiative to seek it on their own account.

Thus runs the indictment of social work as printed in scores of popular books and articles during the past decade. I have spent several weeks in reviewing this literature. I have tried to summarize it fairly. All these charges against social work, extreme as they may sound, appear repeatedly in literature, expressed in almost the very words which I have used. As a result, every one of you finds in his own community a solid block of opinion hostile to social work, an opinion that bases its hostility upon these popularizations of alleged science. It considers you as practitioners of misguided benevolence; it condemns your technique as ignorant meddling. It views your profession as a major factor making for racial degeneration. It verily believes that you ought to don sackcloth and creep on your hands and knees to the nearest biological laboratory to beg for absolution from the high priests of science and to make your peace with the orthodox creed of eugenics.

Having stated the indictment against social work, I will assume the rôle of attorney, not for the prosecution, but for the defense. I could afford to admit, for the sake of the argument, that social work is as disastrously counter-selective, as protective of the weak and unfit, as its extremest critics have claimed. I could, for the sake of the argument, afford to admit all the facts as charged in the indictment, and confine my defense entirely to challenging the basic as-

sumptions upon which it rests. For if the charge that social work is a major factor contributing to racial degeneration can be shown to rest upon false assumptions, upon a misreading of history and a misinterpretation of fact, the indictment itself collapses like a

. . . . tale

Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.

The indictment of social work as contributing to racial degeneration rests first of all upon a misreading of history. It assumes a false theory of natural selection as applied to human society. It assumes that the struggle for existence has in the past been a constant racial purge, weeding out the weak and unfit, and guaranteeing the survival of the fittest. Thus natural selection kept the human stock advancing during the long period of man's prehistoric past. It maintained the race at par biologically through the countless generations of savagery, barbarism, and semicivilization. But with the dawn of modern humanitarianism we began to reverse the process. We put an end to the reign of natural selection, and established counter-selection upon its throne. We began to put a handicap upon fitness, and by coddling the unfit through measures of family relief, child welfare, preventive medicine and sanitation, protective legislation and social insurance, we have been making it possible for an increasing proportion of weaklings and defectives to survive. You will find a typical expression of this viewpoint in an article by G. H. Estabrooks in the *Eugenical News* for September, 1927. He writes:

Two thousand years ago the intelligent man lived on the best there was. Not only did he live well, but he lived on in a racial sense, that is to say, he reproduced his kind. He was a savage, more or less. Laws were few and he made them. A quick brain and a heavy club gave him entry to all society. What he wanted, he took. What his neighbor wanted he also took—if his club and brain were of better material.

This picture of primitive man's struggle for existence is one with which you are all familiar. It is printed in a thousand volumes. It is the prevailing conception of the life of primitive man as ruled by the law of the jungle, "red in tooth and claw."

Attractive and widespread as this conception of primitive man is, it is utterly fallacious. There is not a competent student of primitive society in the world today who would accept it for a moment. It rests upon nothing more valid than the a priori speculations of laboratory scientists who know little of social history and still less of the complex processes actually involved in the origin and spread of human culture.

This is a serious charge—perhaps you think it a sensational charge—but the facts upon which I base it are abundant. I regret that I can give but a few. Whoever says of primitive man that "what he wanted he took," and "what his neighbor wanted he also took—if his club and brain were of better material," reveals by his statement his ignorance of the facts. Anthropologists know of

no primitive people among whom this is true. Far from taking what he wants, the savage is governed by the most elaborate rules whereby the rights of the strong are held in check and the needs of the less efficient are supplied. May I read from Fletcher and LaFlesche's report of *The Omaha Tribe* an illustration of how the rules of a hunting people guarantee that the less efficient hunter shall not want for food?

After a chase anyone could help in butchering the game. The first person to arrive had to set to work at once in order to secure the rights of the first helper. Every animal was cut up into certain portions. These were graded and assigned by custom to the helpers in the order of their beginning to work on the carcass: . . .

To the man who killed the animal belonged the hide, one portion of the *tezhu* (side meat) and the brains. Whether he had more or not depended on the number of men who were helping. If there were only three helpers, their portions were as follows: To the first helper to arrive, one of the *tezhu* (side portions) and a hind quarter; to the second comer, the *ugaxetha* (stomach, beef tallow, and intestines); to the third, the ribs. . . . It sometimes happened that eight or ten men helped, in which case all the cuts were required. If two or more men butchered an animal in the absence of the hunter, when they finished the work each man took his proper portions and left those belonging to the man who had killed the game. When therefore the hunter returned to the animal he had shot, he might find it flayed and cut up and his portions lying on the hide awaiting him. Prominent men did not do the butchering. This work was performed by the poor or young men, who thus secured food or choice bits.

This is but one of countless cases which might be cited from primitive life to prove that the popular idea that the valiant warrior or the successful hunter was a law unto himself, free to take what he wanted, is a myth. The idea that the inefficient were permitted to perish is likewise a myth. A myth, too, is the idea that the women of the tribe were monopolized by the strong, and the weak were left without progeny. Among some peoples it was so, but among others a man's mate in marriage was determined before his birth by the group into which he was born, regardless of his capabilities or prowess.

Dr. Estabrooks' statement that for the savage "laws were few and he made them," is based on colossal ignorance of social history. The life of primitive man is rigidly ruled by custom and taboo. He undergoes any hardship, he suffers any deprivation, sooner than violate the sacred precedents of the tribe. The area in which the capable individual can exercise liberty of action is limited indeed. Far from it being true, as the popular theory of natural selection holds, that in savage society men lived by their wits and fools could not survive, it would be at least as nearly true to say that savage society ruthlessly repressed and eliminated genius, and put a premium upon conformity, if not upon folly.

Among many primitive peoples the insane, the epileptic, the hysterical, the victims of dream and trance, are looked upon with the greatest of reverence and superstitious awe as the special favorites of the gods. Not only so, but most savage societies undergo a terrific drain upon their best stocks through the constant elimination of the most capable hunters and bravest fighters by

the chase and the raid. Suffice it to say that the struggle for existence in savage society is not the constant racial purge, infallibly eliminating the weak and preserving only the strong, which it is popularly thought to be. What geniuses the Australian black fellows or the denizens of the Amazon or the Congo ought to be if the popular theory of natural selection as applied to human society were true!

We are accustomed to describe the law of the jungle as "red in tooth and claw." So it was for some species, but not for others. It was so perhaps for tigers, but it was not so for wolves; much less for men. Kipling was right when he wrote:

Now this is the Law of the Jungle—as old and as true as the sky;
The Wolf that shall keep it may prosper, but the Wolf that shall break it must die.
As the creeper that girdles the tree trunk, the law runneth forward and back—
For the strength of the Pack is the Wolf, and the strength of the Wolf is the Pack.

What Kipling says of wolves can be applied with even greater truth to men. The law of the jungle as applied to savage man was not a ruthless struggle of each against all, and misfortune take the hindmost. It was a struggle which took its toll of the good and the bad together. It was a struggle in which both the good and the bad survived. It was a struggle which sometimes bore most heavily upon the best; sometimes upon the worst. In any event, it was a struggle in which the unit of survival was not the individual, but the group. To paraphrase Kipling: As the creeper that girdles the tree trunk, the law runneth forward and back, that the strength of the group is the man, and the strength of the man is the group. In a word, though modern social work should prove to be as disastrously counter-selective as its worst critics have charged, it is exceedingly doubtful if it could be more so than was the struggle for existence among the much misunderstood savage societies.

But what of the classical civilizations? Here, too, the theory of natural selection is misapplied. Let me again quote from Dr. Estabrooks:

The Greek of two thousand years ago was a savage, more or less. His culture was very rude. He lived to the north of Greece in a heavily wooded country. That is to say, he lived if he was able. A long sword and a quick wit were his safeguards. He used both without mercy. Here we have the survival of the fittest in all its glory. It was no place for a weakling. Hence they showed progress along the lines of inborn intelligence.

This paragraph is pure *a priori* speculation. It contains not a vestige of authenticated historical fact. It is a sample of the characteristic reasoning of the laboratory specialist when he ventures outside his own field: "It must have been so; therefore it was so." Indeed, the author's knowledge of history, like that of most persons who share his views, is so naïve as to be refreshing. He makes the Greek of two thousand years ago "a savage, more or less." A savage! Nearly four hundred years after the Golden Age of Pericles! Three centuries after the death of Plato! But to continue with our author:

Then they swept south and conquered Greece . . . and under them Greece became very cultured and very wealthy. In other words, they were progressing along the other line, that of material culture, as shown by bigger and better temples, roads, and theatres. Poetry and art also advanced. . . .

This is a misreading of the whole genius of Greek civilization. The Greeks were no such glorified Babbitts. Can you imagine the superintendent of construction on the Parthenon urging on his laborers with the slogan "Remember, gentlemen! Bigger and better temples!" Or Phidias encouraging his pupils as they worked upon its friezes, "All together now, boys! Bigger and better statues!" Or the crowds in the theater at Athens shouting "Remember, Sophocles, longer and better plays!"

But I need not go on. This article is puerile. I would not inflict it upon you at all were it not a typical sample of the sort of pseudo-science upon which the citizens of all our communities rely in their condemnation of social work as counter-selective. As a matter of fact, we have no reason whatever for thinking that before the rise of the civilizations of Greece and Rome the peoples that built them passed through a period in which counter-selection was not as active as we have found it elsewhere among primitive peoples. Certainly we know that in the medieval and early modern period, immediately preceding the rise of modern social work, counter-selection was operative, playing its disastrous rôle. Throughout the medieval period men of demonstrated competence died racially. Through the long centuries the leading contributors to art, literature, philosophy, and science were celibate monks who left no progeny, at least legitimately. The bold and independent spirits, the Waldensians, the Albigenses, the Huguenots, the pioneers of the mind and the soul, perished in unnumbered thousands at the hands of diet and council, crusade and inquisition. The physically strong and courageous became crusaders and traders and soldiers of fortune upon land and sea. They were effectively eliminated from family life, and their offspring were few in number.

But not only was medieval society an efficient system for eliminating the best; it was equally effective as an organization for preserving the worst. He who assumes that society was permitting the unfit to perish before the rise of organized social work is entirely innocent of historical knowledge. The vast majority of the population were villains and serfs upon the feudal manors, where little premium was put upon fitness, and little handicap upon weakness. It would be difficult to invent a more effective system for the preservation of nit-wits. The life of the masses was routinized in the extreme. There was little they could win by good judgment, little they could lose by poor. If the crops failed the serfs starved as a unit. If they were good they grew fat together. Living conditions were such that when pestilence broke out it raged through the village like a conflagration, and old and young, wise and foolish, were alike consumed.

Medieval charity was also disastrously counter-selective. The medieval

church declared that good charity is that which makes the recipient want to pray for your soul. God, it was felt, has mercifully provided the poor in order that the rich might accumulate spiritual merit by practicing upon them the grace of almsgiving. Medieval writers are constantly referring to the diseased, the maimed, the halt, the blind who throng the roads that lead to every shrine, while the statutes abound with recurrent references to "lusty beggars." The seas teemed with pirates and buccaneers, while outlaws and thieves roamed the forests.

There was no rigid natural selection in medieval times, and there is none today in those backward sections of the world where organized social work is still non-existent. Among our Latin neighbors to the south the traveler is everywhere greeted by the cry: *Uno caridad! Por Dios!* "Alms! For God's Sake." Consequently the slang term for beggars has become *Pordioseros*, "For-God's-sakers." Far from being eliminated by natural selection, in the absence of organized philanthropy the unfit are enabled to exploit their weakness and to find in their very misery their means of subsistence and survival.

I do not for a moment wish to imply that the clients of the social worker constitute a representative cross section of the population. I know full well that while our social agencies deal with vast numbers of the merely unfortunate, from whose loins there will spring many competent citizens of tomorrow, they also deal with all too large a mass of the biologically defective, from whom we can expect but little in after generations. My contention is that our social agencies are responsible for neither their existence nor their survival. Abolish social work, and they would not perish. They did not perish in savage society. They are not now perishing in backward lands. In medieval times they seem to have survived even better than at present.

My protest is solely and exclusively launched against the current contention that social work is a major factor in racial degeneration, based as it is upon an alleged fact of science, that the process of natural selection has been at work preserving the strong and eliminating the weak until modern social work arose to reverse it. Against this pseudo-scientific and unhistorical application of the theory of natural selection to human society I protest. That from the beginning of human history deep seated forces have been at work eliminating the competent we know. We know, too, that equally deep seated forces have enabled the unfit to survive. That these counter-selective forces have constituted a constant menace to mankind we likewise know. But we do not know that the menace is either greater or less now than in the past. We do not know whether or not more of the strong are perishing and more of the weak are surviving now than formerly. Any opinion upon this question is mere assumption, and any conviction is sheer dogmatism.

But we do know this: If counter-selection is operative now on a more disastrous scale than in the past, the resultant racial degeneration is due, not to social work, but to the differential birth rate. Heredity entirely apart, it is a

tragic thing that 50 per cent. of the new generation is being produced by that 25 per cent. of the population that has the meagerest economic resources and the poorest cultural background with which to equip its children for citizenship. But the differential birth rate is due, not to social work, but to economic and educational factors which can be changed, if at all, only through fundamental changes effected in our property institutions and through the development, by educational means, of a more wholesome scale of social values.

I am aware that this application of the theory of natural selection to human society which I have been opposing is firmly entrenched in the popular thought of our generation. Its tremendous vogue is due to several circumstances. Foremost among these is its association with the Darwinian theory of evolution. Darwin's significance in the history of science did not consist in the discovery of the idea of evolution itself. That idea was in the air in Darwin's generation, and had been discussed for over two thousand years before his birth. His real significance was twofold: He was the first to marshal the facts in support of evolution in a masterly and convincing way. More important still, he was the first to advance a theory to explain the process. Evolution, he thought, has been brought about by the operation of the three factors of variation, heredity, and natural selection. It is the tendency of all living forms to vary. Some of the resulting variations are transmissible to offspring through heredity, and so modify the species. Some of these modifications adapt the organism better for survival. The fittest, or best-adapted forms, live longest and leave most offspring, while the unfit are eliminated in the struggle for existence. This is natural selection.

Here, then, is Darwinism in a nutshell. It is the theory that evolution takes place by means of the operation of three factors: variation, heredity, and natural selection. This theory today satisfies no one, not because it is not true, but because it is inadequate. Variation and heredity as facts in evolution are universally accepted, but Darwin's theory of natural selection has not fared so well. The struggle for existence through which natural selection operates in effecting the survival of the fittest was interpreted by Darwin and his successors chiefly in terms of conflict, antagonism, hostility, competition, war. Consequently extreme Darwinians have portrayed all physical and chemical reality as a struggle of atoms and electrons, all biological reality as a struggle of cells and organisms and all social reality as a struggle of persons and groups.

But this conception of the struggle for existence as the exclusive, or even the dominant, factor in evolution is being challenged today in every field of science. Throughout all modern science, through physics, chemistry, biology, psychology, economics, sociology, there runs a decreasing emphasis upon struggle, conflict, hostility, competition, and an increasing emphasis upon adjustment, organization, integration, cooperation, mutual aid. Physicists and chemists are today thinking of every stable manifestation of reality—this stand, this book, my own body—as existing, not as a conflict of electrons or cells, but be-

cause it has achieved, in Professor Whitehead's phrase, "a harmonious adjustment of complex detail." When that harmonious adjustment ceases, the realities which express it likewise cease. Among biologists, Professor Child, of Chicago, is writing of the organism, not as a struggle of cells, but as an organization or integration of cells. Sociologists also are today thinking of the main factor in social evolution, not as struggle, antagonism, conflict, competition, but as integration, cooperation, sociality, mutual aid. The evolutionary struggle has been less a struggle of individuals against each other for the survival of the fittest than a struggle of individuals with each other for the survival for the group. The struggle that lifted man up to the human plane of evolution was a group struggle from the first, and from the first cooperation and mutual aid were important factors in it.

Cooperation and mutual aid as factors in the making of humanity began far back in our prehuman past, in the process of reproduction. Our far distant ancestors made progress because of their ability to learn from experience, and this ability required a long period of helplessness and immaturity for learning. The helplessness and immaturity of the young required the cooperation of the sexes for their care. But because human infants are not brought forth in litters, but one at a time, at intervals of a year or so, the periods of immaturity of the offspring of the same parents overlap, and so require their continued cooperation for a quarter of a century or more. Thus the foundations of man's first distinctively human achievement, family life, were not laid in a ruthless struggle for existence of each against all, but in cooperation, sociality, mutual aid.

The struggle for food likewise reveals the importance of cooperation as contrasted with conflict as a factor in human evolution. Since human progress depended upon a long period of immaturity and learning, societies have always contained a large proportion of the weak and the helpless. It was necessary, therefore, that the struggle for food should be not an individual, but a group, matter. It was necessary that the strong hunter should share with his group the products of his skill. The literature on primitive peoples teems with regulations designed to secure a proper division of the food supply; but since I have already cited how the Omaha tribe accomplished this result, I will not multiply illustrations.

Cooperation replaced conflict as a dominant factor in human evolution, not only in the process of reproduction and of food getting, but in defense as well. The solitary man is ill equipped by nature for either offense or defense. As compared with the strength of the ox, the fleetness of the horse, or the agility of the tiger, he is poorly endowed indeed. As a hunter he lacked the armor, the claws, and the fangs of his brute opponents. Yet while he hunted, he was hunted in turn by enemies stronger and fleetlier than he. He survived only because he could cooperate with his kind and pool his strength against them. Thus as man emerged upon the human plane the struggle for existence as a struggle of each against all for the survival of the fittest gradually became

a struggle of each with his fellows for the survival of the group. "Bear ye one another's burdens," described by St. Paul as the law of Christ, became a law of social evolution as well, and cooperation, sociality, mutual aid, became important factors contributing to human survival.

If, then, the struggle for existence, though admittedly a factor to be reckoned with in human evolution, has not been so all important as the early Darwinians supposed, it follows that the indictment of social work based upon it is correspondingly weakened. For though it be true that the sentiments which find expression in organized social work may contain an element of racial menace, it is equally true that without those same sentiments humanity could never have come into being, and could not now exist. In fact, the greatest menace that threatens civilization today is not the strength, but the weakness, of the very humanitarian sentiments that it has become the fashion for opponents of social work to deride. The nineteenth century was the great age of economic competition, especially in Western Europe and America. Here in America we rushed forth to exploit the wealth of a virgin continent. We felled, each man, his forest; we cleared each his farm. We tilled the low lands; we drained the swamps; we straightened the streams; we broke up the prairies; we opened the mines; we tapped the oil. Together with the other great nations we began to reach out into the world to control the natural resources and the markets that lie beyond our borders, while our wise men looked on and called it good. "It is," they said, "the law of natural selection at work among men. It is the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest as applied to human society. We are restoring to its proper place the evolutionary law of the jungle:

The good, old law, the ancient plan,
That he should take who hath the power,
And he should keep who can.

It is eliminating weakness; it is conserving strength; it is building strong nations of strong men. Away with soft sentimentality! Long live individual initiative and free competition!"

This is the mood that has dominated the social thought and action of the world since the middle of the last century. Only gradually has it dawned upon us that the greatest problems that confront us, nationally and internationally as well, are the direct consequences of the very policy which in the name of progress we had blest. Within our own borders we have seen the spring rains descend upon our denuded hillsides and grassless plains. We have seen the waters rush down the slopes we have cleared, across the prairies we have broken, out through the tiles we have laid, the swamps we have drained, the streams we have straightened. We have seen our rich surface soils borne out to sea, while our hillsides grew bleak and barren. We have seen the floods of our lower rivers mount high, our people driven from their homes, their crops and their flocks destroyed. We have seen our forests vanishing, our minerals and

our water power slipping from our grasp, and the chaos of unrestrained competition settling down upon such basic industries as coal and oil. In the field of international relations we have seen the great nations coming into conflict over the raw materials and markets that lie beyond their borders, over tariffs in China, over trade in Syria, over oil in Russia, Persia, and Mexico, wherever there is an opportunity to buy or sell or invest. When we view the way in which the naval and military forces of the Great Powers are distributed throughout the world we are prone to revise the Gospel: "Where thy investments are, where thy raw materials come from, where thy trade goes, there will thy gunboats be also."

These ugly realities of our national and international life are compelling us to recognize that the very policies which in the nineteenth century made us rich now threaten to destroy us. The unrestrained application of human society of the doctrine of the struggle for existence in terms of free competition has brought us to the beginning of the end. A century from now, if civilization can survive the disruptive forces we have let loose within it, men will more clearly see that our competitive struggle, unrestrained by humanitarian sentiments, far from being the infallible stimulus to progress we had supposed, was the siren whose singing well-nigh lured civilization to shipwreck. All nations are on the good ship Earth together, and unless they can learn to work the ropes in unison to a common purpose, together they will be overwhelmed in the deep.

Thus stands the case for the theory of natural selection with its correlated ideas of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. It is on the defensive in every field of science today; in the social sciences most of all. The point is not that the struggle for existence has not played an important rôle in evolution. It is rather that its all-sufficiency is no longer accepted, that it alone could never have brought into being either man or his society, and that its unrestrained sway throughout the nineteenth century has created a situation that now threatens to destroy us. In the light of this menace to civilization, so real and immediate, the alleged menace of social work assumes the importance of a tempest in a teapot.

The popular theory of natural selection as the sole factor in human evolution, which serves as the basis of the belief that social work is resulting in racial degeneration, gained widespread acceptance because of its association with the great work of Darwin. But the reason for the powerful sway it holds today over the imaginations of men whose acquaintance with science is meager at best is due to entirely different reasons. The central idea which is embodied in the theory of natural selection swept like a contagion through Western civilization during the closing decades of the last century. It became a convenient device by means of which every people could convince itself of the inborn superiority of its own racial stock and the inherent rightness of its own claim to world supremacy.

Each nation taught its own version of the doctrine. I well remember the

form in which this theory was taught when I entered the public schools in Kansas in the late nineties. Our teachers taught us that the Americans were superior to all the other peoples of the earth, and that the people of Kansas were of the best stock in America. This was true, they said, because we were the products of many migrations, and migration had always selected out the best. The very flower of the Teutonic tribes, the Angles, and the Saxons had crossed the Channel and laid the foundations of British civilization. Of these the choicest spirits had ventured forth to establish the colonies of the eastern seaboard. But from these settled communities the most hardy and enterprising had always been pressing toward the West, through the water gaps in the eastern ridges into the great valley of Virginia, over the divide into Tennessee and the blue grass of Kentucky, up the Potomac and down the Ohio, out by the Mohawk trail and the Erie lake front into the Western Reserve of Ohio. Then the great urge drove them westward to the Mississippi and beyond it. But always it was the best that moved. Always from these older communities migration had skimmed off the cream.

We were now ready to consider the settlement of Kansas, the one far off, divine event to which the whole migration urged. First there came in the stirring fifties the best that America had produced, the abolitionists and the temperance folk. Since the Civil War, our teachers said, we had been receiving from all the states of the East the most ambitious and progressive, those who were dissatisfied with the limited opportunities of the more settled East and had come out to win their way to larger things upon the frontier. Our teachers, though they would probably have denounced Darwin and all his works, were in fact teaching us his central doctrine in the form which has come to be known as social selection, and we, though we had never heard of either him or his theory, became its enthusiastic disciples. We swelled with pride as we learned of our own superiority. Were not our friends and neighbors, were not we ourselves, the very cream of the cream of the cream of the fair-haired Saxon race who had come thus far westward into the wilderness to bid the desert quicken? And for me there was in this knowledge a double pride. My own father had come as an immigrant from Denmark to pioneer in Iowa in his young manhood, and in his middle age he had pioneered again in Kansas upon the new frontier. Was not my little Nordic heart entitled to beat high with pride as the son of a Viking sire who had been doubly selected by migration in a single generation?

Our teachers had still more to teach us about social selection. Times, they said, were changing. The people coming westward now were not nearly so good as those who used to come ten years ago. Our own section, too, they said, was becoming fully settled. Land values were rising. The struggle for existence becoming harder. It was requiring more energy and enterprise to succeed. People were moving westward into the frontier beyond us. They were the people, our teachers assured us, who could not make good in the more strenuous life we were now living. They were the thriftless, the unambitious, the un-

dependable, the defeated, who had proved unable to conform to the more rigorous demands of life in more settled communities. You could see them every day in their covered wagons pass by our school, slatternly women and defeated men, seeking an easier existence in the drier lands of western Kansas and Colorado, the Panhandle of Oklahoma, and the Staked Plains of Texas.

Some form of this doctrine of social selection has been taught in every section of our country, and has contributed its share to creating and perpetuating sectional feelings and animosities. Of this we are doubtless fully aware. But are we equally aware that as the nineteenth century closed and the twentieth dawned, some form of this same doctrine was being taught in every nation of Christendom, and that it helped to create that frenzy of racial and nationalistic feeling that flamed forth into the conflagration of the great war, and still troubles the world?

Of this doctrine of social selection I had not the slightest doubt until at the end of my high school days I sojourned for awhile on the frontier farther west. There I learned, much to my surprise, that the pioneering blood of America was as good as ever, that these people who were coming westward now were not the riffraff I had supposed, and that the communities to the east were losing their cream to the frontier, leaving the skimmed milk behind. Then I turned my face eastward, and my disillusionment about social selection increased. In Missouri I learned that of course they had lost population to the frontier, many of whom had left Missouri for Missouri's good and by strange coincidence had disappeared about the same time as their neighbor's stock.

I learned still more in the blue grass. The people who had gone westward into Missouri and northward across the river to form the substratum of the population of southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were not, as those states falsely boast, the best blood of the blue grass, but the shiftless and undependable, those unable to meet the higher demands of life in settled communities. The blue grass aristocracy remained. In the Shenandoah Valley I heard a different story about the men who were unable to maintain themselves in the struggle and sought escape from defeat in the simpler society beyond the mountains. In the eastern counties of Virginia, from Monticello to Richmond and Mount Vernon, I was told that it was not the learned, the competent, and the wealthy who found new homes in the mountains and beyond them, but the poor whites, the indentured servants, and the landless classes who were unable to secure and maintain a foothold in the East, while the real aristocracy of the Old Dominion continued to flourish upon the coastal plain. Thus, wherever you go in America, the doctrine of social selection changes with the climate, and enables the residents of every section to "point with pride."

But cross the Atlantic, and the doctrine of social selection suffers a sea change. It was not, the Englishman tells you, the powerful and well placed, the nobility, the landed gentry, and the upper middle classes that peopled America, but the lower classes, small tradesmen and laborers, indentured serv-

ants and paupers, and those unable to adapt to the requirements of established institutions in church and state. The Englishman will not permit you to forget that even the Pilgrims were so poor that they had to be financed by a company of London merchants, and practically to sell themselves into a seven years' servitude in order to repay their debt. The majority of what England lost to America, the Englishman contends, was of such a nature that it would not be admissible at all under the requirements of our present immigration laws, and the Pilgrims themselves might possibly be deported as contract laborers. Tell him of the problems of poverty and illness of our recent arrivals, and he will reply that if there had been hospitals in the seventeenth century it would have been our colonial ancestors that filled them, and if there had been bread lines it would have been our colonial ancestors who stood in them.

In England itself this doctrine of social selection is taught among the different classes in different ways. Thus W. H. Mallock, aristocrat and arch-reactionary that he was, told us in his *Memoirs* how his governess used to impress upon him the significance of his descent from the Norman blood which conquered the Angles and the Saxons, and that the peers and landed gentry of England are still more or less pure blooded Normans, while the mass of the people is Saxon. Did not Tennyson reflect a phase of British thought that puts the lordly Saxon in his place in the lines:

Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood?

Why not Saxon blood? Because at least one school of British social selectionists thought the Anglo-Saxon simply "doesn't belong!" As Mr. Mallock's governess phrased it, the principal pleasure of the Saxons was to eat to repletion. It was their duty to work for, and their privilege to be patronized by, their distinguished Norman overlords.

Cross to Germany, and the theory of social selection takes on a new form. Here we are told that the bravest and strongest tribes stood their ground in the forests along the Baltic against the invading hordes from the east. But the weak and the craven, unable to stand their ground against the more powerful tribes, were driven out, and went down into Southern and Western Europe. Among these were the Angles and Saxons, who went across the channel into England and degenerated into that despicable race of shopkeepers.

It is not my contention that migration exercises no selective influence upon a population. It is rather that the selective effects vary with varying circumstances influencing the migration in each specific instance, so that no generalizations whatever can be made about it. The literature on this question has grown in volume since Vacher de la Pouge, Otto Ammon, and Georg Hansen advanced the theory nearly a half-century ago, but there is very little of scientific value in it. It is chiefly a mass of pseudo-scientific contradictions built up by shoddy logic out of jumbled facts in such a way that every nation and every section of every nation can draw upon it to prove that social selection has

operated by make of its people the world's premier race. As Viscount Bryce said shortly before his death, scholarship was never debased to a worse use nor science warped to more nefarious ends than when their materials came to be drawn upon in every nation to convince its people of the inherent superiority of its own racial stock and the infallible righteousness of its own national policies.

Thus the current popular indictment of social work rests upon basic assumptions that are crumbling beneath it. It assumes a theory of natural selection which the facts will not sustain. It assumes that human life, before the rise of social work, was ruled by the law of the jungle, dominated by an individualistic struggle for existence and a ruthless elimination of the weak which known historical facts deny and the more critical theory of human evolution cannot admit. This theory of individualistic struggle and survival has gained its wide acceptance because of its association with the work of Darwin, but more especially because it is the basis of the subjective theory of social selection which has fed the vanity of every civilized people by enabling it to explain to its own satisfaction how it came to be inherently superior to every other.

But even if the charge that social work is making a major contribution to racial degeneration has been found to rest upon unsound historical and scientific assumptions, is there not abundant statistical proof nevertheless that those who profit most by our services are on the whole less favorably endowed by nature than the general average of our population? Is it not true that the bulk of family case work, for instance, is with biological weaklings whose power of resistance is so low that they cannot stand the strain of modern life, or whose mentality is so inadequate that their inefficiency makes them the first victims of economic depression and the last beneficiaries of recovery? This is a valid question, and my answer to it is threefold:

First, we are not as certain as we used to be of the sharp contrasts in native endowments between those who are the clients of our social agencies and those who are not. When the mental tests were first applied to delinquents we heard much of the low mental levels which were found, but when in the World War we for the first time applied the tests to a representative cross section of the population, we were startled to find that the mental level of our general population was not so much above our delinquent classes as we had supposed. Then it occurred to some to experiment further with the tests, and we made the startling discovery that in some prisons at least the mental capacities of the prisoners are distinctly superior to those of the guards who control them! Among those who are the recipients of our services we find an undue proportion of inherent weakness, it is true, but the overlapping is tremendous, and the contrast with the normal population is far less than we at first supposed.

Second, it seems never to occur to the critics of social work to reverse their statistical percentages. If it be true, for instance, that one-fourth to one-third of truants and delinquents are mentally abnormal or subnormal, it fol-

lows that if we reverse our percentages we shall conclude that two-thirds to three-fourths of this human waste can be prevented, and there is no reason but the apathy and stupidity of society why it is not done. If it be true that nearly half the cases of illegitimacy involve defective stock, when we reverse our percentages we are haunted by the fact that over half of these tragedies represent the wastage of good human material for which we have nothing else to thank than the mismanagement of the problems of youth by the bungling stupidity of their elders.

My third answer I have already presented in extended form. It is that the defectives who comprise an undue proportion of the beneficiaries of social work were able to thrive before organized philanthropy was thought of, and they would continue to propagate should it be discontinued. We have no proof that they exist in greater number because of the work of our social agencies, and there is no indication whatever that the ratio of defectives is higher in those sections of our country where social agencies are alert and progressive than in those sections where they do not yet exist. But we do know that the great historical defective families that have furnished the classical examples for eugenics spring from the older American stock. The Jukes, the Kallikaks, the Ishmaels, were in existence before the nineteenth century. Their progeny survived by the thousand before organized social work arose, and we have no reason to think that their numbers would be appreciably fewer if our agencies never had come into being.

Perhaps the public health movement has suffered from more adverse criticism than any other single phase of social work. To borrow certain phrases from Homer Folks, the thesis has been set forth quite convincingly that in preventing tuberculosis, curing venereal disease, saving infant life, and prolonging the existence of the cardiac patient, we are doing more harm than good; we are only preserving the unfit and interfering with nature's ways, which sometimes seem harsh, but which are in fact always wise and sound. Professor E. A. Ross seems to hold this view. I am quoting now from a sociologist of unquestioned competence, whom I admire as one of the most creative of our social thinkers. If Homer sometimes nods, what can we expect of lesser lights?

Out of ten children born in America, at least seven reach maturity. Out of the same number born in China, only two grow up. The Chinese lose the three weakest just as we do, but in addition they lose five more who can survive under American conditions, but not under Chinese conditions. . . . As parents, the latter cannot be expected to transmit as valuable a physical heredity as the former; so that, in respect to toughness of physique, the people with the less searching and relentless elimination of the weaker infants is at a disadvantage.

How does Professor Ross know that? By what statistical processes does he know that out of every ten babies the three who die in America and the eight who die in China are of less worth to the race than those who survive? This statement is pure assumption. Before one ventures to say so he owes it to

himself and to his audience to make a critical statistical analysis of the causes of infant mortality. When such a study is made Professor Ross's statement is deflated to more modest proportions.

The greatest cause of infant mortality are the gastro-intestinal diseases. These are the diseases most subject to environmental control, and it is here that the greatest reduction of infant mortality is being made. The infant mortality rate declined nearly 15.8 per 1,000 (86.6 to 70.8) in the five-year period from 1919 to 1924. But of these 15.8, 7.2, or nearly half, are accounted for by the reduction in deaths from gastro-intestinal diseases alone. Does any informed person suppose that the death rate from this cause, due, as it largely is, to factors of the milk supply and ignorance in feeding, is to any very high degree selective?

A second cause of infant mortality is contagion and infection. But does the diphtheria germ follow the I. Q.? Is there any direct relationship between the racial worth of the child and its immunity from any specific disease? Was the son of President Coolidge defective because he fell a victim to tetanus? Will a specific for tetanus keep defectives from dying? On the question of correlation between racial worth and susceptibility to such a specific infection as tuberculosis, Dr. Herbert S. Jennings has said that if you are highly susceptible to tuberculosis it proves only one thing: that you are highly susceptible to tuberculosis! I am aware of the answer that persons of low intelligence disregard sanitation and have a higher ratio of infection. This is doubtless true; but let me remind you that disease germs know no class lines, and if we permit infection to eliminate our defectives, it will eliminate the rest of us along with them.

These causes of infant mortality have little to do with the value of the germ plasm. Deaths from causes which really indicate defective germ plasm, such as congenital debility and malformations, have been reduced very little. Instead of Professor Ross's contention that the reduction of infant mortality means the saving of the three weakest children out of every ten now born in America, we shall probably be too pessimistic if we say one out of the three who now die is unfit. I am conservative, therefore, when I say that Professor Ross's assertion is at least 300 per cent exaggerated.

An adequate discussion of the actual extent to which the public health movement may possibly be contributing to racial degeneration would require an address by itself. I can only indicate briefly the lines of argument it should pursue. Before we could form any conclusions whatever we should have to make a careful statistical analysis of the causes of death. We should have to ask for each cause. Is death from this cause due to known structural defects of the organism transmissible through the germ plasm, or is it due to other factors? Do these other factors operate independently of defects transmissible through heredity, or in conjunction with them, and if so, to what extent? What percentage of those who are dying of this specific cause are of less racial

worth than those who are surviving? If we save them, what will be their menace to the race as potential parents, and if we do not save them, what will be their menace as a source of contamination to the rest? Finally, at what age period does each specific cause of death take its greatest toll? Does it eliminate large numbers of young adults, or does it bear most heavily upon people too old for parenthood?

The importance of this last question cannot be overstressed in view of the next step in public health, which will be to reduce the toll from the so called degenerative diseases, especially diseases of the heart. Already the alarmists are loud in the land. This, they say, is the worst of all. You now propose to hasten racial degeneration, not only by controlling contagion and infection, but by saving for parenthood those whose vital organs are too weak to enable them to live out a normal life expectancy. But if one pause long enough to ask, "At what ages are people now dying from these causes?" this argument loses most of its force. Over 85 per cent of the females dying of organic diseases of the heart are over forty-five years of age. They are beyond the years of potential parenthood, and their preservation can have no effect whatever on the race. Whatever damage the movement for cardiac prevention may do must be sought among the 15 per cent under forty-five, and not among all of them, but only among those whose difficulty is due, not to acquired weaknesses, but to defects of structure transmissible genetically. Carry this analysis through for every degenerative disease of adult life before you venture to express a judgment as to the disastrous racial effects of the next step in public health.

I would be sorry indeed if anything I have said should be interpreted as an expression of hostility to any eugenic program whose aim is to prevent the reproduction of known biological defectives. We have had enough of traditional dogma about the right to be born. It is time we were hearing of the right of certain types to be spared the misery of existence. What I said this morning at a meeting of the Division on Educational Publicity I now repeat: that the person who is epileptic, or feeble-minded, or who has been once or more insane, or who is handicapped by a defect of mind or sense or body so great that he cannot maintain an adequate standard of living even for himself, is, heredity apart and from the sociological standpoint alone, incapable of assuming the obligations and fulfilling the duties of parenthood. Upon this I shall insist. But I am equally insistent that neither the eugenics movement nor any other should build up in the public mind a prejudice against social work on the false assumption that social work is doing little that is constructive, but is mostly effective in greasing the toboggan down which the race is sliding to its certain doom.

I come, then, to no dogmatic conclusions as to the possible effect of social work upon the alleged degeneration of the race. Here, as in most matters human, we flounder in a raging torrent of pseudo-scientific snap judgments

upon a feeble raft of facts. It is my feeling, however, that if racial degeneration is taking place anywhere, it is taking place less rapidly where organized social work exists than where it does not. My chief concern about social work is, not that it is hastening racial decline, but that it is not contributing as much as it might, not as much as it one day will, to the improvement of the racial stock. Social workers should therefore be critically alert to the advancing science of genetics and to the proposition that whatever counter-selection is going on in modern society may exist, not because of social work, but in spite of it.

Social workers need never apologize for their profession, nor yield the floor in confusion before the oft-repeated assertion that their work is not only barren of positive results, but is making a pernicious contribution to our rapid racial decline. Such an assertion, as I have tried to show, rests upon a misreading of history and a misinterpretation of fact. Whether your field be family service, child welfare, public health, or social legislation and reform, you may well ignore this unintelligent clamor and may labor on at your tasks of social amelioration until your strength fails you and your eyes grow dim,

Dim with the misty dimness of old eyes
That, having looked on life time out of mind,
Know that the simple art of being kind
Is greater than all the wisdom of the wise.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS ARISING FROM DISASTER

James L. Fieser, Vice-Chairman, American Red Cross, Washington

When my colleague, Ernest P. Bicknell, in his presidential address discussed disaster relief and its problems at the National Conference of Social Work at Buffalo in 1909 he said, "It is doubtful whether those who have not given the subject special thought, comprehend how large a percentage disaster relief forms of all the material relief given for all purposes." At that time he added that in fifteen disasters in the three-year period from April 1, 1906, to April 1, 1909, the American National Red Cross expended for disaster relief the sum of \$4,207,043.70.

Since the subject has not been considered at a general session of this great conference in the intervening nineteen years, it may be stated that in the three-year period ending March 31, 1928, the total number of disasters treated has been 210 and the total disaster relief expenditure by the American Red Cross has been, in round numbers, \$30,000,000. Since 1881 the organization has dealt with 1,051 disasters with an expenditure of over \$75,000,000. In order to complete our perspective, the number of local chapters, usually countywide, has increased from 35 in 1909 to 3,517 in 1928, and the membership from 11,618 in 1909 to 10,500,000 in 1928 (4,000,000 adults and 6,500,000 juniors). No

chapters at that time had full time secretaries. Today 668 have paid secretaries, often with supporting staff; 481 have public health nurses; and the staff of the national organization has been extended through comprehensive field service. These disaster reserves were non-existent when Colonel Bicknell spoke.

Prior to 1905 the Red Cross usually limited itself to raising relief money and collecting supplies which were turned over to temporary local committees of inexperienced citizens for distribution. Two decades ago leaders in social work were fearful lest the Red Cross disaster relief work degenerate into a fixed policy of doles and thoughtless emergency relief, serving none of those constructive purposes which are inherent in every disaster situation. In order to build upon accepted principles of social practice, Col. Bicknell was persuaded, soon thereafter, to become director general. The Red Cross under his leadership soon had the benefit of social work support through two developments which permanently swung the organization into line as a social agency interested in reconstruction or rehabilitation following emergency relief.

The first step was the creation at that time of a National Emergency Relief Board as a guide to all Red Cross disaster relief. Among the members of this board were Mr. Robert W. de Forest, Dr. Edward T. Devine, Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, Miss Mary E. Richmond, Mrs. John M. Glenn, and others who have played so useful and important a part in the history of this Conference and of social thinking in America. The second problem of absence of staff was met through the enlistment of the strongest, most representative, and most efficient family work agencies of that period as the source of immediate supply of personnel as required. These devices speedily brought into play the influence of the best engineers in human problems, and at the same time cemented social forces in coordinate strength under the Red Cross banner. This displaced the confusion of multiple approach through many groups without a common background. It insured unified leadership, planning, and action.

Since then the Red Cross, representing all of us, has evolved new methods, refinements, and expansions in harmony with the needs of the changing age in which it lives. From its experience in almost 1,100 disasters it has gained a background of expertness in which social work in America may have great satisfaction. The influence of social work was, and continues to be, basic.

The chairman of the organization, Judge John Barton Payne, recently pointed out that governmental sanction by congressional charter, presidential proclamation, and public understanding have, in the meantime, made the Red Cross the central agent of national and international relief in disaster. Among other obligations the charter imposes the duty "To continue and carry on a system of national and international relief in time of peace and to apply the same in mitigating the sufferings caused by pestilence, famine, fire, floods, and other national calamities and to devise and carry on measures for preventing the same." Experience has shown the wisdom of recognizing some one agency,

always prepared, financed for prompt action, and universally expected to assume control, as our common agent and rallying point in these emergencies.

Financial control, administrative direction, and application of established practices and policies are prerequisites which experience has proved not only imperative but most universally desired. Without them action would frequently be abortive in result and wasteful. The Red Cross deals with people and their needs. Assistance to public utilities and public works, to the larger commercial and industrial businesses, to educational and charitable or other agencies as such, road or bridge building, repair or replacement of public or institutional buildings, and similar enterprises are the responsibility of taxing units or the normal channels of finance. They should not be a burden upon the trust funds contributed for the relief of disaster sufferers. Such funds should not be used for loans. Help from such contributions is a gift to supplement the earnings, assets, and credit power of the beneficiary. These basic principles are now accepted generally. They would frequently be violated with curtailment of family rehabilitation were it not for the assurance which follows centralized administration and responsibility.

Disasters may be either cataclysmic or prolonged in character. The sudden swish of cyclonic winds, the unexpected sweep of flood waters, mine and other explosions, fires, and similar disasters daze their victims at one fell swoop. The damage is done. Emergency relief, evaluation of loss, and re-establishment are the immediate program.

Other disasters like the Mississippi flood are tortuous in their slowness, and the mind must adjust itself to the inevitability that tomorrow, next week, and next month the situation will be worse than it was today. Such a disaster may involve the shock of months of uncertainty as other tributaries move their yellow waters slowly forward with the certainty of the law of gravitation.

This is a war with the elements. The forces of destruction must be met at new points with reinforcements. The man power of relief must be mobile. Back of the flood, on its crest and in its path, as yet untouched, are new salients to be straightened out. At one point the territory is emerging from the muck. At another it is just being engulfed. Still farther downstream the people must, perhaps against their will and belief, be awakened to their danger. Here you have the added problem of a long line of march to cover. A thousand miles of fighting front, tributary engagements, hundreds of thousands of victims with varying traditions, modes of life, and forms of livelihood, and the nearest high ground perhaps fifty or more miles away, all make it almost as difficult as the exodus of refugees from any invaded territory.

Staying power, generalship, and all the reinforcements of state and nation are essential in such a fight. Fortunately the Red Cross, in this last big emergency, had the invaluable and constant counsel and leadership of the chairman of the President's Cabinet Committee, Herbert Hoover. The secretary and I spent fourteen weeks together in the flood area. Time does not permit me to

analyze his service in bringing into instant play the support of every governmental resource as needed. Never before in American peace time history have we had such coordinated support in skilled men and equipment and supplies as were assigned to the Red Cross. Every resource of the army engineers, the tentage and equipment shipped from most of the corps areas of the army, half the coast guard service, many of the smaller boats of the navy, snag boats, most of the lighthouse service, nine hundred vessels under the Red Cross flag at one time, scores of naval hydroplanes, radio outfits handled by naval experts, the man power of the United States Public Health Service, experts on seeds, soils, and farm planning from the Department of Agriculture, the twenty-four-hour-a-day guidance of the weather bureau, facilities which enabled us to tell almost to the inch how high the water would be above the rail on a given day at a point not yet hit, the data of the census bureau on the areas affected, and countless other details were covered with assurance in support of the resources of the states and territories affected. The strength of social agencies, patriotic societies, business institutions, and public utilities were enlisted with equal promptitude in behalf of the more than 600,000 direct flood victims.

All of these were instruments for social diagnosis and family rehabilitation in the greatest disaster in American history to date. I say "to date" advisedly, because, in addition to the assurance that no section of the country is without disaster hazard, we have only to look at the record of recent years and their high points, the Ohio Valley flood, the Midwestern tornado, the Florida hurricane, and the Mississippi flood, not to mention Pueblo, San Antonio, Tulsa, Lorain, St. Louis, and New England, to realize that even greater disasters than this one are within the range of possibility in the United States—a sobering thought.

Every disaster, large or small, is attended by a number of economic displacements which have a direct bearing upon the families who make up the community or neighborhood life of the affected areas. These disturbances, in greater or lesser degree, influence transportation, communication, finance, agriculture, trade, employment, and security of land and home ownership. At the same time there is shock to family life, education, religion, recreation, sanitation, and normal living in other phases. Unlike normal social work, family by family, you see these mass factors which make up civilization tumbled about and disjointed in wholesale. Failure to evaluate them is almost fatal in planning constructive family relief. After all we are basically dependent upon the proper interplay of that complex network of economic forces which is the source of existence, of whatever degree of sufficiency. Economic problems are therefore social problems which must be understood.

In the field of finance, for example, individual relief may in part hinge upon skill in locating both real and fictitious values in property, analysis of land titles, extent of encumbrances, frozen credits of banks, businesses, and in-

dividuals, mobility of outside financial resources to reinforce prostrated local agencies, and other factors.

In the field of agriculture, in a disaster primarily rural, merely feeding and repairing are not sufficient. The population is dependent for its long look ahead upon what crops it can raise. It may depend upon cotton, wheat, corn, fruit, truck, cattle, poultry, or some one other thing for its money crop. Can it make the grade this season on that specialty? If not, is there a substitute with money in it? If not, what can be turned to account as a basis of subsistence for man and beast until next year? Who are the people who know most about it who will help work out a program? These are matters of primary concern when one works close to the people. They may for the moment take precedence over permanent housing and other relief, because bare existence depends upon re-establishing the economic foundation, without which disintegration or panic are inevitable. For this reason the Red Cross had a major concern in the productivity of the 1,800,000 acres in the Mississippi valley which were planted with seed purchased by it. Where necessary it even helped with insecticides to preserve the crops. It had vital interest in the rescue, care, and return of 200,000 head of cattle and countless work animals in these seven states. It was interested in raising and canning vegetables. It was interested in diversified crops. If one failed, the others would help hold the family line of support. It preferred to give fewer but better cattle, hogs, and chickens. Where it was not possible to paint them, it whitewashed the repaired and new houses. It was interested in the ultimate educational value of these and hundreds of other similar steps because, in the long run, rehabilitation would be more certain to last longer.

The standard of living is another social problem. In some disaster areas, such as some of the plantation country or the eastern Kentucky flood, many families invite pellagra by a normal diet consisting of the three *M*'s—meat, meal, and molasses, and fat meat at that. The consumption of fresh vegetables and other vitamine-laden foods, many of which can be grown in the shadow of the average house, is, in many places, actually a matter of education to new standards, through the use of spare time on gardening and back yard fruit growing, within the reach of practically all.

Many of these economic factors apply to the city also. I, however, stress the country deliberately. After visiting many hundred communities and every state in the union, I do not hesitate to say that the slums of America, and poverty and illiteracy, are by no means limited to our cities. City social problems have no doubt been materially increased by the great migration from the country to the city which is still at high tide. Social understanding and intelligence in rural America is part of the need in agricultural advance.

The necessities of thousands of refugees, to be housed temporarily perhaps a hundred miles from their home, are brought into bold relief by the process. Some of the 330,000 refugees of the Mississippi flood were housed in our larger

camps. Looking back at it now, I can see the social problems incident to suddenly building a city of from 5,000 to 20,000 rural people—men, women and children—where no city stood before, and making it work at once without the benefit of years of experience in living together or the benefit of city ordinances and the other things we build up as safeguards in our town and city life. The new citizens of these emergency towns were rural minded. They usually represented two races and often two languages, English and French. They frequently were illiterate and were without experience in cooperative living such as we have built up for self preservation in our cities. To match this problem we must provide food and shelter, control disease, conduct health examinations, immunize against communicable disease, get parking space for cattle and household effects, put in water supply, drainage, lay out the fields into city blocks, set up sanitary provisions, organize refuse disposal, bathing and laundry facilities, fire protection, policing, lights, recreation, opportunity for meetings by church and other groups, where possible start some educational activities, and pick out leaders from the refugees themselves who will help us to produce, by tomorrow, for these thousands, that service which our town meetings and city councils have been arguing about for decades perhaps.

If the situation had been reversed and almost 400,000 city bred refugees sheltered in similar camps, a new set of social problems would have been in evidence as a result of the dependence of our urban population upon the clocklike interplay of hundreds of forces which we accept unconsciously as the norm in our daily lives. Any disaster lifts the lid off the social structure and permits us to see what makes the wheels go round or what prevents their motion, as the case may be. No community hit by a disaster will ever be the same again because the public at large and the people affected discover things which they never knew before or about which they were indifferent. They start to progress through new wants and new standards of social and economic life.

In time of disaster one can often, with lasting benefit, meet social problems in bulk, or wholesale instead of retail. The record of the Midwestern tornado and the Florida hurricane in health preservation was enlarged upon in the Mississippi flood states. Our people immunized 410,000 people against typhoid. Smallpox vaccine was administered to 163,000. Malaria was attacked with millions of quinine capsules, trainloads of crude oil, thousands of screens where none had been before, and mosquito netting by the storeful. Pellagra was attacked by a distribution of hundreds of thousands of packets of garden seed and by what was probably the widest use of raw yeast by any comparable group of pellagra victims to date. Daily inspection was made in camp. Communicable disease victims were hospitalized or segregated. Why wait for disaster to do some of these?

Health interest generally took a step forward, with the result that the United States Public Health Service, the Rockefeller Foundation and the state boards of health, working in cooperation with local authorities, have organized

almost one hundred county health units, each on a basis of assured financial support, for an eighteen-month period. As in many other disasters, health as a social objective is better understood and supported than ever before. In other disasters the progress has been toward better child care, milk control, and in corrective clinics for those injured.

In this statement I have not considered many of the social problems with which we as social workers are familiar. In our search for the minutiae of detail we often fail to put our findings together. With a proper sense of distance we may see the broad, bold patterns of American life which are produced by group analysis. Disaster work and social work in general require the aid of both the telescope and microscope.

The public expects more and more in disaster relief work. Expectation is always ahead of financial fulfilment, even though the public has been increasingly generous in its response. The stimulus of increased demand nevertheless serves to keep the disaster worker fresh through the three inevitable successive stages of each disaster. The first, or poetry, stage is millennial in the spirit of sacrifice which follows the first shock. The second, or brickbat, stage comes later,—“You got too much relief. I did not get enough.” The third and last stage, that of resolutions of appreciation, comes with the expenditure of the last of the relief funds, when people say that after all it was a wonderful job. When I spoke of increased public expectation I did not mean the criticisms of the brickbat period, but rather that fine forward sweep of social interest which I have witnessed in many fields since I first became a member of this Conference twenty years ago.

At this moment many say that victims of unemployment and strikes should be added to the categories of disasters and treated similarly. The method of relief in time of disaster would doubtless apply with equal effectiveness to many situations where other agencies do not exist. At the present time, however, public opinion and public financial support are not sufficiently developed to prevent the collapse of the whole disaster relief structure were the Red Cross, for example, to handle distress due to business depression, strikes, crop failures, unemployment, and other causes than natural disasters on a general basis. Assuming corresponding growth in skill and financial support during the next twenty years, I would not presume to predict that even these complicated problems were entirely without the realm of possibility.

It is gratifying to see the progress in social understanding brought about through disaster work. Thousands of people annually, through service on disaster committees, become volunteer spokesmen for social work principles where social work never existed before. This helps to bring us all closer together as one family concerned with human betterment. These mounting reinforcements to our numbers are helping to turn disaster relief measures into assets whose dividends are certain through the years.

The future, however, holds a number of challenges to our engineering skill

in the disaster field. Individual and family treatment must continue to improve in its service aspects. We must gain skill in understanding economic complexes in disasters and working out their solution. While progress must often be made slowly, we must find ways of speeding up relief without loss of effectiveness. We must learn to ignore the brickbat period and learn the lesson of a hundred disasters a year that come out right in the end. We must learn the lesson of industry and make use of mass production of relief where it does not interfere with individual treatment. We should begin to consider the psychological effects of disasters upon their victims. Have we done a full job unless we have helped displace fear and despair in the tornado sufferer? What can be done about schoolhouses full of children who want to rush into the storm at the sight of every thundercloud, or the mother who sits in a mental cloud neglecting her children for weeks after a hurricane? What can be done to enrich the leisure time outlook of disaster victims? What can we do to promote better understanding of food values through nutrition service? What can be done to increase the reserve of seasoned disaster workers and keep it available? How can more adequate current financial support for more adequate relief be secured, and a more ample national reserve be created? How may we build wider understanding of disaster objectives and accomplishments? How may lessons of quick time disaster work be applied to workaday family work? And finally and most important, how may we work more intelligently in the prevention of disasters, or, as the Congressional Charter says, "To devise and carry on measures for preventing the same"? Mine disasters, many floods, fires, explosions, and other catastrophes are preventable. Perhaps the next decade will see an advance in prevention just as the past two decades have been marked by a revolution in disaster treatment. This is a challenge to our co-operative intelligence which will not go unanswered.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL WORK IN DISASTER RELIEF

E. G. Steger, Secretary and General Manager, Provident Association, St. Louis

Each morning, and again in the afternoon, our metropolitan newspapers tell stories of a variety of misfortunes. Here a fire destroyed a family's home, perhaps taking life, or maiming for life; there, in quite another section of the city, an automobile accident orphaned a whole family of children; a third story tells of an apparently prosperous business crashing in bankruptcy, carrying with it into misery whole families.

Our sympathies are aroused for a moment. By the time we have absorbed our daily news ration and tossed aside our paper, the stories are forgotten; our sympathies quite as gone as the flame of the match with which we lighted our last cigarette. The stream of community life flows on undisturbed by daily individual misfortunes; indeed, those misfortunes, scattered as they are, and of

daily occurrence, merely are the small eddies about which the community life has formed its channels precisely for the uninterrupted continuance of the day's business.

Mrs. O'Leary's cow kicked over a lighted lantern, setting fire to the ramshackle shed that served as a barn. Swiftly the flames spread to the cottage home and destroyed it. Had the result been nothing more, that would have been Mrs. O'Leary's real misfortune, and her story would now rest forgotten in her grave. However, the flames, sweeping right and left from Mrs. O'Leary's cottage, destroyed in the course of a few horrible night hours blocks upon blocks of homes, until the homeless were a multitude, and the dreadful sight of the rows upon rows of dead bodies and the many improvised hospitals making the very atmosphere shudder with the groans of the wounded quite overshadowed for a time the destruction of business sections and the halting of the usual community life. Chicago, a few hours earlier resembling nothing so much as a sturdy young giant, glorying in strength, first frantic in futile efforts to fight the flames, then stood exhausted, viewing the ruins, stunned, all but despairing.

Such is the nature of disaster that it strikes many at one time, damming the ordinary channels of community life, calling for extraordinary measures, adjustment in group attitude as well as action.

Only thirty years ago a tornado swooped down on St. Louis, converting in the brief space of minutes a broad stretch of homes, churches, shops in the southern part of that city into a veritable wilderness in size one-third as large as Memphis. The people of St. Louis, rousing themselves out of their first stunned condition, set about the task of recovery. And what a task it was! Confusion, turmoil, hysteria everywhere, and no experienced leadership! A crying demand for immediate action, and no tried and proved methods! To be sure, recovery was accomplished. But how slow its progress, how tremendous the cost! There was vision and money enough to cover only the first emergency needs such as food, clothing, and care for the injured. After six weeks money and vision were exhausted and the victims largely left to shift for themselves as best they might. During these six weeks it was a war between sections and factions, some pulling this way, others as strongly in the opposite direction; and the result, open wounds for a long time, much needless suffering, and ugly scars remaining to this very day.

St. Louis was again struck by a like disaster last year. An equally fierce tornado twisted and whirled diagonally through the city. Just nine minutes after the southwest edge of the city at Forest Park crumpled at the furious entry of the storm the twister had crashed, wounded, and killed its way clear through to the northeast edge at McKinley Bridge, spending the last of its fury on Venice, just across the river. Within that great community again a stretch one-third the size of Memphis lay low!

How long does it take to develop a community so large! What is the cost in money, in effort, hope, faith? As well try to compute the value of a human

life. There you have the measure of the tremendous task of relief and rebuilding no less complex, no less difficult than the task the same St. Louis faced thirty years earlier.

Just four months later to a day the task was completed as far as such a task, with our present knowledge and skill, can be completed. No war of sections or factions this time, but a union of all sections and factions under one strong leadership, following tried and proved methods; the result, a steady and speedy emergence out of the first inevitable turmoil, a rapid return to normal community life.

The later experience fairly illustrates what happens today when disaster strikes. Our question is, "What contribution may rightly be credited to social work in the present meeting of problems arising in disaster?" For just to the extent to which social work so far had a part in the meeting of disaster does the responsibility for further contribution rest upon all social workers and the organizations and communities of which they are a part.

When disaster strikes the greatest need is strong experienced leadership, the only hope for escape from chaos and hysteria. Such leadership must be recognized, for only to the degree to which it has the people's confidence can it accomplish its full purpose.

There is at least one person in this audience who will remember as vividly as I do an experience illustrating the frightful chaos and hysteria created by disaster; the apparent need for leadership, and the utter helplessness of experience to lead without the community's recognition of the value of that specific experience in dealing with the problem of human welfare following disaster. An immense stretch of our country, several times the size of New Jersey, had been laid in ruins in the course of a few hours. Whole towns were wiped out; hundreds of people were killed; thousands made homeless. So terrific was the blow that the remaining population was literally stunned, quite incapable even of grasping what had happened, much less of planning ways out. The following day people flocked into the stricken area in large numbers, bringing themselves, their automobiles, supplies of all sorts, and the will to help. It was difficult to determine which were the more helpless, the victims who stood about in stunned silence, gazing unbelievably at the ruins of their homes, or those who had come to aid, hurrying planlessly about, treading on each other's toes, and becoming more and more irritated because everybody was in every other person's way.

My companion, experienced in disaster relief, came to offer trained service. He was armed with credentials and a telegram from the Governor asking that he direct relief activities. There we stood at the headquarters of the relief committee, distinctly on the outside. My companion did have dinner with the relief committee. When he returned to the hotel his dejected appearance would have told, even if his remarks had not, that this particular community saw no need for special experience in meeting their present problems. Were

there not soldiers to do police duty and insure safety? Was not the whole citizenship ready to help? The leadership was in the hands of successful men of business. What more could anyone offer?

It so happened that one large neighboring city included, in the help it offered, experienced leadership. This group came to a relatively small section surrounding a town that had been all but wiped out. In this spot work did progress rapidly, and with organization came evidence of effective methods. A few days later the chairman of the relief committee, who had so politely dined my companion out of the picture, visited our section, and having by that time experienced all sorts of difficulties, decided that special training, after all, might have something to offer. He asked for trained workers. His request was welcomed, and workers were sent at once to render all possible service. Imagine their consternation, and the task they faced, when the very next day they found posters, bearing the signature of the chairman, announcing: "Trained staff is now in charge; the time for volunteer service is over." The trained staff was about as welcome in that community as the Marines are in Nicaragua. It is significant that social work and social workers were all but unknown in that community at the time—just ten years ago, as a matter of fact.

What a contrast to this experience was that following the St. Louis tornado of last year! Mindful of its earlier suffering, St. Louis had anticipated a possible recurrence and planned carefully to avoid the mistakes of former days. When the storm did come, it came suddenly; but the very knowledge of being prepared, at least in part, somewhat softened the blow. Following the plan prepared for just such an emergency, within a few hours the homeless were being housed, the injured cared for, those missing searched out, food and clothing distributed. At the same time, at the call of the community itself, experienced social workers were organized under trained leadership at once to begin the task of permanent rehabilitation. To be sure, there was turmoil and confusion. How could it be otherwise, with the whole community shaken to its very foundations, with individuals and groups throwing themselves into relief work just where they happened to find need? But there was a constant drawing together of all activities, and a conscious gradual placing of responsibility on trained leadership, always supplemented and backed by much volunteer effort. St. Louis had learned to know that dealing with social problems does require a specialized skill. It had learned to know this by the very use of its social agencies, such as the family society, hospital social service, children's aid society, juvenile court probation department. The people of St. Louis were actually associating the family in trouble with trained service to meet their need. Accustomed to looking to the community council as the meeting ground of all its social agencies for joint effort, St. Louis found it natural and easy to place confidence in experienced and trained leadership in meeting the needs of the tornado victims. Above all did the people of St. Louis learn, as probably

they had never before been made to realize, that social work forces are trained through constant practice to work together for the accomplishment of one common purpose.

Social work as it is carried on day by day with increasing results prepares people as nothing else can for the acceptance of experienced leadership in disaster relief. And experienced leadership, in relieving suffering and need following catastrophe, is a fundamental contribution which becomes more and more real as social work is more and more widely developed and understood. Having recognized its problem as one requiring specialized leadership, and having found and accepted that leadership, the community turns to it for direction in wisely aiding the stricken families and individuals in recovering from their several misfortunes.

One result of disaster is an abrupt leveling of social and economic classes. The bank cashier and the owner of the ultra-fashionable boarding house, caught by the storm and injured in the wreckage of their West End homes, are laid side by side with the day laborer and the lowly keeper of the fifty-cent-a-night rooming house of the lower North Side, in the same hospital ward, each given exactly the same service. The stream of persons being clothed, fed, and housed includes the competent and the incompetent, the thrifty and the shiftless, all being supplied from the same storehouse, in the same manner, by the same people. Nor do we perceive that, after all, this first mass picture of common wants is made up of as many individual needs as there are individuals in the mass, unless we go beyond the vision of thirty years ago which stopped short when the first emergency had passed.

While meeting the first emergency needs—burial of the dead, medical and hospital care for the injured and sick, shelter for the homeless, food for the hungry—is an integral, an indispensable, part of disaster relief, it is the first step only, and is so carried out as to form the starting point for the much more difficult second step of rehabilitation, so aiding the victims that they may, if at all possible, have the opportunity to regain their former social and economic status.

Suggested plans are not lacking, always brought forward with the enthusiasm of the discoverer of an absolutely new idea. But, curiously, all such plans are variations of three methods. The simplest of these is an equal division of available relief funds among the victims. Another is that such person having sustained a loss be given relief in exact ratio to his loss, losses to be computed on the basis of rules known to insurance adjusters. Still a third, indicating boundless faith in every human being, would make the whole relief fund available, so that each might help himself. When this suggestion was made, it came with the solemn assurance that no one would even dream of going beyond his need in the taking.

None appear to take into account that material loss is only a part, very often the smallest, of the misfortune resulting to the individual in disaster. In

the procession comes the old couple. They are well along the declining years of life. Until yesterday they lived comfortably in their three-room frame cottage. A modest lunchroom, conducted in the front room, yielded just enough for their daily needs. In bank they carefully kept intact a \$2,000 savings account for the days when the infirmities of old age would no longer permit even their present activity. Their cottage is gone, and with it their few personal possessions and their little business. Neither is injured; they have a bit of ground and their \$2,000. Another couple are still in their youth, each only just past thirty. The man has been driving a service car, the woman conducting a rooming house. They were beginning to see a comfortable future just ahead. Both automobile and rooming house are gone, destroyed by the storm; there are no savings; again, neither is injured. A third example is that of a skilled structural iron worker, one of those men who stand on iron girders, wielding hammer and torch away up in the air, never seeming to notice that there is merely air around and beneath them, their chief asset being iron nerves. He, too, lived in a small cottage with his wife and two small children. He had just entered the yard in the rear of his home when the storm broke. While the buildings all around, including his home, crashed into ruined heaps of wood and brick, he clung desperately to the iron gatepost. Do you wonder that this man of iron nerves, having found that wife and children had escaped uninjured as by miracle, promptly collapsed, a nervous wreck; had to spend weeks in the hospital, and probably will never again be able to ply his trade away up there in the iron skeleton of skyscrapers!

Obviously, if the need of the family is to be considered, an equal distribution will not fill the bill; nor yet a mathematical reckoning of percentage of loss. The aged couple must be given just that aid which will enable it again to meet its daily needs, and it must not be deprived of its only old-age security. The young couple, because of youth and initiative, may well be permitted to make their own adjustment, with only enough aid and service to tide over the immediate emergency. The structural iron worker must be dealt with as carefully and thoroughly as the shell shocked soldier, taking into account the probability of complete retraining and support for a considerable period of time. This is the principle of individualization, measuring relief and service strictly according to each family's need. It is the principle of differential treatment as developed by social case work, the contribution in disaster relief which on the one hand safeguards the family's individuality and on the other hand prevents the inevitable waste resulting from rule-of-thumb methods which fit no real case.

What are the specific problems which victims of disaster face? And, having become thoroughly acquainted with the individual family, and its particular need, how is that to be met so that the money award will really accomplish its purpose?

An elderly woman lived alone in a comfortable home, her own property,

with title clear, but deeded in the name of an only daughter, as well as in her own name, to avoid any possible complications in case of the mother's death. The daughter, with her husband and five children, lived a few blocks distant, just outside the storm area. It so happened that on the day of the storm the daughter, on her way to visit her mother, was killed. The mother's home, with all her furniture, was destroyed, she herself escaping injury somehow. The son-in-law's problem was care for his home and children; the mother's, a home for herself. There was need for but very little money. In order to sell the property, which was part of the plan, a guardian had to be appointed and the estate probated—legal service and court action.

A young man of thirty-one, having a wife and one small child, while at work was crushed by a large iron stove, his left arm frightfully burned, both upper and lower jaws fractured. So severe and complicated was his injury that he would need at least two years' constant care by several specialists, medical care of a highly specialized and complex character, vocational training as soon as practicable; in the meantime, support and direction.

There are buildings to be erected, small businesses to be refinanced, complicated property questions to be straightened out; in fact, a multiplicity of problems faced by some part of the community all the time, and met by the use of specialist services, employed as they are needed. The disaster victim needs exactly the same services, needs them quickly, and mostly without consideration of pay. The specialists are willing, even eager, to serve, but can do so effectively only when properly enlisted and coordinated. That is exactly what the task of the social worker consists of, acting as social engineer, coordinating and bringing to the family in its problems just the specialized service needed. And that is exactly the fashion in which the problems of the disaster victims are met; so that the organization of community resources for service is another among the outstanding contributions of social work in disaster relief.

Trained experienced leadership can carry out social work practice in disaster relief without trained personnel as easily as an excellent surgeon can care for a lot of injured and ill people through a staff of laymen and women, no matter how willing and anxious to serve such staff may be. But why the need for special training and experience when the problems, after all, taken by themselves, are quite the same as those facing some people all the time, when the social worker is neither physician nor lawyer, neither builder nor financier? What worth while or even necessary contribution has the social worker to make in disaster relief? The first contribution is without question the discipline of trained service, used to meeting emergencies such as are rendering families helpless every day. Anyone who has ever observed the immediate effect of disaster will agree that chaos and hysteria alone can describe the picture. The community life, halted in its even flow, at once becomes storm tossed in its feverish activity. Two days after the St. Louis tornado the social work staff, numbering at that time more than eighty, organized under supervisors and su-

perintendents and assigned to districts roughly outlined, went about their work, doing emergency tasks when needed, but all the while even then fully conscious of the end purpose—rehabilitation. You can imagine that there was little time for observation, and the significance of this steady, rather quiet stream of activity in the all-pervading excited turmoil would probably have escaped me except for the question of one of our prominent physicians. This doctor had been watching the steady process of districting done by means of pins on a map at headquarters of the field staff, and so had observed the social workers on the job. He suddenly asked, "Why do they keep calm in the midst of temp-est?" The answer is obvious: "Because they are acquainted with emergencies and know hysteria; because of their training and experience they neither fear it nor are carried away by it." My answer conveyed that idea. "Oh yes," he said, "that is the discipline of trained service." Yes, my friends, that is the discipline of trained service.

Furthermore, the social worker, while hardly sharing the faith of the man who would let disaster victims help themselves to available relief funds because none would take more than needed, does have the patience of understanding which comes with skill in finding reasons for attitudes resulting in unreasonable demand and behavior. It is the social worker's business to dig through to real facts.

A volunteer helper in the clothing department happened to be standing by while a man was being interviewed. Quite excitedly he came to me, protesting that this man must not be helped because when he had been requested to lend a hand in carrying about heavy rough cases in the clothing department he had refused for fear of injuring his hands. As a matter of fact, his refusal was quite in order, since this man earned his living as an organist and violinist, and sensitive hands were essential to his work. It was simple, and yet all the untrained person saw was refusal to help while asking help. The untrained person sees the incidental; the trained person must see the fundamental.

In the final analysis the whole relief task is one of agreement and cooperation between the community and the disaster victims. But agreement and cooperation is a matter of mutual understanding. The social worker brings to the relief task the skill to interpret the person needing help and his needs to the community, and thus make available the necessary resources; makes clear to the victim the community's purpose; and helps him face his own problems clearly and definitely. In disaster relief we cannot dispense with the discipline of trained, experienced service, the patience which permits and comes with understanding, the skill in bringing about between community and the folks to be aided mutual understanding. It is apparent that we must expect social work to make these contributions through the trained worker on the job.

However well the ground may be prepared for the meeting of problems arising in disaster on sound principle and tried method, through workers thoroughly skilled in their task, the stricken community might still find itself in

the painful position of the man who, while driving along the lonely road, was stopped by robbers, relieved of his possessions and his automobile, and left lying desperately wounded alongside the highway. The help he needs is all around him, just beyond reaching distance. He is eager and ready to have it, but there is no channel through which that help can be gathered together and brought to him.

When disaster strikes it comes as suddenly today as it did years ago; it takes its toll of human life, of homes, of the fruit of years of labor as relentlessly. Our dread and fear of the elements venting their fury on the race of man is therefore as real as was that of the folks of Pompeii. But the thought of disaster inevitably brings to mind the white flag of mercy with its flaming red cross, which appears so quickly when fire, floods, storm, or earthquake have spent their destructive powers.

Little more than fifty years ago Henry Dunant, a warm-hearted Swiss philanthropist, viewed with horror the frightful suffering of wars' victims on the battlefield of Solferino, just across the border of his native country. At the same time he had the vision to realize that much of the suffering was needless and could be prevented by enlisting the humanitarian impulse of the people—just folks—and mobilizing their efforts to aid the victims of the battlefield. Was not he, even then, engaged in aiding personally these soldiers, actuated solely by humanitarian impulse to help these sufferers, strangers to him, but needing help? Were there not others like him who could be united in this very service? His was the vision, and out of it was born the Red Cross.

But were there not catastrophes other than war, of a magnitude not only to justify but to demand service national in scope and character? Clara Barton, the first president of the American Association, saw this wider field of service, and in the charter of the American National Red Cross was incorporated the purpose of disaster relief. Thanks to the vision of Henry Dunant, of Clara Barton, and of the host of those who were caught up and carried along in that same vision, we have the Red Cross, its whole development that of a social work activity—helping people out of trouble created by catastrophe.

Chartered by Congress as the National Disaster Relief Agency, recognized throughout the world by strong international covenant as America's hand of help in catastrophes of a magnitude to stagger even the strength and fortitude of a nation, the American Red Cross is today the largest and mightiest social work agency in the world. Commanding as its own strength of our whole social work skill and equipment, the American Red Cross is recognized today as the foremost contribution of social work in disaster relief.

RELIGIOUS IMAGINATION AND THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr, Pastor, Bethel Evangelical Church, Detroit

In one of George Bernard Shaw's long prefaces he observes that mankind has yet to prove that it is able to solve the problems of its aggregate existence and master the art of living together sufficiently to prevent men from covering each other with mud and with blood in their great modern communities. The art of living together has always been a necessary and a difficult one, and it would seem that it has become progressively more necessary and more difficult to master. For as civilization increases in complexity of relationships the resources we possess seem not to suffice. Even if all of the spiritual and moral resources remained fairly constant, the very intricacy of our modern society might make it possible that we would make those with whom we live more miserable than in the past. We have been thrown together and upon each other by means of our modern methods of transportation and commerce and industry in such a way as to make life more difficult. The nineteenth-century idea that intimacy produced brotherhood was reduced to an absurdity by the World War. We have learned that intimacy aggravates previous attitudes and sentiments, whether benevolent or malevolent. In the kind of world in which we live, if we cannot overcome our prejudices we will make ourselves miserable even more than our fathers did, for we are more dependent upon one another. We live in the kind of civilization in which a boycott in India can throw thousands and tens of thousands out of work in England, in which business depression in America can create panic on the stock exchange in Tokyo. In such intimate relations do we live that our natural limitations, which in the days of our fathers might have been fairly innocent, become almost malicious. The art of living together has been complicated, not only by this new intimacy, but by the vast aggregates in which we live. Big cities, big factories, challenge man's sense of his own worth. One of the most interesting things about modern life is that most relationships are of an impersonal nature, and the real battle of the day is the fight against an impersonal civilization, against the inhuman machine which has dehumanized the mechanic, against the great metropolises in which we live wherein neighborliness has been destroyed. Many of the things social workers do represent a more adequate phase of mutual aid from that which people practiced in ancient days by instinctive neighborliness. On the other hand, some of the activities of social workers are merely substitutes for the kind of mutual aid which people instinctively practiced in natural communities. While organized and scientific social work is perhaps always more fruitful in its social consequences, it does not necessarily follow that there have not been some spiritual losses in the depersonalization of modern life which can never be regained.

A few years ago I read of a significant tragedy that took place in one of the subways in New York City. A Czechoslovakian had gotten into a train, had become confused, ran out of one of the doors, and had forgotten to take

his wife along. Before he bethought himself the train had rushed on. He jumped on the next train and spent three hours in a vain effort to find his wife. After awhile someone took pity on him and took him to the Czechoslovakian consul, and finally the wife was found dead in one of the city hospitals. I do not know the immediate cause of her death, but undoubtedly fright had something to do with it. This incident seems to me to illumine the whole tragedy of modern urban life. I have sometimes felt as that man must have felt when I have at times lost my identity in a subway crowd, although I never lost my wife, for I haven't got one. This depersonalizing factor in our present-day mode of life destroys something that can never be reclaimed, and we will have to find some substitute for the social values that existed in the old neighborhood.

We have centralization of power greater than ever before; and as many people depend upon the judgment of the few, this dependence inevitably results in misery. It seems to me that as you look at life and see how power is centralized more and more, politically and industrially, it becomes impossible to conduct this social life of ours without bringing misery upon many. In our political units we put some discipline upon power because of ancient traditions of democracy, but our industrial units we run without the consent of the whole, on the assumption that those who have power in their hands will use it wisely and humanely. The art of living together is complicated further by the tremendous increase of physical power which has been thrown into every man's hands, power which has not added to the sensitiveness of the human conscience, but made it possible for a confused conscience to rend society. We have been spending all our years sublimating the human body, with the idea of making us a Colossus bestriding the world, but not giving us the intelligence or the conscience to control its power. It is obvious that in this kind of situation we must have increased human intelligence, particularly social intelligence. It cannot be assumed that intelligent people are socially intelligent. Take the uneducated expert! I have some good doctor friends who are the pathetic victims of overspecialization. I would not trust myself to any but a highly specialized intelligence if I were sick, but I must face the price he has paid for the skill which saves my body in his confusion of mind in regard to political and social issues, which does not help my mind or my soul. This is true not only of the doctor but of all of us except perhaps the preacher, who must more or less be a jack of all trades and a master of none. Perhaps the resources of moral good will, of sentiment and conscience have been a fairly constant factor in human society, and perhaps we have a right to assume that in this new situation in which we live we must increase the social intelligence of modern society. It is obvious that some of the ills from which we suffer have nothing to do with a lack of moral good will: first of all, the peculiarities and prejudices which are the big vice of respectable people and can be overcome only by superior intelligence, that kind of parochialism which pours contempt upon their fellows who belong to other

groups, upon racial groups which are different from our own, upon national groups which have backgrounds different from ours, upon groups that hold different religious opinions from ours. This particular vice of good people can never be overcome by creating more good will or moral resource or more spiritual resource, but only by the proper direction of such love as people have. Before we can overcome them we shall have to dislodge from the minds of some people the idea that a fanatic loyalty to any one particular group, whether racial, or national, or religious, which betrays men into persecution of other groups is not the perfect good. All of Protestantism suffers from an oversimplification of ethics. We assume people to be good or bad, and do not realize how bad good people can be in certain situations. We need more science, more intelligence, to guide men in their group contacts. When I reflect upon how many of the finest values of human life are involved and even wasted in group loyalties I am not sure that we ought to throw them out and substitute a higher kind of selfishness. But I am sure that if we cannot impress on the minds of good people how their virtues turn into vices by the limitations of their minds we cannot overcome these most sinister conflicts of life between group and group. We need intelligence, not only to emancipate ourselves from these limitations, but to direct the resources we possess so that they will be fruitful in social consequences. We cannot assume, as perhaps modern religion has assumed too readily, that when people mean to do right they will do right. Religion is right to emphasize motives rather than consequences of moral actions, but even that emphasis cannot absolve us of the responsibility of following our actions through to see what the consequences are. Mother love, however deep and true, is no guaranty that all mothers are pedagogically effective. For instance, last night in the sleeper we were kept awake all night by the hysteria of a good mother whose child was very sick. She was in terrible consternation because of the illness of her child. When she was taken off the train by a doctor, the old porter said: "You know, that lady ought not to be surprised her baby was sick, because she gives him ice cold milk." I do not know whether the porter was right, but I could easily see how the mother's instability might have been responsible for the illness of the child. I do not think I need to enlarge upon the idea, to a group of social workers, that the instincts and the fine sentiment of motherhood need scientific direction.

We need more intelligence, not only in directing the sentiment of good will, which is the natural birthright of all, but we need more intelligence in self-analysis. We all need not become psychiatrists before we can become preachers or social workers, but I realize more and more that it is becoming increasingly important to know what is inside of things, to know why people act as they do act. The church which honestly preaches repentance is not in the modern day scientific enough to help people as it ought, to discover where their real weaknesses lie. The church challenges people to repent, not of significant sins, but of those that are less significant, and thus helps to obscure the real mean-

ing of sin. People repent frantically of some petty sin and keep on in some major sin. Many a man has repented for not being tender enough to his wife when he should have repented for his sins of greed and gain. There are many men who are held back, just as good as you and I, but in more danger because they have more power, who could be helped if it were disclosed to them what kind of imperialisms live at the heart of every individual. It is true of us all that if we are not helped to repress our desires we will live at somebody else's expense and make other people the tools of our desires. It seems to me all along the line, in analyzing the ills of society and our own limitations, that we need, if we are going to live together harmoniously, more intelligence and more scientific method.

But this is bringing coals to Newcastle in this kind of audience. You people are convinced that mankind is perishing in ignorance and will be saved by enlightenment. I am not sure that that is true altogether. I think there are some forces in life that might be called the ultra-rational forces as contrasted with the rational ones, which must be maintained and preserved by trying to become intelligent; and perhaps the same intelligence which saves us from some of our limitations destroys these religious and moral forces, so that sometimes we are in the position of destroying virtue by the same forces by which we mitigate our vices. First, I mean that all morality and social life are based upon reverence for personality, and that is not altogether rational; it is religious. While there are some individuals who may maintain it, on the whole society cannot permanently maintain reverence for personality without a continual rejuvenation of its religious power. Love is not altogether rational; mother love is not. What we find in mother love is typical of all religion and all morality. You cannot love people if you are altogether reasonable. The best you can do is to be guided by a kind of refined pity which is not much more than contempt. I was talking to a friend not long ago who told me how greatly he loved Walt Whitman's writings. I told him there were some things in Walt Whitman I did not like so well; he seemed to me the decadence of the romanticism that glorified nature as against the achievements of human society. He said "I like the animals, they are so peaceful and content and never lie awake nights fretting about their sins." I replied that was the thing I feared in him. A perfect example of the decadence I see in him is the glorification of bovine serenity. The fretfulness of mankind is simply a symptom of self transcendence that puts man above nature. If anybody wanted to hate people, or to hold them in contempt, I can see how it could be done easily by regarding their fretfulness. It requires imagination and a will to love in order to reveal these higher qualities of the human mind and heart. The complexities of human nature are so great that if one approaches them with contempt he will find evidence to feed his contempt; but if he approaches with reference he will secure evidence to feed his reference and to justify it. You cannot love unless you will to love.

I often wonder whether it must not be uncomfortable to be the wife of a

psychiatrist; not that love is based upon an illusion which an exact science dispels, but that it is quite possible to be so analytical of details that a view of the whole is apt to escape one. I do not wish to imply that everyone who is trained to scientific methods fails in this religious insight; only we cannot take it for granted. Is it not after all quite possible, in our careful analysis of human beings, to lose a sense of purpose and loveliness in the whole?

It seems to me that however we may direct by scientific method the generosity and the affection of the human heart, we must regard it a problem of modern life how to maintain these original resources. Take mother love, for instance, and the need of mothers to be pedagogically effective. It is obvious that the same kind of civilization which creates that kind of intelligence has in it a sophistication which makes motherhood impossible. Is it not significant that people who are most capable of training children should so frequently not have them? That is not funny; it is a characteristic of modern life. Not only is reverence for life an ultra-rational force, but the willingness to live for the sake of some social good. You can persuade people that if they continue the struggle for survival without qualification it will result in disaster. You can persuade the strong to help the weak by discovering to them the ways in which the weak may corrupt the strong. Many a slum has been cleaned up because social workers have persuaded the strong that the diseases that come out of the slum are not isolated there. You may qualify man's struggle for power and for existence by prudence, but finally I do not believe you can build the ideal community without religiously, irrationally qualifying man's will to power by showing him that he must lose his life in order to save it. There is no spiritual growth except by sacrifice. Whenever people sacrifice an immediate joy for an ultimate good it may be rational and reasonable, but not from an immediate consideration. That is why man has crucified his saviors. There are some people imaginative enough to be true to high claims; but on the whole loyalty to an ultimate value as against loyalty to an immediate interest is an ultra-rational achievement.

One of my favorite characters of history is that greatest of all saints, St. Francis of Assisi. I was telling the story of how, rich young man that he was, living in the pride of his inheritance, suddenly he saw the light and went into the business of humbling himself before the lowly, and finally expressed his humility by kissing a leper, which his father thought unreasonable. A young friend of mine asked, "Did it help the leper?" which raises the question whether the religious man is always socially effective. Italy looked upon him and was drawn to him first by a sense of bewilderment at his irrationalities, then by a sense of admiration when it was realized that ultimately he was rational and was living a life to which the reasonableness of the ordinary human mind could not aspire.

The use of power is a religious and a moral business. One of the great mistakes of some of us is the belief that race conflicts and other types of group

conflicts are due alone to misunderstandings which will be resolved by superior intelligence. It is not true. It is the will of the privileged group to maintain its privileges, and sacrifice of the privileges of a group for the sake of another is always unreasonable, and it is religious. If we are ever going to build the ideal community we shall have to have a religious restraint upon the expansive desires, not only of individuals, but also of groups, not unlike that now so much desired between nation and nation. As long as the strong nations are unwilling to cultivate restraint you cannot hope to have world peace.

There is another ultra-rational factor to be taken into consideration. That is the factor of hope, the confidence that all our struggles will avail. Sophisticated people suffer from moral ennui. They say, like the prophet of old, "Vanity of vanities." Everything we do to build a new world will be in vain from an immediate perspective; and shortsighted, even intelligent, people will say, "What's the use?" They can discover weaknesses in everybody and everything, because nothing that anybody regards as true is so true that intelligence cannot discover a flaw in it. Always in periods of extreme enlightenment many men have succumbed to world weariness.

The tasks of keeping up the struggle for an ethical world, that of maintaining all diligence in the name of an ethical ideal, that of sacrificing private pride for the sake of brotherhood—all these seem irrational, foolish; and the only people who can maintain themselves in such tasks are the fanatics who have some inner resource, some inner light, some inner imagination, and are not willing to believe that all this confusion and excess is the final thing about the world, but that at the heart of the world there is order, and a purpose, a Father. We shall not agree how to bring about this purpose and this order in the universe. Some of you will emphasize personality more than others; some of you will believe that at the heart of things there is purpose and good will and something relevant to these personal values to which we give ourselves.

Oswald Spengler observes that you can trace the rise and fall of civilization by the way cosmetics are used. He says there is a certain period when they are used as substitutes for health. Now it is the way of an imperfect art to attempt to obscure the imperfections of nature and thus to destroy the illusions one wants to create, as when one wants to give the picture of health, but usually the cheeks are too red and the object aimed at is not achieved. Then he says in all civilizations has come a period when cosmetics have been used, not at all to portray vigor, but pallor; to simulate, not life, but death; for when civilization reaches a certain period it counts death more valuable than life. Social workers belong to those classes of society who are easily tempted to become too sophisticated to love, to sacrifice, to hope, to live. The problem of modern life is to make people intelligent and yet preserve their naïveté, for there is wisdom in naïveté. There is something in it that the purely intelligent person lacks. We must preserve our scientific outlook upon life and still have the poetic outlook upon life. Poetry is always using symbols, as is reli-

gion. The two most dangerous types of people are those who insist that these symbols are exact definitions of great realities and those people who insist that if they are not so, they are only fancy. The religious person who insists that every symbol is a fact is no more in error than the scientific person who insists that all poetry and all religion is phantasy. We need the scientific approach to all of life's problems, and a religious perception of the total meaning of things, and a commitment to what is best in life and best in the world itself. Put into the very simple words of one who was wiser than the rest of us: "Except ye become as little children ye cannot enter the kingdom of God."

AMERICA'S BASIC HUMAN NEEDS:
FROM THE STANDPOINT OF INDUSTRY

John A. Lapp, Marquette University, Milwaukee

The privilege of summing up the work of the Memphis conference under the title "America's Basic Human Needs" is one which I am sure my colleagues as well as myself welcome, because it gives opportunity to bring together some of the threads of this Conference, which has been devoting considerable time to the question of the survival of the fittest and the law of natural selection, to the rights of human beings as against the forces that would undermine and destroy them.

We in this Conference, in the twelve divisions and the thirty or more affiliated groups, are devoting ourselves in the main to the technique of the various jobs at which we are engaged, whether caring for the dependent child, for the broken family, for the criminal, for the immigrant, or having to do with any one of the numerous ways in which disaster strikes and human breakdown results. The great basic human need of this time is that those of us engaged in these activities shall once in awhile consider the whole problem of human welfare, see the whole range from the beginning causes of deterioration, on down through their workings to the calamities which come to us and with which we must deal. We have been doing that of course to a great degree. When a disaster comes upon us we search for the cause of it; if sickness comes, we seek the cause; if accidents happen, we go back to the beginning to see if in the future they cannot be prevented; if positive evils come upon us, we turn our attention to the causes that bring these things about. We have been pretty active in looking at the positive causes of disaster. We have not been effective enough as yet in attending to the negative causes of disaster. When we see an evil we can arouse the public consciousness to it, but we do not always see our failures to provide those things without which human beings cannot be safeguarded against the many causes of breakdown which surround them. We see the necessity for campaigns against sickness, but we see all too little the need for campaigns for better health; we see campaigns

against certain of the disasters that come from the lack of economic stability, but we do not look enough to the negative causes, to the lack of a living wage, the lack of steady employment, the lack of certainty that men and their families may have sufficient to live upon in frugal comfort. We see the breakdown of human beings in the form of delinquency and crime, and look again to the positive causes, turning our attention all too infrequently to those failures on our part to provide from the beginning of life those things to safeguard boys and girls against the causes of moral decay. We see the form of disaster that comes to human beings in our agencies, but we fail to couple with it our failure to provide adequately for the kind of education that will make men and women capable of achievement and make it less likely that they will fail on account of lack of achievement. We fail to view such things as vocational education as a means of putting into human beings vocational powers that will make it more certain that they will be self supporting, and continuously so. We do not think enough about vocational guidance as a means of fitting human beings to the kind of work they can do, and thereby making it less likely that men and women will go astray from the lack of being happily fitted to the occupations in which they engage. We forget that continuing education is essential if we are going to have men and women adjusting themselves to the new strains and stresses put upon them. So I think one of the great basic needs of our times is that we shall give our attention more to the negative dangers, to our failures to provide, equally as much against the negative dangers as we now do against the positive dangers that bring evident wreck in their path.

And when we turn to these negative causes we need to give more attention to the industrial life of our people. We must give increased attention to such questions as wages, as better health with industry, such questions as relate to the creation of a self supporting, confident people. We can do that only by realizing that we have a human interest in the way in which industry itself is managed. One of our great present day social needs is to make men who are responsible for business management understand that industry, that society, that all our institutions are run for the benefit of man, and not man for the benefit of industry, or of society, or of institutions.

We must realize also that in the accomplishment of these ends there are other agencies within our reach which we can use for the buttressing and the safeguarding of human beings in industry and outside of it. Particularly must we be ready at all times to use the social organization that we know as the state to safeguard, protect, and promote the welfare of human beings. I have scant patience with the men and women who are spreading on every hand the idea that we ought not to depend upon government agencies, that governments are instruments of oppression, rather than cooperative means of welfare. I look upon the government as being the great means of social reform and of social protection; in fact about the only source to which human beings can turn,

confident that there is power enough there to protect them against those adverse forces everywhere surrounding them.

Most of all, in these matters of human welfare we need to have an understanding far more widespread than today of the causes of human disaster. We need to have permeating industry and legislative halls and executive mansions everywhere an understanding why it is that people are poor, and of the means that may be used to prevent constant recurrence of things that make them poor. We need not only to have understanding, but a passion to understand; and not only that, but in the interest of human beings we need to have a passion for justice, a passion for justice to all men, and especially to the great body of men and women who are too weak or too poor to secure justice for themselves.

A passion for understanding, a passion for justice, and these passions permeating all of the forces that are now powerful in shaping the destinies of human kind—when these passions pervade the masses of men responsible for industrial action and for state action we will see created a safer world in which people may live. We will not then have, as we have today, the survival of the fittest; we will have "the fitting of as many as possible to survive."

AMERICA'S BASIC HUMAN NEEDS:

FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE CHILD AND THE LAW

Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary, Children's Aid Society, New York City

I was delighted, when I opened my program of this Conference, to find that our Conference has expressed so definitely its courage in facing a subject of this character. As I have attended the sessions and listened to the discussions of the many types of social service the members of the Conference render I have become impressed anew with the extent to which we are all seeking to penetrate to the very depth of our national needs. But I have wondered whether we get so engrossed with the specific task on which we are engaged that we fail to do that which Dr. Lapp has suggested: to look at the whole. However busy and burdened we may be with our particular jobs, it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that an interpretation of human needs changes from time to time, and that we may sometimes find ourselves in the position of being overrighteous in our zeal but not right in our program. There is a distinction between the two. All the religious wars waged in history have been righteous in their motive—but they have been very wrong.

I can remember the time when thousands of dollars were spent in every town in the land putting up horse drinking fountains; and before that time, and still more recently, great buildings have been erected with heavily wrought doors to incarcerate our unfortunate insane. The process still goes on of building gigantic institutions to take care of orphans who, according to what is

supposed to be a law of nature, are entitled to one or two parents apiece. And so we go through these processes of doing what seems the obvious and necessary next step, apparently without stopping to recognize that whatever we do, and from whatever motives, there are two laws which we cannot violate and go unpunished: we cannot violate the law of nature, and we cannot violate the law of economic life. It is not necessary to argue these propositions in this audience; but as Dr. Lapp has suggested, we have been very zealous in seeking out the causes of the ills of humanity so far as we could reach them, but a little lax in looking farther to discover where we have failed. For instance, our progress in public health work has lengthened life; we have some degree of disease control; epidemics have been almost wiped out. Some progress has been made in other fields, but we must not be so blindly optimistic as to consider that we have reached a point where we can rest on our laurels. There are still about a million babies who die at birth every year in this country, and about a million who die in the first year of life. There are about 10 per cent of our people who are illiterate, and approximately 40 per cent of our people who reach the middle period of life (the age of sixty-five) and spend the rest of their years in poverty. All over the country are graveyards filled with those whose last resting place is a potter's field. And we have not abolished war. We have been very solicitous for the universal peace of the world, but we have gone beyond our own fabulous domains with armed forces to tell Russia, and Mexico, and China, and Nicaragua how to run their own countries. We have adapted the Twenty-third Psalm: We are the Filipino's shepherd, he shall not want. We make him to lie down.

Dr. Lapp has spoken of the necessity for developing higher standards of life in the economic world. The fact is, we have changed, largely by the methods of social workers and collateral agencies, the nature of the surroundings of our youth. The old-fashioned home in America is gone except in some of the remote rural sections where the roads are so poor that even a Ford has not been able to penetrate. The old type of school is gone except in the same environment; also the church, with the hold it formerly had upon us. In government, in theology, in education, in domestic life, authority has been pushed off the stage, and the stage has been taken by persuasion and reason. No longer can we stand before our youth and say, "Do as I tell you or you will be damned." He is likely to turn upon us and tell us we shall be anyway.

The fact is that social service efforts, the kind of work you and I are engaged in, sacred to us and important to the small group here and to our associates, has reached the point in this part of the world where it is inevitable that we shall go back or that we shall go forward. We have done our best to interfere with the laws of nature which sometimes are ruthless and interested only in the propagation of life and a further and more perfect adaptation to its surroundings. We have interfered with them. We have prevented the infant from dying; we have compelled the survival of the unfit. Now, having taken

nature's laws into our own hands, the obligation is upon us. We have incurred the duty to go still farther in our social welfare efforts and see that the unfit are made fit. We cannot afford to close our eyes to the fact that if we leave this job halfway, as we have been inclined to leave it, we are tipping the scales all the heavier against the further improvement of the human stock; and it is futile to spend our time and thought in arguing that after all the race is pretty good and we ought not to worry. Perhaps we ought not to worry, but we must keep on working, because the race is not pretty good—not yet. It is better than it was in the old days when savages roamed the woods and made stone hammers with which to beat out their living. We have gone many steps beyond that; but we must recognize that the human race is still in the process of being born. Browning truly says "Man's self is not yet man! Nor shall I deem his object served, his end attained, his genuine strength put fairly forth, while only here and there a star dispels the darkness, here and there a towering mind o'erlooks its prostrate fellows. When the host is out at once to the despair of night, when all mankind alike is perfected, equal in full-blown powers—then, not till then, I say, begins man's general infancy!"

One significant fact is that there is a hub for all our work, a place where we all join at one point, and it is this: that youth is the solution. All our sacrifice, all our interest, all our passion focuses there. Unless we can improve the next generation it does not matter how proficient we are; our job is a failure. The man who says the human race is pretty good, as good as we could expect, is simply blind. To reproduce a generation as good as the present is not progress; the next generation must be better than the present one. There never was a time in the history of the world when so efficient and so concentrated an effort has been made to commit human suicide, and numberless graves are now filled with those who dedicated their lives to this ghastly program, and no human problem was solved. We need a generation better than the present, and still another better than that.

In bringing our service to the youth of the present day there are a few things we must realize and attempt to contribute to their training. It is impossible to conceive of bringing back the old conditions, the old environment. We must adapt the new surroundings, the new ways of living to the new generation instead of criticizing and condemning and fearing and worrying about youth. Let us take them into our confidence and show them all we have learned, which perhaps is not so much after all, but at any rate set them on the road to learning more. We must be consistent. We teach them to revere our laws—the laws we break; we teach them not to live beyond their means, while we live on the instalment plan; we preach to them the old creeds which we have ourselves repudiated; we teach them that every democratic government rests upon a foundation of universal education, but carry on this army of from five to ten million illiterates; we tell them that child life is sacred, while we carry on down into the future another army of a million of little boys and girls tied

to the wheels of industry and commerce. Every baby born into the world is entitled to a perfect birth growing out of intelligent, sanctified forethought, desire, and love; yet we perpetuate upon our statute books laws which make it absolutely impossible for thousands of children to come into the world otherwise than as the result of unbridled passion and ignorance. There are a great many of these inconsistencies which show how far we social workers and others have come from digging into the causes and attempting to find within ourselves clues to so many maladjustments.

The programs of the past week have brought us a broader vision and made us realize that however essential the specific task in which we are engaged, the important thing is to reach out as far as possible to grasp the whole problem of our nation's needs and join hands with all the forces of nature of whatever name, to make this country the land of opportunity for every last and farthest child, and also a source of inspiration and assistance to the other nations of the world.

THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRY UPON THE ORIENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE WEST

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If there is any one outstanding pull upon Oriental interest in the West, it is industrialism. We hear much about extra-territoriality, commercial exploitation, imperialism, spheres of interest. But behind all of these and regardless of whatever designs western imperialists may be harboring against the Orient (and for my purposes this means Japan, China, and India), the Orient is thinking how it may adapt and utilize western industrialism for its own purposes. This attitude of the Orient and the moves which have been made in the direction of industrialism are of tremendous interest to the sociologist. He is permitted, so to speak, to sit in on an intimate showing of moving-picture sections of the drama of the industrial revolution as it was played upon the stage of Europe and America during the earlier part of the nineteenth century.

Japan, China, and India are experiencing the first impact of modern industrialism. Of these three countries, Japan represents the most thoroughgoing approach to modern industrialism. As I have said elsewhere, if the question were asked, What does the Orient think of modern industry? Japan would probably reply: "It is here," and accept it as a matter of course. China, in all probability, would answer: "It is inevitable and to be welcomed. China may be the future industrial center of the world, but the movement should be controlled by Chinese for Chinese." India would probably admit: "It is inevitable, in spite of Mr. Gandhi and the attempted boycott on western commerce, industry, and economic imperialism."

In this discussion I shall try to stick closely to an analysis of this indus-

trial impact. I was interested to find that Japan, a small island, comparatively poor, should have made the greatest advance toward industrialism. There is in this situation an interesting parallel to English history. Japan is far poorer in natural resources than England. Her iron ore is limited in quantity and poor in quality. Coal is low grade, expensive to mine, and for the most part rather remote from industrial centers. Copper exists, but not in sufficient quantities for industrial needs. Lumber is plentiful, but not equal in quality to imports from Canada and the United States. Even in the matter of food supply Japan is handicapped. She has practically reached her limits of agricultural self support. Only about one-fourth of the area of the Empire is arable land, and the present area of cultivated land is open to little extension. Farms on the main islands are but little more than intensively hand worked market gardens. In spite of the assiduous labor of a traditionally industrious people, Japan cannot feed herself. In 1926 she imported over 350,000,000 yen worth of foodstuffs, and last year probably had to buy about 30,000,000 bushels of rice from abroad. Japan is now feeding about 60,000,000 persons, that is, about double the number of mouths she had half a century ago.

Because of these facts the Japanese are becoming increasingly aware that their destiny is industrial and that poverty of natural resources, and especially inability to grow sufficient food, must be compensated by industrial skill and export ability. Within a generation, therefore, Japan has begun to manifest most of the stigmata of modern industrialism: railroads, docks, warehouses, postal administration, telephone, automobiles, large scale advertising, industrial research, smoke, noise, housing congestion, slums, high cost of living, and high wages, as Oriental standards go. While Japan is still predominantly agricultural, the population has begun to move in torrents toward the cities. From 1898 to 1925 the proportion of the total population living in cities of over 100,000 nearly doubled; in cities from 50,000 to 100,000, more than trebled. During the same period the proportion in the smaller towns and rural districts dropped from 82.3 per cent to 63.4 per cent of the total. In thirty years cities like Osaka and Kobe quadrupled in population. Yokohama trebled. Old centers like Kyoto and Hiroshima doubled.

The factory system has reached its largest development in the Osaka and Tokyo districts, and is spreading out in every direction. Factories are growing in size. About half employ less than 15 persons; nearly 85 per cent, less than 30 persons; only 3 per cent, from 101 to 500 workers. Yet from 1909-1922 factories of from 6 to 10 workers increased only 35 per cent; those of from 16 to 30 actually decreased by one-third; while those of from 501 to over 1,000 more than tripled.

Contrary to the general expectation, in the last fifteen years there has been a striking decrease in the relative proportion of women employed in Japanese factories. The proportion of women has dropped from 61.6 per cent in 1909 to 50.7 per cent in 1922. During the same period the proportion of men in-

creased from 38.4 per cent to 49.3 per cent. As Dr. Ayusawa points out, however, it must not be inferred from these figures that male labor has been supplanting female labor. The shift is due largely to the development of mechanical and chemical industries where men are more desirable than women, whose services are in demand by the textile industry, where they predominate.

Wages in Japan are such as to yield the highest standard of living in the Orient, but they can hardly be considered munificent. Real wages have apparently increased considerably since the beginning of the great war. While the general price index has risen over 100 per cent, wages have increased more than 250 per cent.

The most outstanding aspects of the present industrial situation in Japan seem to be the employers' concern over unemployment, a government accepting the policy of real democracy and a genuine labor movement, an admirable program for conservation of natural resources, particularly water power, and the fear of foreign immigration on the part of the labor movement.

In some ways the Japanese labor movement has an affinity with America, for example, in its General Federation, like our American Federation of Labor, with even more dissension over the measure of local autonomy. In two other points the Japanese labor movement is more akin to Europe: that is, in the mutual sympathy between Japanese intellectuals and labor and in the recent movement of organized labor to enter more definitely into politics somewhat after the model of the British Labor Party.

Japanese industrial leaders contemplate rising to a larger world trade program (witnessed, for example, by a recent movement which places the Nippon Yusen Kaisha in third place amongst the great shipping services of the world by its addition of 13 vessels costing \$40,000,000 to a fleet serving 80 ports all over the world). In somewhat the same spirit Japanese labor has been asserting its power, perhaps not so constructively, and yet no less effectively. The history of strikes in Japan during the period of the war and for a number of years since indicates a pretty steady progression in the number of strikes and in the total number of workers involved. In the eleven years from 1914 to 1924 there were 2,908 strikes involving 437,120 workers. The longest strike in Japanese industrial history, lasting 217 days, has recently been settled through a compromise and government mediation.

This government mediation is an interesting indication of the fact that Japanese factory legislation is actually functioning. The Act of 1926 includes all of the basic employments, provides for sickness and accident compensation, discharge compensation, health and safety of women and minors, arbitration of labor disputes. In addition to this act there is actually in operation a government life insurance plan, and, beginning last year, an elaborate scheme of national health insurance including a contributory pension system.

This brief summary of Japanese industrial history is intensely reassuring in some ways. In barely one generation Japan has reached a point in protective

legislation which required nearly a century in England and the United States. The new industrialism means to the Japanese democracy social awareness, constructive legislation, and an increasingly high standard of living for a large population. The compensating dangers are the familiar old specters of slums, international conflicts and rivalries, and the loss of ancient indigenous handicrafts. If the Japanese leaders continue to develop their perception and alertness in handling the adverse stigmata of industrialism they will add strong testimony to the value of a century of social science, social reform agitation, social legislation, and social work in the West. For the Japanese have undoubtedly studied our history with care and are trying to give heed to our warnings and danger signals.

Industrialism in China is at a much more elementary stage of development than in Japan. China represents dramatic industrial contrasts ranging all the way from the medieval walled city with its equally medieval economics, city planning, sanitation, handicrafts, and guilds, to the highly organized large scale industrial plant such as is found in Hankow or Shanghai. The intrusion of western industrialism into this medieval Chinese civilization has been primarily along the seacoast and great inland waterways. The result is extreme spottiness. Spotted and uneven, however, as this impact of industry has been upon China, it moved with such speed and has acquired such momentum that in spite of civil war, political turmoil, dislocated education, boycotts, violence, and explosions of antiforeign feeling, industry has come to remain and to play a definite rôle in this ancient empire.

All gradations of industrial organization, from the small shop (which still predominates) to the factory of several thousand employees, may be found in this rather chaotic economic system. The largest Chinese industries include the following: egg preparation, asbestos, bone fertilizer, canneries (fish, bamboo, fruit, soy, etc.), cement and brick, chemicals and dyes, cotton mills, dockyards and shipbuilding, electric light and power (nearly 250!), flour mills, glass and porcelain, iron and steel (principally at Hankow, Shanghai, Tsinan, Tsingtao), match factories, oil cake and bean cake, paper mills, rope, saw mills, silk filatures (Hangchow, Shanghai, Canton, Wusih, Cheefo—chief centers), soap and candles, tobacco, woolen and knitted goods (almost entirely in Shanghai). Contrary to the general western belief, cotton mills, which are the largest features of Chinese industrialism, are primarily in Chinese hands.

For example, in 1925, 69 of these mills were Chinese, 49 foreign, with a capital, respectively, of 38,000,000 taels and 12,500,000 taels. As to workers, the Chinese mills employed nearly double those in the foreign mills, used nearly double the amount of yarn, and produced nearly five times the yardage of the foreign mills.

However, therefore, we may regard industrialism as such, it is scarcely accurate to say that Chinese workers are being exploited by western capitalists, at least directly. Nor is it accurate to say that the factory system in Chi-

na introduced exploitation of childhood. Such exploitation has existed in China for centuries. It exists now much more in small handicraft shops and in the rug industry than even in the silk filatures or cotton mills. If you are not convinced on this point, read Dame Adelaide Anderson's recent book, *Humanity and Labor in China*, or Chu and Blaisdell's *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys*.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that nothing needs to be done to protect China against a repetition of the unsavory early western history of industrialism. The Chinese themselves have asserted vigorously their protest against low wages, long hours, bad working conditions, unjust management, and other adverse conditions. The record of strikes during recent years offers poignant proof. From 1918 to 1925 strikes increased sevenfold. In 1926 alone, 535 strikes were reported, involving over half a million workers. These were not small strikes, either, for they averaged over 1,700 strikers per dispute. They were for the most part rather short, averaging slightly less than a week. The great majority of strikes have occurred, as might reasonably be expected, in the textile trades, with communication, transport, construction, and building following close after. Disorder is relatively infrequent. Less than 5 per cent required any interference of foreign police. About half of them might be termed successful strikes. Most of them were settled by conference or by outside mediation and arbitration.

A strong factor in the situation is the growth of the labor movement. There is no uniform pattern to labor organization, nor have we any absolute authentic facts as to the extent of labor organization. We know, however, that by 1926 the Third National Labor Conference attracted 400 delegates, representing over a million and a quarter organized workers. Since that time dissension within the Nationalist military and civil government has resulted in stern repressions of certain phases of the left wing of the Chinese labor movement.

It is difficult to say exactly what the present situation is. We know that the talk of Soviet activity in China was not mere prattle of certain brother fearfals. Russian agents have tried desperately to exploit the late Sun Yat Sen to their purposes. They have spent vast sums of money in propaganda. They attempted to dominate the whole Nationalist civil and military administration. They attempted to capture the labor movement. Chinese delegates attended the conference of the Red Internationale of Labor Unions at Moscow in August, 1924. Nevertheless, Sovietism has by no means a clear field in China. The vicious, unregenerate Russian imperialism having become more and more clearly apparent under its thin and specious mask of Communism, Russian influence is apparently on the decline. China is developing a group of young, able leaders in the universities, industry itself, and sympathetic agencies like the Y.M.C.A. It is interesting to note that the former head of the National Industrial Committee of the Y.M.C.A. in China has recently gone to serve as English secretary to Chiang Kai Chek, the present leader of the Nationalist cause.

The difficulties in China resolve themselves primarily into the lack of a strong centralized government and the lack of adequate internal transportation. For a country of nearly 2,000,000 square miles and a population of 300,000,000-400,000,000, China still has scarcely more than 7,000 miles of railroad, and most of these are at present on paper because of the neglect, breakdown, and destruction of railways by the various rival militarists. The lack of any strong central government has made utterly impossible anything in the way of general labor legislation regulating hours of work, health, accident prevention, or any of the other items in the protective legislation enjoyed by both Japan and India. China enjoys the advantages of a sturdy, industrious, skilful population and tremendous natural resources. But her population is badly distributed. Just now a tremendous migration is going on from Shantung into Manchuria. It is estimated that from 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 are on the trek at this moment. But in spite of all of these dislocations of population, of orderly business, and of peaceful labor relations, Chinese foreign trade doubled from 1915 to 1924, and Chinese industry has been growing steadily in spite of all the handicaps and the tribute it has had to pay to local militarists.

What should be the attitude of the western liberal toward Chinese industrialism? The Chinese problem is complicated. Probably the largest part of China's billion dollar foreign debt is owed by foreign financiers. At least a third of this is very inadequately secured. This creates a restiveness and uncertainty on the part of bondholders whose investments press for protection. The liberal deplors the use of armed forces to secure these loans. When it comes to the use of police or military for the protection of foreign life, we jump onto different ground. So long as business, professional activity, or missionary effort are invited and welcomed with a certain promise at least of adequate protection if this protection breaks down through the crumbling and bankruptcy of the political and social order, the ordinary minimum requirements of civilization dictate that order must be maintained even through outside interference. And this must not be interpreted as a plea for imperialism or a general policy of meddling in other people's affairs. It is an attitude that is required, if for no other reason, by the fact that the world's health and peace is at stake and that no breeding center for disease and disorder can be tolerated in world centers which wield a huge influence upon the destiny of the rest of the world by virtue of geographical position or teeming population.

Does this mean that western business should retire from China? Not at all. As a matter of fact, the Chinese do not desire that foreign capital shall pack up and leave. A well informed Chinese leader put it to me in this way:

The Chinese are not blindly against foreign capitalism. The leaders of thought already realize that unless they have the application of foreign capital and the employment of experienced foreigners, no great scheme for the development of the natural resources of China is possible. The late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, in his *Industrial Problems of China*, said that in effect. Only he laid down two criterions: The capital must be applied in the most profitable manner, and also the sovereignty of China must not be infringed.

On the other hand, this means that all of the foreign powers and western financial interests concerned should strive in their own interest, if not for the interest of China, to bring about political stability and order and to end the régime of civil war which has so long cursed the Inner Kingdom.

But what about extra-territoriality? This is a knotty industrial, as well as political, problem which cannot be answered with a categorical "yes" or "no." Within the last few weeks a move toward a better *modus vivendi*, for example, in Shanghai, has been made whereby at last representatives of the Chinese taxpayers have been elected to the municipal council. The amazing efficiency and attractiveness of the Chinese treaty ports is almost entirely due to the work of foreign engineers, business executives, and honest foreign heads of the several governmental departments. What will be the effect of the relinquishment of extra-territoriality upon these cities? Perhaps it is not fair to call attention to what has already happened to the Russian concession in Tientsin since it was abandoned to Chinese administration. But let me quote a recent letter received from a very high-minded American engineer in the service of one of the treaty port administrations. He says, "Local relations with the Chinese are excellent, and eventually this concession will be handed over to them. We will go home then. I do not mind working with or for them, but do want my salary paid. Chinese officials have to get used to doing without pay checks and making it up in other ways."

In closing this very inadequate diagnosis of Chinese industrialism, let me quote from *Three Wise Men of the East* my sober-minded statement of the situation in China:

One's first conclusion is that the impact of modern industry upon China must produce even more of a social cataclysm than in Europe, for several reasons: first, because of the chronic overpopulation, or, what amounts to the same thing, bad distribution of surplus population; second, because of the almost incredibly low standard of living acquiesced in by long custom and habit; third, the almost universal illiteracy; fourth, the lack of strong centralized government, with the resultant business uncertainty and tendency for local military adventurers to trade concessions for arms or money. This same lack of central government makes any national labor standards mere words. Finally, the peculiarly intensive family system upon which Chinese society is built. If this were to break, as it has broken in the West before the factory and economic individualism, Chinese society must crumble into dust and nothingness; for social structure cannot be thrown together overnight like a revolutionists' barricade.

Yet a more careful estimate of the situation need not leave one pessimistic. The new mass education, the development of at least a measure of real national sentiment, the spread of a vigorous labor movement, and the sheer abilities of the Chinese people themselves argue that China will not be an easy victory for the industrial exploiter, but may work out a type of industrialism consonant with her national genius and unattended by some of the noxious by-products which the West in its pioneering days did not or could not avoid. I have a profound respect for the demonstrated capacity of the Chinese people. And they are by no means at the end of their historical rôle. If I were a victim of that national and racial hysteria which has afflicted some American self-appointed guardians of Aryan and Nordic destinies I should not worry about the Japanese or the Malaysians or the Indians; but I should keep my weather eye upon the Chinese, for the meek shall inherit the earth.

The pattern of Indian industrialism resembles much nearer the Chinese than the Japanese. It is similar to both in the predominance of agriculture, but it differs from Japan in that its industry supports scarcely more than 10 per cent of the total population. In China there has been a tendency for the population to move to industrial centers, but not so rapidly as in Japan. The same situation holds for India, where the process of urbanization has been very slow during the past thirty years. The increase, as a matter of fact, was less than 1 per cent. Nevertheless, the trend is characteristic, for statistics show that while towns with populations above 50,000 increased by over 16 per cent in the decade between the last two Indian censuses, the increase was considerably less in towns between 5,000 and 50,000, while the population of towns between 10,000 and 20,000 did not keep pace with the increase of the general population. That is, the statistics revealed the general decadence of the medium sized country town and the growth of the larger cities through the influence of commercial and industrial development.

From an occupational standpoint, organized industries account for only 1 per cent of the population. While it is true that industry supports about 10 per cent of the total population, the bulk of these people are engaged in "unorganized industries connected with the supply of personal and household necessities and the simple implements of work."

From the standpoint of allocating responsibility for Indian industry we must remember that European companies own the majority of the tea gardens of Assam and Bengal. The indigo, rubber, and part of the coffee plantations are also European owned, although the coffee plantations of Mysore are largely owned by Indians. Most of the large collieries of Bengal are held by European companies. A large majority of the so-called private collieries belong to Indians. The cotton industry of Western India is almost entirely Indian. The larger jute mills of Bengal have been mostly in European hands, but the smaller presses are largely Indian owned, and even the bigger plants tend to gravitate toward Indian hands, which now own between 60 and 70 per cent of their capital stock. The rice and flour mills, the brick and tile mills, with the exception of a few large concerns, are in the hands of Indians. The greatest steel works are controlled by Indians, particularly by the Parsees. The railroads are working toward a policy of complete "Indianization" in ten years.

The Indian coal mining situation is in a state perilously like that of American mines: capacity is overexpanded and considerably exceeds consumption. But this is not typical of Indian trade or industry in general. Tea exports from India more than doubled from 1898 to 1925. From China they were cut in half during the same period. The jute industry has also increased sharply. From 1879 to 1924-25 the number of mills increased nearly fourfold, invested capital nearly eightfold, number of employees about ninefold, and exports by sea multiplied thirty-three times in value. Indian cotton mills during about the same period increased over 500 per cent in number, over 700 per cent in employees,

and about 700 per cent in the amount of cotton used. In this connection it is interesting to note that in spite of all of the denunciation of the British occupation and its supposed crushing of the Indian cotton industry, India now supplies from her own mills nearly two-thirds of the total Indian consumption. Within the last fifteen years more miles of railway have been added to India than you can find actually going in the whole of China.

Here are other interesting economic factors: Deposits of exchange banks increased over three hundred times from 1870 to 1923, whereas population increased only 20 per cent during that same period. While it is true that checks cleared through the clearing houses increased nearly twenty-five fold in the quarter-century from 1901 to 1924, it is still true that in that later year Indians enjoyed the services of only one bank to every 218,000 of the total population, while the United States reported one bank to approximately every 3,800 people. This is one of the great handicaps, not only of Indian industry, but also of the economic advance of the common people. The common people still resort to the money lenders who exploit them hideously. But the cooperative bank is now making rapid strides and tends to build up the morale of the working people and also to give them experience in cooperative economic endeavor.

The story of Indian factory conditions bears some resemblance to the story of city overcrowding, slums, high mortality rates, strikes familiar to every student of western industrialism. But the Indians enjoy a double advantage over the West. They have developed a not inconsiderable labor movement and they have a truly remarkable labor code. This social legislation began its course with the Factory Act of 1882. This Act has been amended at intervals until now it is so measurably adequate as to bring India into international conference as one of the signatories of the constitution of the League of Nations and as a party to the International Labor Conferences. About a million and a quarter workers are protected by Indian factory legislation, and steady pressure for improvement comes every year from the All-India Trade Union Congress and other labor bodies.

The Indian labor movement, like Indian industry itself, is still tentative and spotty. It is hampered by differences in language, caste, religious prejudices, and a generally unsettled character in the working population itself. These handicaps are still further increased by a lack of labor leadership of notable ability or seasoned experience. But as in Japan and China, a certain number of the intellectual and university groups have cast their lot with labor and are working hard to weld into a really significant whole the scattered more or less sporadic and inarticulate elements in the industrial working population. Strikes are by no means unknown. As I write strikes and lockouts have dislocated Indian steel and cotton mills. It is significant that these disorders are in distinctively Indian plants under native ownership.

The impact of industry upon India has really just begun. But because of the British Raj and a hundred years of industrial experience, India has escaped the full measure of

evil which attended the earlier stages of modern industrialism in Europe and America. Some of the stigmata are, however, painfully apparent. It is doubtful if industry as such and single handed can solve India's problem of poverty. Personally, I believe India must remain predominantly agricultural for an indefinite period, and that therefore preoccupation with needs of the cultivator is imperative. But this does not mean neglect of industrial workers, trade, banks, employment management, or legislation for social welfare. Nor have they been overlooked. Were it not for certain facts inherent in the Indian situation, industrial history there might have been much less colored by unhappy by-products. In both China and India tradition of passivity and resignation, overpopulation, and illiteracy have hampered industrial efficiency on the one hand, and organized labor protest on the other.

Let me summarize briefly: Apparently the imperatives in the oriental situation are: first, that Japan must industrialize and is rapidly on the way to an industrial career. Japan has the advantages of growing democracy, of social awareness, and a good start in social legislation. She is running into the danger of city congestion, slums, loss of her ancient indigenous art, and international conflict over supplies and markets. She must cultivate our friendship, for America is her best customer: we take three-quarters of her exports. China cannot go much farther on an industrial career, in spite of her favorable conditions with regard to population and natural resources, unless she is able to set up a strong central government capable at least of legislating modern standards of industry and enforcing those standards. She is handicapped by illiteracy, lack of adequate transportation, badly distributed population, a habit of "squeeze" or graft, and the mortal threat of industry against the traditional Chinese social unit, namely, the family. India can develop industrialism only gradually. While the proportion of large-scale industry is growing, the tendency for machines to displace men prevents any rapid industrialization of the population. India is also handicapped by pitiable illiteracy, lack of capital and banking facilities, the prevalence of caste, and language differences. She has the advantage of abundant raw materials, excellent transportation, and stable government.

What may the West do for the Orient through industrialism? I should say that the West may set an example of fair dealing by keeping contracts and refusing to conform to or take advantage of the oriental habit of "squeeze" or graft. In the second place, the West can share even more fully than it has done its experience with industrialism to prevent a repetition of its blunders. Third, we may help the Orient to bring up its level of living by loaning it experts, by sending it the industrial missionaries that it craves, by encouraging technical education and every possible means of balancing population and resources. Thus we may make possible real intercourse between East and West without those migration barriers which are inevitable wherever there are gross discrepancies between standards of living. Finally, we may, by taking heed ourselves, disprove the charge that industrial civilization is a blight, is Godless, is materialistic. We may prove that while there is a materialism of lack as well as

a materialism of plenty, even in the process of securing abundance to the point of storing up a great social surplus, we may save our souls alive for the benefit of our own land as well as for helping our neighbors.

THE IMPERATIVES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:
SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS¹

Julia C. Lathrop, Rockford

You will expect me, I am sure, to speak to you, under this afternoon's vast title, regarding the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations. I shall do so, first, because it points to the inevitable growth of social implications in international relations; second, because it is due to your nomination that I was appointed an assessor (non-voting member) on this committee, and therefore I wish to report to you as occasion serves. When I spoke to you two years ago after attending the 1926 session of the committee in Geneva I tried to express my appreciation of the honor you bestowed in submitting my name, and today I thank you more heartily because I see more clearly the importance which the work of this committee may rightfully attain.

The Child Welfare Committee, as you know, was set up in 1925 and has just concluded its fourth yearly session, which I regret I was unable to attend. Perhaps I may remind you that the Committee on the traffic in Women and Children was authorized by the Treaty of Versailles, and that in 1925 an Advisory Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People was organized, under which are placed the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children and the new Child Welfare Committee. The government delegates are identical for both committees. The assessors are not identical, but are chosen because of special experience in the interests of the committee to which assignment is made.

Traffic report.—The most significant event to report for 1927 was not directly in the Child Welfare Committee although, as will be seen, closely connected with it. It was the presentation at a joint session of the Traffic Committee and the Child Welfare Committee of the special report on the traffic in women and children authorized in 1925. Two years had been necessary for this investigation. In this Conference I may properly say that Grace Abbott, a government delegate to the Traffic Committee and to the Child Welfare Committee, an honored member and former president of this Conference, is responsible for suggesting this study—unique in the history of the world—to the Advisory Commission and for obtaining the funds required for its prosecution. The study was carried on under the auspices of a special body of experts,

¹ The official report of the March, 1928, session of the Child Welfare Committee of the League did not reach the writer until after the Conference. Hence changes have been made in this paper in order to indicate as fully as possible the year's trend.

with Dr. William F. Snow, president of the American Social Hygiene Association, as chairman. The immediate direction was under Bascom Johnson.

Joint meetings of the Traffic Committee and Child Welfare Committee are held as their work may indicate. The meeting at which the report on the traffic was discussed was impressive. Especially I remember a continental woman assessor who belongs to that courageous band of true ladies who in various countries have pressed for a just, impartial treatment of prostitution only to be assailed for long years by contempt and worse, accused of indelicacy and worse. As I ventured to speak to her of the decency given by a scientific approach, she answered with deep, though controlled, feeling, "Yes, now it can be talked about. It is a great gain." It is relevant to note in this connection that the report was made in two parts, the first giving a concise account of the facts disclosed by the inquiry and a statement of conclusions based upon them; the second, a more detailed statement of evidence derived from various sources and arranged according to countries.

The two main sources of information were: first, official, especially replies of governments to questionnaires and interviews with government authorities; second, information afforded by persons connected with the traffic. There were no fewer than 6,500 persons interviewed, about 5,000 of whom were connected with commercialized prostitution. "It was not suggested by the experts engaged in the inquiry that the statements made by those involved in the matter were accurate in every detail, but so far as practicable they were checked by corroborative evidence, and material was not used whose truth did not appear to be established." The reports were not made public until final approval by the Council, which invited governments to send in their comments on Part II, and these were considered by the body of experts before Part II was published. It is expressly stated that "in several countries the position had changed for the better since the inquiry was begun, and legislative and administrative measures had been taken to cope with the evil dealt with in the report."

Perhaps no more encouraging proof of the value of the scientific method genuinely used in social work has ever been given than by this inquiry whose good fruits have already begun to ripen.

Repatriation.—A question before the Child Welfare Committee since its first meeting is that of obtaining international agreements for the relief and repatriation of minors and for the enforcement of the obligations of parents to provide maintenance when children and parents are not resident in the same country.

This year, 1928, its legal subcommittee reported to the Child Welfare Committee that it would prepare draft conventions for, first, the repatriation of minors who have escaped from the authority of their parents or guardians, taking account of the objections raised by the Canadian assessor to a general convention and also to the importance attached by several governments to the speedy conclusion of separate agreements; second, on the relief of minors of

foreign nationality; third, on the execution of judgments for maintenance of children against persons responsible for their support who have deserted them and gone abroad.

It will be noted by those on the western continents that these problems, though in principle common to all countries, are of urgent importance in Europe because of the poverty and hardships of the war shifts of population from one country to another and the changes in boundaries and governments in consequence of the war. This instance illustrates, too, the care and nicety which must characterize the application of international agreements in the social field. The Belgian delegate, Count Carton de Wiart, chairman of the Legal Subcommittee, has taken great interest in working out a series of equitable agreements in the settlement of this difficult and complicated human problem.

The subcommittee desires to hold its next session this summer, and the 1929 meeting will undoubtedly show marked progress.

Recreation.—I wish now to speak of another subject, or rather two subjects, as they stand in the committee's list of topics under consideration. They are recreation and the cinema. In this country when we try to be philosophical about that pleasant area outside of our work we feel safe in following the lead of Edward De Groot in considering recreation as either active or passive. Thus athletics and sports belong to active recreation. Listening to music or to plays, and seeing pictures are among the forms of passive recreation, to the most prominent of which I will refer later.

As to recreation in general, if at first there may have been some question as to the propriety of its study by this committee, all questioning would be put at rest by the four admirable reports submitted by Dame Katharine Furse, Dr. Humbert and Dr. Matz, and by the International Labor Office at the 1928 session. I regret that it is not possible in the space at command to discuss all fully, and I hope they may be assembled in some permanent form. From the report of Dr. Matz, deputy of the Reichstag, I quote a paragraph on lack of recreation as a cause of juvenile crime:

It is not easy to establish a connection between the decrease in youthful crime in Germany and the provision made for recreation. During the past few years the German laws applicable to young people have been largely amended; the penal age, too, has been raised, so that it would be rash to establish a causal connection with recreation. It may, however, be assumed that the absence of facilities for the recreation of young people, and especially young workers who during adolescence are emotionally responsive, does in certain circumstances result in moral deterioration and crime. Young people whose bodies are healthy, who are accustomed to plenty of regular exercise, and whom excursions bring into touch with nature, will be better able to resist the moral and social dangers of large towns than those without adequate facilities for recreation and relaxation. There is no doubt that the criminal class obtains a large number of recruits from young people who have misspent their leisure time in dancing saloons and other places of amusement or in bad cinemas.

The International Labor Office, with which the Child Welfare Committee maintains constant exchange of material, contributed a report on the utilization of workers' spare time in its relation to child welfare. In this valuable paper certain statements immediately compel one's attention to the importance of greater study of the recreational needs of children and young workers. Contradictory provisions exist as shown largely because data are lacking for providing true standards, for instance:

Some German collective agreements for the metal industry make a distinction between adults and young workers, the worker or apprentice under eighteen or twenty being entitled to only three days' holiday, while the general minimum is higher. In the German chemical industry all workers under twenty have four days' holiday, whatever their period of service.

The Austrian collective agreements, on the other hand, often grant young workers more favorable conditions than the other workers. Some important agreements provide that workers under sixteen and apprentices under seventeen are entitled to a holiday of at least two weeks.

This report points out that all provisions as to holidays for parents have an immediate relation to home life and to child welfare. It also gives references to memoranda furnished by governments in respect of workers' leisure and development of the movement for workers' recreation to be found in *Industrial and Labor Information*, a journal published by the International Labor Office, and to other timely material.

As to the cinematograph, in the dignified amplitude of its title as given in the Child Welfare Committee's report—the cinema, as the motion or moving picture is popularly known in Europe, the movie, its endearing diminutive here—it is at the present time the most widely known and enjoyed of all inactive entertainments. It undoubtedly gives the most concern to elders. The subject has so many aspects and ramifications in the production and distribution of the film and in its exhibition the world around that the Child Welfare Committee necessarily considers it as a separate problem. It has been on the program from the first. Two years ago the committee adopted certain recommendations which it reaffirmed in 1928, as follows:

First, that in each state, offices for control or preliminary censorship should be established whose decisions would be enforced by fixed penalties, with a view to preventing the exhibition of demoralizing films; the views of educationists and parents should, as far as possible, be represented in these offices.

Second, that all possible means should be employed to encourage the exhibition and the international exchange of films calculated to promote the intellectual, moral, and physical education of children and young people.

Third, that an international understanding should be entered into by the various national offices with a view to communicating to each other the decisions adopted and the penalties imposed in their respective countries. . . .

Fourth, that each state should prescribe the necessary measure of hygiene and security in connection with the ventilation, the cubic capacity, the exits, and emergency exits of cinema theaters and should take steps as soon as possible to prohibit the exhibition of inflammable films.

A new resolution draws attention to the advisability, from the point of view of the moral and physical protection of the young, of showing films in diffused light and in daylight.

A plan for the establishment at Rome of an International Educational Cinematographic Institute was examined by the committee at the request of the Council. Its objects are "to encourage the production, distribution, and exchange between the various countries of educational films concerning institutions, art, industry, agriculture, commerce, health, social education, etc., by any means which the governing body may consider necessary." The Child Welfare Committee was also invited to be represented on the governing body, and accepted the invitation. Undoubtedly the genuine educational value of the film has been little developed as yet, and we may hope that the Rome Institute will be able to give aid to true educational efforts.

With hearty approval of the effort to use the film for education per se, I suspect that many of us also believe that for long the innocent entertainment of which the motion picture is capable must be regarded as its greatest function. At present an acute and, we admit, baffling problem is how to aid in popularizing such standards of subject matter and of good taste as will make the "movies" a means of innocent and inspiring "passive recreation." To afford a wholesome place in which pictures are shown is, as has been well expressed in the resolutions quoted, an essential part of the whole matter.

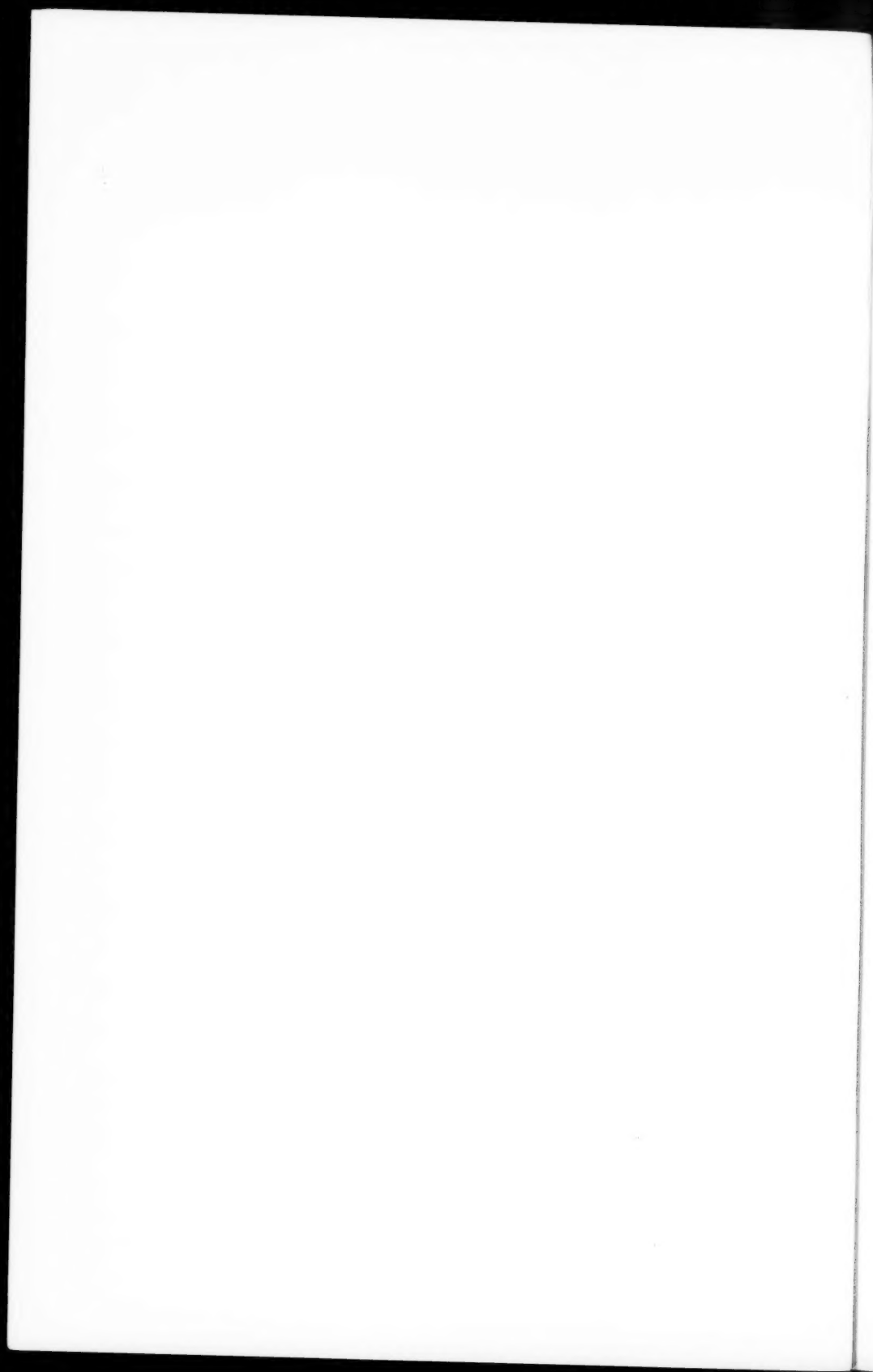
Methods of work.—A constant pressure is felt by the committee to add to its inquiries new and important subjects. Yet a new committee beginning work of a new and inevitably vast scale must limit its activities though not its awareness of the extent of the problems connoted by those once simple words, "child welfare." It must create a method of work. As I have tried to illustrate in this brief and fragmentary paper, touching on but a few of the matters now before the committee, its basic method must be that of research. Essential to research and study is a library. Thanks to the urgency of Dame Rachel Crowdy, secretary of the Committee, a special Child Welfare Section of the League Library is now an entity, and ample provision for it is promised in the new library building. As Dame Rachel truly says, the Child Welfare Library of the League of Nations should be the best and fullest child welfare library in the world. I like to consider a time when young—or old—students of child welfare will resort to that library, when studentships and fellowships will be awarded by foundations and institutions of learning for study with this committee and work on its research projects. I hope degrees will be earned there by some of you and by students from every one of the Americas.

For all American countries are deeply interested in child welfare, as is proved by the Pan-American Child Welfare Congress, which links together increasingly all the Americas in its conferences, and by the establishment in Montevideo of the new Institute for Child Welfare Research. Its establish-

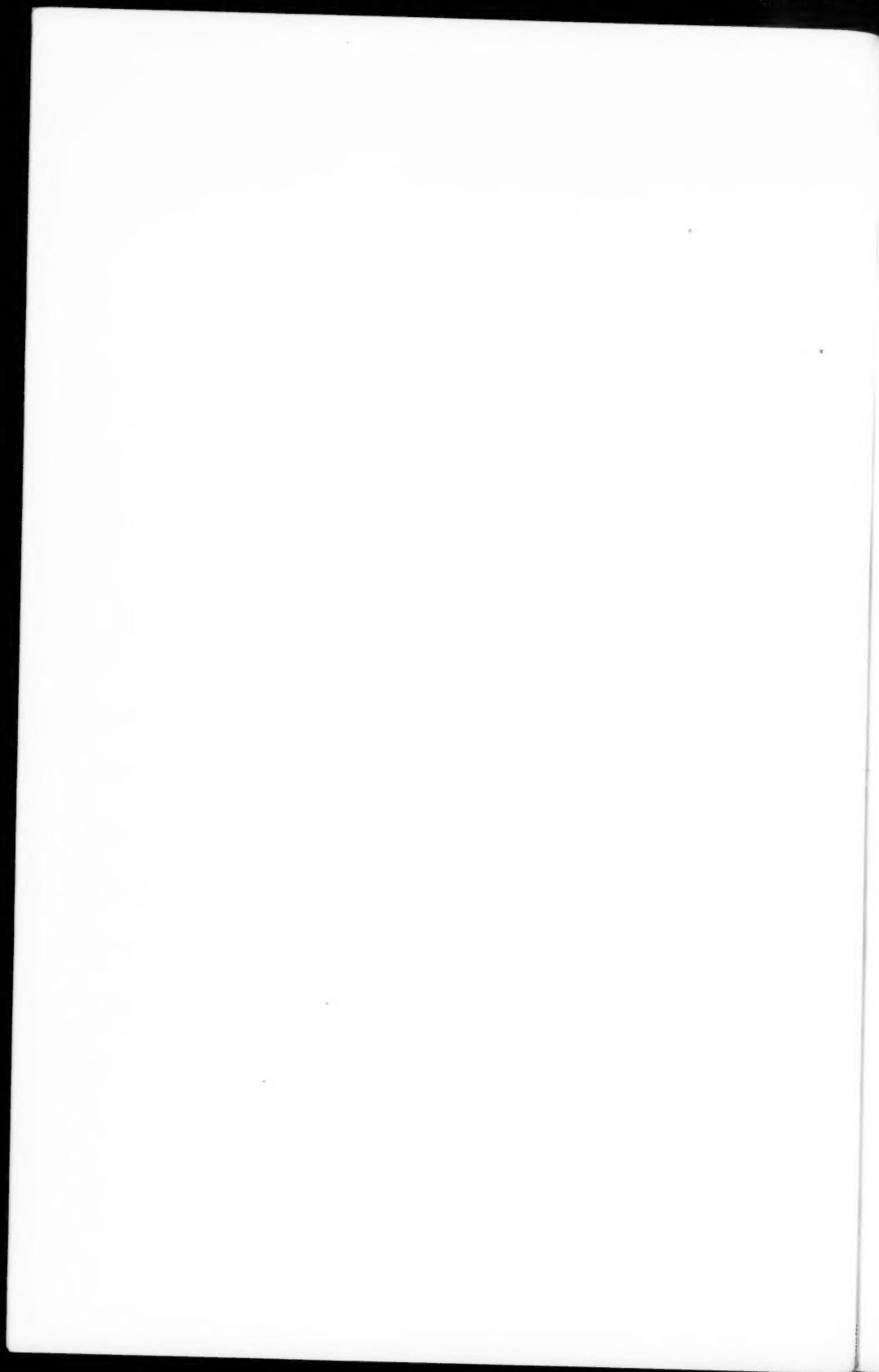
ment is due in large measure to Dr. Paulina Luisa, a delegate member from Uruguay on the Child Welfare Committee.

Through the Child Welfare Committee cooperation is invited on the ground of interest in child welfare, alone, without political or national limitation, and the committee is already seen as a growing center of study and information for worldwide use. To us the sheer fact of its existence under the aegis of the League of Nations is an inspiring proof of that trend of social work for which this Conference stands.

Perhaps we cannot better end this consideration of social implications than by reminding ourselves of the new intimacy with our sister countries to the south which air travel will bestow. More than meets our eye today in aid of the world's good will may come of the good understanding which air travel now offers the Western Hemisphere.



B. DIVISION MEETINGS



I. CHILDREN

RURAL CASE WORK

PROGRESS OF UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK MADE IN THE CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY OF BALTIMORE COUNTY

*Katharine T. Kirwan, Director, Children's Aid Society of Baltimore County,
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The Conference of 1927 agreed that a rural program must admit of undifferentiated service; that through the existence of such fundamental difficulties as bad roads, lack of funds, great distances, newness of the project, inadequately trained workers, the needs of the community must form the basis of the service to be given. These facts were substantiated by Miss Constance Hastings, of Philadelphia, in her discussion of the private agency stimulating county programs, and by Miss Lydia Eicher, of Santa Fe, who said that a public agency carried a duty of service to each and every citizen.

The Maryland Children's Aid Society is a private agency with a very flexible program. There are four organized county units, three representing the only children and family agency in their community, and the other having the cooperation of a family welfare society in its one large city. The Department of Public Welfare in Maryland has no children's program, but the Board of State Aid and Charities supervises and controls the appropriations made by the state for the care of children. A portion of the funds is paid over to the Maryland Children's Aid Society and an allowance is made to three of its county chapters for supervisory service or for supplementing their own budgets. Baltimore County is one of the units doing undifferentiated case work. It does not need financial assistance from its state organization, as supervisory service is mutually adjusted. The purpose of this paper is to point out growth in the work of an agency that started as a children's aid society in a rural community, where there were many kinds of industries which gave rise to varied types of social need. The area of Baltimore County in 1916 was 656 square miles, and its population 130,000; now the county covers only 605 square miles and has a population of 100,000. There are no cities within its boundaries. It is governed by the Board of County Commissioners. There exists no separate official body for the care and protection of the poor. The paupers may find shelter in the home for the indigent. There are no institutions, homes, or agencies operating solely as county projects, but there are located within the county three of the state's correctional institutions.

The field of social work was new fifteen years ago when the owner of a large dairy industry in the Green Spring Valley discovered trouble on his own estate. The following illustration will show the beginning of organization and

volunteer service and will demonstrate the first interpretation of children's work in this particular part of Maryland. Three small girls ranging from ten to fourteen years lived in a tenant house with their parents. The father was employed in the dairy. The home life of these children was very unhappy and lonely; their father drank, and when in that condition illtreated both wife and children; there was constant quarreling in the household; the mother, accustomed to a life of deprivation, had little to offer her growing girls. When sober the father worked well and gave enough satisfaction to the overseer to keep his job. There was poor attendance at school and difficulties when the children were there. When news of the oldest daughter's misconduct with a married man on the same estate reached the owner's ears he was indeed shocked. It happened that his wife was serving on the board of an organization interested in needy children of Baltimore City; in fact, the man recalled a number of ladies of his community to whom he had given contributions to aid such work. The case in question needed urgent attention, and he believed that these friends would know best where to place the children, for surely, he reasoned, they would have to be removed from the evil influences of their parents and the neighborhood would have to be protected from the immoral girl. This reasoning was in the right direction and the action taken resulted in the organization of the county. The small group appealed to for their advice became the first unit of lay workers, and through them the trained worker, borrowed for the one case from the city agency, was the first paid worker for the county. A second group of volunteers was collected from the vicinity of the society's office, which was located at the county seat. This, I repeat, was fifteen years ago; today there are seventeen groups of voluntary workers aggregating 250 individuals. They prepare plans and participate in the community fund drive and the annual meeting of the organization; they render community service in sewing, office work, and case consultations. To close their season's work they hold a conference in the spring.

Our increase in volunteer service has been accompanied by a close alliance with the board of education. This we believe to be one of the greatest factors in growth. A request for part-time service in the investigation of non-attendance cases resulted, after a two-years' trial, in the appointment of a member of the children's aid staff for full time service in the attendance department. Another activity which linked the two organizations closer was the Junior Children's Aid Society, organized in 1915 for the purpose of helping school attendance, making freewill offerings at Thanksgiving and Christmas, and indirectly fostering an interest in some of the great problems underlying community welfare. The most important practical activity that has been featured by the junior society is the Mobile Dental Clinic. A conference of delegates and officials from local school units was held in 1920. A resolution was presented and adopted which favored a movement looking toward the care of teeth of junior members, especially those living in the more remote districts.

The clinic was equipped in 1921 and represented the first of its kind supported by school children in this country.

We were again associated with the school authorities when we enlarged our staff, at their request, to supply nurses to do the corrective work for children examined by the school doctors. This piece of work was very expensive, as we carried 75 per cent of the cost, but the results were encouraging; the first year's report showed 2,000 corrections by our nurses alone of these country children. The Children's Aid Society discontinued all health activities when a Public Health Association was organized, but still retains responsibility for the health of the children under care.

One of the earliest achievements in establishing a children's program for this county was the passage of the Baltimore County Juvenile Court Law in 1913. It was the first act in the state which conferred power upon the circuit court to sit in children's cases, and was followed by a similar state enactment in 1916. The Children's Aid Society appropriated no money to this cause, but it made the investigations of children appearing before the magistrates and found in the jails; through its volunteers, it aroused local interest and fostered support which finally resulted in the establishment of a juvenile court. There was no provision made in the act for the support of children committed unless sent to institutions. This is a serious condition in Baltimore County, where there is no other revenue for maintenance of children removed by the court from their own homes. The juvenile act, however, does give the power of placing an order of support on either parent, and it does provide for the services of a probation officer, who is directly connected with the court and not in combination with any other department or organization.

The following figures are given to show decrease in the number of children received on commitment, a percentage growth in the boarding care of children, and a tendency toward increase in family work. The material in Table I is from the director's annual reports, and there is no significance in the years that have been selected.

TABLE I

	Children Committed	Children under Care	Percentage of Children Boarded	Family Cases
1919.....	19	247	7	127
1922.....	21	228	15	336
1925.....	42	241	21	574
1927.....	10	221	33	619

A child guidance clinic was started five years ago, when the services of a psychiatrist were offered by a local hospital. Today this clinic is one of the society's greatest assets. It is not only helpful in adjusting the children and

their families in their own environments, but it is exerting an intelligent influence in the selection of our foster and boarding homes.

Financing is always an important factor of any program. Baltimore County was first without any definite income; indiscriminate contributions were collected; then, as expansion demanded, more reliable steps were taken to make membership an important factor, and the appropriation from the county commissioners was also considerably increased. To further meet the pecuniary demands a plan was devised to use the organization of the Woman's Council of Defense. It had done very creditable work during the war; it was countywide in its representation; and its members expressed willingness to continue service. A share of the budget was proportioned to each district chairman, and with her committee she collected through memberships or raised by benefits her allotment. A very interesting discovery was made while the county volunteers were at work. It was found that 13 per cent of the contributions for city charities was yearly donated by the county people. This fact is explained by the peculiar bond between the city and the county due to economic conditions and matters of residence. It was finally responsible for the Children's Aid Society becoming a member agency of the Community Fund of Baltimore City.

There have been types of growth not so easy to define as the more material ones. Originally we centered our attention on the child; we often lifted him from his environment and placed him unattached in a new home. Experience has shown that such a method may be easy, but not very effective; nor is it fair to the child to start his social adjustment by removing him into a public institution in order to save the county money or perhaps to protect us from unpleasant interviews with county authorities in an effort to get financial assistance for a more constructive plan; it is poor policy, for it establishes wrong standards of child care in the minds of the people and thereby impedes progress. Frequently it is more difficult to deal with the child in his own environment, but the influences of intelligent case work with personal contacts should permeate the entire household.

As this truth was definitely impressed upon us in Baltimore County, our field of activity broadened; our point of view is now focused upon the home rather than upon the child apart from the home. The duties of the organization are united into family welfare and child placement, but the name of the organization remains the same. By combining the efforts to keep the home intact and also to care for the neglected child we hope to establish a fundamental principle which will influence the thinking of the community. The family, rather than the child, as the point of view offers greater opportunities for interpreting the individual. This truth was illustrated recently in the decision of one of the county judges. He was hearing a case in which the man was charged with illicit selling of liquor; the prisoner pled guilty, the judge pronounced "Three months in the House of Correction and \$300 fine, but sen-

tence is suspended for the sake of four motherless children who have in this man both father and mother." The circumstances were well known to the Children's Aid Society. The worker who had been visiting the family prepared a report so convincing that the judge accepted it as valuable evidence on which to base his decision. Here we have a demonstration of the influence of service rendered satisfactorily and possibilities opened to the rural worker for guiding the thinking of even the judicial bodies of her county.

The rural organization which has been willing to serve its community often fails to develop responsibility in the institutions it helps. It is just as easy to pauperize an organization or a department as it is a family. I feel that the acceptance of the nonsupport, desertion, and alimony cases from our court, on the recommendation of the state's attorney, was a progressive step and again was an acknowledgment of the influence of the Children's Aid Society on the judiciary; but when this service has extended over a period of four years and requires a visitor's full time it places a greater responsibility on the organization. It appears that the time has come to formulate a system whereby the court may establish machinery for assuming this work as a part of its own activities. It is the tendency of a county unit to hold on to a job too long rather than to encourage the development of other community resources. The continuance of the lump sum appropriated by the county officials for the maintenance of all dependent children and families outside of institutions is probably the greatest obstacle in the path of this private agency, and is likely to effect seriously its future development.

UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF RURAL SCHOOLS

Mrs. Janet D. Baskett, Visiting Teacher, Boone County, Columbia, Missouri

At last year's Conference I tried to outline the types of social service a rural visiting teacher has opportunity to render. This paper will be confined to specific cases which illustrate the variety of types previously outlined; thus the two will supplement each other for purposes of reference. In this paper you will notice how family problems, delinquency, dependency, neglect, child placing, probation and protection, court work, school attendance, physical and mental health all receive attention.

The A family: an incompetent mother, a drunken and incompetent step-father years her junior, and four boys: William, a seventeen-year-old of the infantile type; John, the neighborhood wild boy; James, twelve, but definitely retarded mentally and physically; Burton, four, developed not beyond two years. The prosecuting attorney thrust John at the visiting teacher obviously with fingers crossed. He had been in the juvenile court for truancy and night riding. A surly, handsome boy, hardheaded as the brilliant dissipated father

whose favorite he had been, it took long maneuvering to arouse ambition for school and willingness to enter a working home with opportunity to attend our finest rural school. Final examinations passed; attitudes greatly changed; a summer of trying to find jobs for himself made him finally anxious for a working placement for high school. This was found in another county where he was unknown, in a home with splendid supervision. He is finishing third year high school this spring and plans a university engineering course.

The spring when John completed the grades, William and James, through their teacher, requested placement. They had already had tonsillectomies, dentistry, and glandular therapy, and under a dietary, which their own home could never provide, should show development. A visit to the mother accomplished not only the visiting teacher's aim to place these boys over the summer, but the mother consented to have them and the baby placed permanently, as the stepfather was unkind. Later court action severed legally the mother's guardianship. Placement and cooperation with foster parents in matters of correcting faulty habits and improving physical condition followed. William, the oldest, has grown four inches, had two years of junior high school, and is now back on the "home place," happy in farm work—a strange boy, but reliable, intelligent in farm matters, and competent. Wholesome sex instruction was part of the case work job. James, placed with distant relatives, completes grammar school this year; he is slow but very reliable and likeable, and is deeply intrenched in his foster mother's affections.

Burton, aged four, had two boarding placements. In the first one, which was in many ways unsatisfactory, he changed from a dull-eyed inert youngster to one bubbling over with questions. In the second, where care was excellent, he developed physically and in achievement. After five months he was placed in a free home in the country where love apparently hastened mental alertness. He has been in school a year, pitted against a superior child in the rural first grade; is to repeat his grade, but in the past few months has "caught on" to readings, so he gives promise of outgrowing still more of his retardation.

The mother and stepfather have wandered to another country. The oldest boy and visiting teacher talk occasionally of his probable responsibility for his mother in later years, a responsibility which he faces intelligently and maturely.

The B family: A crazed mother, a twenty-year-old feeble-minded pervert son, and two shaggy, unkempt, unlettered boys of eighteen and fifteen. The visiting teacher has assisted the family case worker in the county seat in removing four younger children, two normal, two subnormal. But there still remain in the hovel they call home, down in the river hills, the miserable remainder of a family that had not the material for becoming stable, and yet possessed a strong natural affection. Enlisting the county physician's assistance, the visiting teacher accomplished commitment of mother and oldest boy to a state hospital, where the mother has become mentally sane, a good worker in

the wards, yet still kept on because incompetent to manage a home. Robert, eighteen, a faithful boy, was placed in two different farm homes where he learned considerable in cleanliness and farm tasks. An opportunity for tutoring was arranged, but this great boy who had gone only to the second grade was unable to learn from books. Sam, fifteen, had already wandered from home a good deal, and had been known to steal food and tools. Placement in an excellent farm home where he could attend the sixth grade of school kept him for nearly a year, with an excellent record of steadiness and honesty; then suddenly one day he left for the river hills, where he joined Robert, who had already returned. Reports of them show that they work on farms and are entirely self maintaining. They go to see their mother and correspond with the four youngest members of the family. The original goal was to try to stabilize Robert and Sam so they could establish a home for their mother. However, though the idea is agreeable to the boys, it is doubtful whether they can ever do much more than care for themselves.

The C's are what hill countries call "trash": An unreliable father, dull, physically ill, given to drink and probably wandering affections; a mother who is nervous, highstrung, and habitually untruthful; no manager; a dirty housekeeper; also probably immoral, or rather unmoral. These and five children live in a barren rundown one-room shanty with leanto. The neighborhood myths concerning them are legion, though it is difficult in the country to get exact information, as barns have been known to burn mysteriously. The two oldest children have been behavior and attendance problems ever since entering school. Mildred, the older girl, fourteen, contracted a venereal infection over a year ago, and was anxious to get treatment. A bright fine looking girl, she is worth a good many struggles to help. The distance from town, and mud, make attendance at clinic almost impossible. On her own initiative the girl sought work, and with the visiting teacher's cooperation was finally placed where she ran no danger of infecting others, received a small wage, and could attend clinic regularly. Under the visiting teacher's supervision she was also given sex information, started in Sunday school, and given reading matter and handwork. A boarding home where the foster mother could help treat the infection, and give careful supervision and companionship out of working hours, had just been found when the family, lured by Mildred's wage, moved to town, and the appercart was completely upset. A period of poverty and misery followed, for neither parent found work, and Mildred lost her small job. Returning to the old place in the country, Mildred became inaccessible and went wild again. Careful consideration on the worker's part brought a conviction that considering limited rural facilities and the disadvantages of wrong home influences, the girl's best chance lay at the state school for girls. And yet during a period of months when the mother had come weekly to the visiting teacher's office to make out a grocery list and get her order there was slight evidence of improvement in attitude and feeling of responsibility.

Twelve-year-old Nora, with a six-year-old mind, who, through pressure on the parents, had attended school more regularly than ever before—though sketchily at that—is reaching an age where she can easily become prey to the unscrupulous. Her older sister realized this and had been thinking over the advantage of Nora going to the state school for the feeble-minded, often even favored it, for she could understand Nora's probable fate without supervision. A summons to court failed of commitment, though the parents were temporarily impressed with the importance of looking after their girls, and did for a while. Mildred solemnly promised to stay at home, help her mother through an approaching confinement, and go to clinic regularly. This influence steadied Mildred several months, and treatment was taken fairly regularly. The new baby arrived and died; the visiting teacher's office was closed because of financial depression; and though the former worker tried to keep in touch with this girl, the availability of an office person was lacking. Mildred had another remission. Finally, with a new worker in the visiting teacher's office, an available friend and adviser, the girl is in comparative security again. Venereal treatment is practically complete, so that employment and further education may be planned. Tutoring is in process toward covering entrance requirements to a small business school which has offered free tuition. Mildred has been baptized into a Holiness Mission chapel, and at last reports was attempting to teach a Sunday school class, with the new visiting teacher helping her prepare the lessons. A place to work for room and board would be a next step were it not for Mildred's extreme pride in having "fixed up" the house and in having acquired a cot all to herself. She is also anxious to look after Nora, who is showing signs of rapid physical maturity. And here is a problem for the worker: to place the feeble-minded girl in safety without wrecking her fine present contact with the older sister. Incompletely as this story is here outlined, it has not shown how for the past year the parents have asked for no relief from the county; nor how completely the friend of each member of the family the worker has become; nor the forward looking plans to safeguard the future of the three youngest children, all boys. Although the family situation has not bettered phenomenally, there are still enough signs of life to make perseverance worth while.

The foregoing stories of three family groups have been selected because of the number of people in each family who have received the worker's attention. Two are families whose breaking up, all things considered, has seemed best to the worker. The other has been kept intact so far, largely because of the affection element therein, and because social worker and judge have been slow to tear down family bonds.

The paper will conclude with two more stories of boys, one dull and one mentally supernormal, who enjoy a happier relationship in family and community because they were helped by social case work.

Frank, a fifteen-year-old boy, had been before the juvenile court for

stealing chickens, a career which had developed gradually from idleness, nagging at home, wrong companionship, and a desire for spending-money. Two years previous he had had a quarrel with his fifth-grade teacher with whom he was spending a second year, and had left school; and neither school nor parents had tried to have him return. Intelligence tests showed that he had met his upper limit apparently around the beginning of fifth-grade work. The court asked for help in placing the boy and for supervision after placement. A place was found with a relative who had not realized Frank was in trouble. A good worker on the farm, the boy steadied down, saved money for clothing, and on his own application to return home a year later was given permission by the judge. His record since then has been good. Moreover, the father has been brought to an understanding of his responsibility for this boy and the younger boy, who is the only other child left at home.

Harry, thirteen, had a mental age of sixteen, and a conspicuous physical infirmity. Although he had slackened efforts in rural school where he was in the seventh grade, he was a tireless reader of new and more adult material than the school offered. Because of his infirmity he had decided never to attend high school or college, which would bring him into larger social groups. A worker from the visiting teacher's office enlisted the interest and aid of the boy's parents, of the principal of a nearby junior high school, who went with the worker to get acquainted with the boy at his home, and of the psychologist, who worked with the boy's attitudes of sensitiveness and ambition while giving him intelligence tests. Harry finally entered junior high, being allowed to skip a grade, and actually took part in the graduation exercises the following spring. Since that time an operation has largely corrected his physical difficulty, so that we have a fine, alert ambitious boy in place of a developing recluse.

These stories show a variety of case work. An isolated worker in an area of 600 square miles must attempt many things. One point of view on the part of the worker, however, runs through all these cases as well as through practically every case which the school social worker handles. It is that the worker always considers her client in terms of possibilities for education. If the client is unable to derive benefit from the school opportunities at hand, how may he learn that which will steady him and develop him into an independent being? The stories for the most part have not shown the preventive program of visiting teacher work in its largest sense. Truly preventive work begins with problems of little children in the lowest school grades. They usually take less time and are often more difficult to diagnose than the foregoing cases. But, except to classroom teachers, they are also less dramatic, and reveal accordingly less complex social case work.

UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK, AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE
PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE GEORGIA STUDY
OF NEGRO CHILD WELFARE

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The Georgia Study of Negro Child Welfare is planned for a period of five years and is now entering its second year. It is therefore too early to do more than indicate its plan and scope. It is a selective study, as we are specializing in only one population group.

The study was started in August, 1926, under the supervision of the State Department of Public Welfare and the Advisory Service of the Child Welfare League of America, and is financed privately. The first step was a survey of the resources available for Negro children in Georgia. This was followed by an intensive study of the background of a group of children who had already become dependent or delinquent. In April, 1927, it was decided that, along with the study of background, an attempt should be made to give service, and that this service should be given where possible before the children became dependent or delinquent. It was tentatively planned that the study should have a service center in an urban community and one also in a rural community, with the possibility in view of taking in small town centers. Atlanta was chosen for the urban, and Fort Valley for the rural, study. For convenience we have called these units the Atlanta Study and the Fort Valley Study. They are essentially different in setup and in point of community contact, the only similarity being that intensive case work is planned in both and that it is being done by Negro case workers.

Those of us who have been working in public departments and in private agencies, where we have dealt with both races and every type of problem, for a long time have felt quite helpless in dealing with the acute situations which arose in the Negro families and with the problem children. We lacked knowledge, not only as to what brought about the problems, but also as to methods of treatment. It was with this in mind that a specialized study of the problems facing the Negro child in his adjustment to life was undertaken and an intensive case work study was decided upon. We do not make an assumption of biologic racial difference, but we do recognize that the influence of environment is all-pervading and therefore its resulting modifications must be given major significance in our treatment processes. No discussion of the situation facing the Negro today, either North or South, can ignore the peculiar problems which he faces in every phase of his life, whether it is housing, employment, health, education, or religion. Social workers have broadened the term "environment" to include the whole social background, especially as it conditions the behavior of our clients. We are forced more and more to interpret their reactions as much in the light of this invisible environment as in the light of their physical environment. Mary E. Hurlbutt, in a paper read at this Conference in Wash-

ington entitled "The Invisible Environment of an Immigrant," states that it is only fair to ask whether we have honestly faced our own inadequacy. She says: "Someone needs to chart the territory to be explored, to shape the questions that need answering, to break up the jumble of ignorance and helplessness and prejudice." While she was not speaking of the Negro race, surely her words have a challenge. We must admit, in any attempt to adjust Negro families or children, the necessity of understanding their peculiar social background, for more and more we see that their thoughts and actions are conditioned, not only by their present situation, but by their attitudes which have been instilled through generations of economic pressure and race prejudice. It would seem farcical to try to make social adjustments without this knowledge; and yet we have gone along blindly attempting just this thing. Also, we who are working with large numbers of Negro families are challenged by the sense that there is a real test of our use of case work technique in the unusual situations which require unusual treatment and greater flexibility in our application of our measuring rods, and a recognition that we sometimes allow shibboleths and taboos to grow in our own thinking.

The Atlanta Study was started after consultation with the Family Welfare Society and the two orphanages for dependent Negro children, and it was decided to accept applications to the two institutions for investigation and case work service. While the cases accepted cannot in any sense claim to disclose the extent or even the acuteness of the community need, they represent very wide strata of the Negro group and many types of problems.

In the following case story I am giving only family backgrounds because it is too early to enter into a discussion of treatment or to evaluate results. The application was made for the placement in an institution of an eleven-year-old boy who was reported to be a chronic beggar. He had been badly burned and was using his scarred face and blind eye to arouse sympathy. At the time of the application he was residing with his mother, and the immediate family group consisted of his mother and a brother John aged sixteen, a sister, Annie May, aged nine, and Ted, aged seven. The family shared a four-room house with Rob's maternal aunt, Rosa, and her family of five. At the time the case was opened a cousin from the country with his wife and two children were visiting, making fourteen people in the house. While Rob's mother maintained separate housekeeping arrangements, the families mingled freely and seemed to function as a fairly well integrated group. The educational equipment of the family was limited and there seemed no particular desire for education. The physical surroundings and the standard of living were as poor as we often see. None of the children were enrolled in school, for when they had been entered they were immediately excluded because of their physical condition. The mother knew how to have the defects corrected, but made no attempt to have it done; this in spite of the fact that she had moved to Atlanta three years before to obtain medical treatment for Rob's injured eye. She had had a great

deal done for Rob and then decided that the doctors were experimenting on him and refused further treatment. She explained that he had not known that he was pitiful until he came to Atlanta, where people kept remarking on his appearance. Her attitude toward his begging was that since he did not bring any of the money home it was just as well that he should not do it, but she had no special feeling against the social stigma, though she said it was an "awful disgracement." One of the uncles who lives in Atlanta was visiting at the time of the interview and they joined in as a group and checked each others' statements as they talked. They said that the maternal grandparents had talked quite a good bit to them about treatment received during slavery. Grandfather had said that his owners were a kind of lawless people, but good on the whole to their slaves, and never let anybody in the community take advantage of them. His master used to read the Bible to him so frequently that he had memorized it until "he could read it out of his mind," though he himself had no education and never learned to read or write. Grandfather had been previously married, but they know nothing of this marriage. He married grandmother when she was only twelve years old. She was owned by a neighboring family where she worked partly in the house and partly in the field. After the ceremony she lived with her owners and he lived with his, and he had to get a pass in order to go to see her. After the war was over the family lived with grandfather's owners and he farmed for them first for one-fourth share and later for a third. He was there for a great many years and then began to move from place to place. He said wherever he went he was used as head man or overseer. They remember grandmother as a quiet, good, Christian woman who had to work hard. Grandfather's health began to fail and she had to do most of the farming with the assistance of Daniel, the oldest son. They had fifteen children in all, and grandmother died when the youngest was six years old. Mother and Aunt Rosa and Uncle Daniel, who gave the information, knew in detail the amount of schooling each of the fifteen children had had, and they had kept in fairly close touch with each other.

I have given details here to show that the material is available and because their consciousness of their family unity was grounded and conditioned by it to a large extent. The knowledge has been of great service in understanding their attitude to our immediate family group. Rob's mother was the youngest of the fifteen children and she was considered by them as having had more opportunity than the older ones. She was also the first one of the group to transgress their social code. Her eldest child, John, was admitted to be illegitimate, and they expressed shame about it. Her first marriage was to a man she knew was not legally competent to marry, as he had a wife living in the same community, to whom he returned after a year's time. He was the father of Rob, who apparently holds a different status in the family from John. She has never been clear as to who was the father of Annie May. She claims that after Rob's father left her she married the father of the two younger children.

However, according to available information, this husband was a new person in the community and she only knew him two months before Annie May's birth. As far as we can ascertain the last marriage was legal and Ted is legitimate. She separated from this husband because they could not agree. With all the irregularities there has been no suggestion that she was not "living right" now, and no suggestion from the family that she is morally unfit in any way to have the control of her children. It is impossible to go into the analysis of the varying attitudes of the family to these children and the mother's attitude toward them.

This was an instance where it was possible to get corroborative evidence of the standards acquired by a family during slavery and from emancipation on, and it is given because we believe that the type of owner during slavery, the type of work assigned, whether the man assumed responsibility for his family when he was free to do so, or whether he wandered off, leaving mother and children as the original group when the time for self determination came, has a very definite bearing on the family consciousness and interrelationships. The conditions which were present in different parts of the South at the close of the Civil War varied widely, and the progress of the family had necessarily been influenced by the condition in the locality in which it found itself at this time; and when so many generations live as one family unit, none of the attitudes can be determined by the thought of the present generation alone.

The Fort Valley Study is unlike the Atlanta Study in its setup and its point of community contact. It is essentially rural. We chose as our headquarters the Fort Valley High and Industrial School. It is a boarding and day school with extension work, and is the outgrowth of the community need. It is now under the American Church Institute of the Episcopal church, approved by the General Education Board and the Jeanes Fund. Its program includes a Sheppard-Towner nurse, a health center, a county farm agent, a Jeanes supervisor, and a home demonstration agent. It serves the neighboring counties with especial attention to Peach and Houston counties, which are situated in the heart of Georgia, and the problems are typical of those found in counties where the Negroes equal or outnumber the whites. The reason two counties are taken at the same time is that Houston County was organized in 1822 and Peach was created in 1925 from territory taken mainly from Houston County and some from the two other adjoining counties. The division is so recent that the social consciousness of both counties is still identified in many ways. The school superintendents both express concern over the attendance problems and are interested in the study, though we have made it clear that we are not going in as attendance officers nor as visiting teachers. We have selected our cases from the children who have been irregular during the past session, and expect to make case studies of their families during the summer, trying to work out the problems that are preventing them from regular attendance before next winter. The contacts with the schools and with the families are helped by the fact that

the relationship between the Jeanes supervisor and her teachers and school trustees is exceptionally good and also because there is no distrust in either the white or Negro communities of any program backed by the Fort Valley High and Industrial School, whose interest in their welfare has too often been proved. This unit was only started in March, and the work so far has been confined to the community contacts and to the listing of cases.

It is far too early to suggest causes or treatment, much less to suggest a program, but as we study case after case it seems to us that while a well rounded program, including health, education, recreation, and so on, is unquestionably needed in every community for both races, and while we believe that the Negro child should be included in proportion to his needs in every phase of this program, we also feel more and more strongly that he needs highly trained workers of his own race, who have an understanding of his problems in a way which would never be possible for anyone else to have, and that a freer expression from the social workers of what they find in the various situations is absolutely necessary to any hope of successful adjustment. We have barely scratched the surface, but we feel that even the fact that attention is drawn to the individual problems is being helpful to both races; and as we work on we hope to develop more points of contact between the two communities, who, while they live so closely together, are so isolated in thought and lack articulate expression of mutual or individual needs. It is for this reason that we feel it essential that the Negro workers have a major part in the solution, but that step by step the work must be interracial. Otherwise we will never understand the inner consciousness of the Negro community, for it is only by the free expression in the discussion of specific cases that we can approach a cooperative understanding.

STATE WELFARE DEPARTMENTS AND CHILDREN'S AGENCIES

WHAT SORT OF STATISTICS SHOULD THE STATE DEPARTMENT
ASK PRIVATE CHILD CARING ORGANIZATIONS TO KEEP?

WHAT SHOULD THE STATE DEPARTMENT DO WITH
THESE STATISTICS?

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What sort of statistics should the state department ask private child caring organizations to keep? Firmly believing in achieving the maximum amount of statistical work with a minimum amount of effort, and wishing to cause as little statistical irritation as possible, I should say that the state department

¹ I am indebted to Helen E. Heyer and Howard G. Borden, of the research staff of the Department of Institutions and Agencies, for valuable assistance rendered in the preparation of this paper.

should ask the individual institution or agency to keep only such records and to compile only such statistics as the state department actually needs and is going to use, and as will be of distinct benefit to the work of child care all around.

This means that the records and statistics required should meet the vital purpose of the organization itself and should be kept in such form that they will lend themselves, not only for inclusion in the report of the state department, but also for use, without much further adaptation, in the institution's report to its own board, and in reports the organization may have to submit to local councils of social agencies or welfare federations or any other supervisory body.

What are the most significant items that such a statistical reporting system should include?

The plant. The number of buildings, of cottages, semicottages, congregate, semicongregate, or pavilion types. The cubic feet of air space of each bed, day, dining, and other spaces and the number of children using these regularly. The number of single and double beds in each sleeping room and dormitory and the number of children using each bed and each room and dormitory. The type and number of bathing and toilet facilities and the total number of children using each.

The staff. The number of full or part time workers on supervisory staff, the number engaged in administrative and clerical duties, housekeeping, productive enterprises, regular field or case work, and, in institutions that have such, the number on the medical and nursing staff and the teaching force.

Finances. Regarding assets and liabilities, the values of investment represented by land, buildings, and equipment, the amount of endowments and special funds, the amount of indebtedness with interest accrued.

Receipts and expenditures. (I am following here the main items suggested in the accounting system of the Child Welfare League of America.) As to maintenance receipts, we should have the earnings from operations, including per capita payments from city, county, or state; the lump sum contributions from public and private funds; the value of donated commodities; the income from investments; and the money borrowed for current expenses. The maintenance expenditures should have the following principal divisions: administration, including salaries of supervisory and clerical staff; care of children with specified items of salaries and wages of persons whose work brings them into personal contact with the children, food, clothing, laundry, household supplies, health, education, and recreation; operation of plant and of institution with itemized expenditures for maintenance of grounds and buildings, and operation of productive enterprises; service to children outside of institution, including salaries of supervisors and visitors, and maintenance of children in foster homes and other institutions; financing and publicity, including salaries and commissions on collections; a separate statement showing capital receipts, itemizing legacies, gifts and money borrowed for capital purposes, and capital

expenditures including new land and buildings bought, equipment, furniture and fixtures, live stock bought, and securities purchased.

The individual child. Information such as the following should be kept on statistical cards, the information to be obtained from case records: the child's date of birth, birthplace, and birth status, age at admission, sex, and race; education, mental status, diseases, and physical defects of the child; source from which child was received; reason for admission; whereabouts of child at time of admission; marital status and whereabouts of parents at time of child's admission; legal residence of father and mother; country of child's parents and mother tongue of father and mother; religion of father and mother; occupation of father and mother; previous contact of child or members of the family with other institutions or social agencies; date of child's placement under supervision; date of discharge from care and age at discharge; nature of discharge; analysis of contributing social factors causing the child to be brought under the organization's care. A mere listing of these items is suggestive of tables that may be compiled from them. There needs to be agreement, of course, as to the age groups that shall be tabulated; the lists to be used in compiling the country of birth, occupations, diseases, and physical defects; the time periods in tabulating length of time under care, and so forth. The state department should require that tables in which the data contained in the statistical card is to be utilized be compiled separately for admission, for placements under supervision, for discharge from care, and for children under care on the last day of the month or year.

Extent and movement of population. These statistics will include the number of children under care at the beginning of a period, those received, placed, and discharged, and those remaining at the end of a period. To keep such statistics we can do no better than to accept (with some changes perhaps) the record forms worked out by the Child Welfare League of America, which contain, for daily recording, a register for applications, commitments, or complaints; a register of admissions and discharges for institutions only, with a simple device for computing the daily census of population and the number of days of care given; a register of admissions and discharges for agencies which provide one or more of the following types of care-institutions (own or other), foster homes, supervision of children in their own homes, mothers' aid with a device for computing the daily census of children receiving each form of care, and the number of days of care given; a foster home application register; a visitor's day sheet for the use of individual visitors in recording their daily transactions; a monthly summary sheet on which the information from the various population schedules may be entered monthly. Totaling the daily entries at the end of the month gives the figures for the month, and adding together the monthly totals gives the figures for the year. Having a separate monthly figure permits the data to be combined for the calendar year or for any fiscal year required.

What should the state department do with the statistics of private child caring organizations? If we assume that because of its powers and resources the responsibility of developing an effective program of child welfare rests with the state department, we can readily see that it must compile statistics submitted to it in such a way as to enable it: first, to have a complete view of the entire child caring field of the state, to permit it to fit institutions and agencies of varying types and standards into a general state program, to unify their purposes, and to coordinate their efforts; second, to observe the influences working upon and the changes taking place in the child caring field, and to know the particular needs in the child care arising in different communities of the state or in the state as a whole, and to indicate just what types of services need to be developed in general or by certain communities or institutions and agencies; third, to compare the methods employed and the standards achieved by the various institutions and agencies under the state department's supervision with the most approved standards and methods developed in the field of child care, and to call attention to particular changes called for; fourth, to show the volume of child caring work done in the state year by year and the makeup of individual children composing the institutional group, and to point out the social implications these facts may present; fifth, to obtain a clear, balanced picture regarding the finances of the institutions and agencies so that the various items of receipts and expenditures will be definitely related to the social aspects of the work; sixth, to use in reports and special publications dealing with different phases of child welfare, in connection with a consultation service and the giving of advice in formulating new policies as a basis for advice and possible disposition of individual cases, and for legislative action; seventh, to show how closely child caring work is connected with other social service efforts and what part each should play in order to make effective the state program of child care; eighth, to search out methodically the underlying causes of child dependency and to work out plans which may lead toward their eradication.

I will attempt to make here only a few suggestions regarding the statistical treatment that may be given to one or two of the more important items in the data submitted, and to show how far the resultant figures will furnish the facts upon which the state department may make effective a program such as is outlined.

The plant. The information secured regarding the plant and its population will indicate the number of institutions in the state of the cottage, semicottage, congregate, semicongregate, and pavilion types, and the number of children living under each. This will tell how many dependent children are living under conditions approximating normal family life. The data on the standard capacity of each room, the number and types of beds in place, and the number of children actually using beds and rooms will show both the extent and severity of overcrowding. When we know the number of bathing and toilet

fixtures and the number of children using each we can determine the adequacy or inadequacy of such facilities. The total possible maintenance days compared with the actual days of care given will tell us the extent of utilization of the various institutions and enable us to observe the prevailing needs for specific types of child care. Such figures compiled over a series of years will indicate the changes that may be taking place in the need for different forms of child care.

The staff. It is important to know the total number of people engaged in child caring work, since the ratios established of the number of children per employee in the institution as a whole and the number of children per employee in classified services will prove useful when comparing the relative numbers on the staffs of different institutions.

Finances. By bringing out the total amount of capital invested in properties of child caring organizations and the amount invested per child under care we will get an idea of the material basis for child care of varying types. By tabulating the organization's receipts and expenditures (in the manner suggested by the Child Welfare League of America, for example) there will be rendered a comprehensive picture of the sources from which the organization derives its revenues, and how they are spent. Per capita worked out for the maintenance expenditures incurred will show the whole cost of child maintenance per day and the relative costs for each phase of the work performed. Reliable per capita costs of institutions and agencies doing a good piece of work could readily be used as a measuring stick and the facts established regarding the cost of the institutional care versus home care.

The individual child. The statistical information regarding the individual child which it is possible to obtain from good case records is an invaluable aid toward an understanding of the problems of juvenile dependency. From it may be had a detailed analysis of the characteristics of the population passing through the hands of private child caring organizations, of the problems presented by the individual child and his family, of the problems created by family disorganization, and of specific community situations productive of child dependency.

Extent and movement of population. An analysis of the children under care should be made on the first day of the fiscal or calendar year, including the total number of children and number of families represented by the children, as follows: first, children in institutions; second, children in foster homes under the institution's supervision; third, children in other institutions; and fourth, children in their own homes or homes of relatives. The numerical data should be summarized to show for each organization the percentages of the total number cared for in institutions, in free family homes, and in family boarding homes, for example, and the figures further summarized by communities and for the entire state. There should also be worked out by communities and for the state as a whole the number of children under given types of care

per 100,000 of the general white and colored population. Figures such as these will reveal the individual institution's policy as to the type of care relied upon, throw light upon the extent and distribution of the main forms of care for dependent children, and show the relative exposure to child dependency of different communities. These percentages and ratios, when compared over a series of years, will reveal clearly the changes taking place in the child care provided, and the influence of the introduction of other child caring measures, and reflect the community's and state's efforts toward prevention of child dependency. Besides this inventory of child dependency once a month or once a year there needs to be analyzed the volume of traffic of our child caring organizations by months or years. Such accounting of the movement of the population should include, first, number of applications for care, commitments and complaints received, and the specific action taken; second, the number under care at the beginning of the period, those accepted and discharged during a period, and those remaining under supervision at the end of a period for each main type of care as already mentioned. Such tabulations will show the volume and type of service that the individual organization has rendered and will indicate the extent to which children are institutionalized, placed in foster homes, or returned to their own homes. Such figures combined for all organizations and shown for a series of years will reveal plainly the tendencies in child care. It will bring out any recession in the need for child care of a particular type or any need for augmentation in others, and thus will indicate the changes called for both in methods and facilities. From the standpoint of the student of social conditions "trends are more important than inventories." It would be desirable, therefore, to have the data on the extent and movement of population recorded and analyzed by months, for out of it could be fashioned current indexes of child dependency—the prevailing load, the demands made for care and for what types—all of this data to be interpreted in the light of general, social, and economical conditions, and their influence on needs for and modes of child care.

Figures on foster home applications and investigations compiled by agricultural, urban, suburban, and industrial communities may be used to show existing differences in the availability of foster homes in various types of communities.

What statistics regarding child caring organizations should be published in annual reports of state departments? Regarding the presentation of statistics submitted in annual reports of state departments I should like to submit the following. The report should clearly reveal the standing of each child caring organization in relation to others of similar type and the relation of each to the group as a whole. Thus, there should be presented selected items in whole numbers for each child caring organization, and these same figures also expressed in averages, percentages, ratios, per capita, etc., so as to make comparisons easy and valid. There should be summary tables in which the

information regarding certain types of institutions is merged and the data of one group made comparable with another. Statistics representing totals of all organizations of one community might be compared with those of other communities in the state, and thus significant differences in the approach to child care brought out. It is advisable to present summary figures covering important phases of the work, not only for the last year, but for a series of years in order to see this year's picture in its proper perspective. Textual interpretation of the figures should be made and the significance of selected statistical items pointed out. It would seem to me that the whole report should be so gauged as to make the individual organization eager to obtain it, for purposes of comparison and self analysis, and for help in obtaining a broader conception of its work.

What is a practical program to bring about comparable statistics for private child caring organizations? I am quite sanguine that measurable progress is going to be made in the next few years toward the attainment of an effective statistical system covering the whole field of child welfare, even though the data concerning dependent or neglected and delinquent children for the country at large, as the United States Census Bureau points out, are meager, unstandardized, and difficult to assemble.

In my opinion the responsibility for the low state in which we find our child welfare statistics today and the almost entire absence of standardization does not rest primarily with the individual child caring organization. It is rather the state department that we should ask to shoulder that responsibility, the more so as it has ample legal powers and resources to secure adequate statistics and reports.

From a special tabulation made by the United States Children's Bureau I gather that the laws governing private child care of forty states empower the state department to request the submission of statistical reports; thirty-three states mention specifically that they shall be either annual, quarterly, or at intervals required; in thirty-one states the law empowers the state department to prescribe the specific form in which the statistical data shall be supplied. Moreover, in many states there is a partnership between the state and child caring organizations through subsidies and contributions which could be used as a lever to improve the organization's record keeping system and statistical reports. It is to the state department, therefore, that we must look for appropriate action which will remedy the situation with regard to statistics of child caring organizations, and which will bring about a standardization of child welfare statistics to be accepted alike by the state department and the institutions and agencies that come under its supervision.

To meet the needs all around there must be developed standard record forms which can be kept by all institutions and agencies, large and small, and, as has been pointed out before, with statistical information on them which will lend itself for compilations to meet the requirements of reporting to the in-

stitution's board, to councils of social agencies, to welfare federations, and to the state department.

Beyond that it is imperative, of course, that all the state departments in the Union come to an agreement as to what those standard record forms shall be and what statistical treatment shall be accorded to the data private child caring organizations are required to submit. Such interstate standardization of records and statistics is necessary, not only to make safe comparisons between the reports of different states, but so that the figures of the states may be combined to yield a picture of the national situation of the work of child care and child dependency. In order to bring about the desired standardization I believe it will require the services of a national governmental agency which will study the whole question in cooperation with state departments and is authoritative enough to have its recommendations readily accepted.

In the meantime the social statistician is indebted to the Child Welfare League of America, to the United States Children's Bureau, and to the Committee on Institutional Statistics of the American Statistical Association for their pioneer work in the field of child welfare statistics.

Even after all the state departments have reached an agreement as to the kind of child welfare reports and statistics there shall be, little will be accomplished unless the idea of good statistics percolates down the line to all the agencies and institutions. The individual child caring organization, large or small, should be made to understand that record keeping and statistics are not the end to be aimed at in all our child caring work. It should be demonstrated to them that records and statistics are not synonymous with red tape, but that they can be used effectively in the daily business of child care. Statistics published by the state department should come to be regarded by them as valuable guides to give them an outlook which is beyond the problems of their immediate concern.

In working out a standard system of records and statistics of private child caring organizations I should like to advise the social statistician to take a leaf out of the accountant's book who has been singularly successful in convincing the business man of the importance of the "strictest accountability" of material values. The social statistician need not fear, therefore, to press his program of statistics which will give an account of society's human values and record the progress made in the lives of the children intrusted to our care.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPING BETTER CHILDREN'S WORK
THROUGHOUT A STATE: EXAMPLES OF ACTIVITIES
OF STATE DEPARTMENTS

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At the present time some forty-five states in the United States have a state department dealing with some aspects of the care and protection of dependent, neglected, crippled, and delinquent children. The majority of states having within the state board or department of public welfare a subordinate division or bureau for child welfare have created such bureaus within the last ten years. Some of these bureaus are purely administrative, others purely supervisory, being responsible for the licensing, inspection, and supervision of child caring institutions and agencies, and some combine the administrative and supervisory powers. Nearly one-third of the state departments accept guardianship of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children. The greater number place such children directly in family homes.

Twenty-five states have made special provisions for the care, treatment, and education of the crippled child. The most significant development in the past fifteen years in this field is the passing in forty-four states of a children's assistance or a mothers' aid law. In all of the states expenditures for such work are steadily increasing year by year. The chief problem now confronting those interested in mothers' aid is the raising of the standard of administration. Effective administration must include some form of state supervision, and state supervision should include educational aims for the prevention of widowhood.

It is, of course, impossible in the short time allotted to this paper to give much information regarding the activities of many state welfare departments, although instructions given with the assignment were to describe the activities of public departments in many sections of the country, including eastern, southern, southwestern, middle western, and northwestern. In gathering material it was found that there was abundant information regarding all the departments in the country, so that if one were interested in having the details of organization and law a little effort would give excellent returns. I therefore decided it would be of interest to all of us to have an up to date statement from the directors of our state departments as to what they considered the most significant recent accomplishment of their own organization. Communications were received from most of the directors of the departments which will be briefly described. In many instances direct quotations from their letters are used.

From Connecticut we learn that one of the Bureau of Child Welfare's recent accomplishments has been the recognition on the part of the last legislature of the value of boarding homes, and the appropriation of \$10,000 yearly to be used for the board of children. The bureau claims as one of its real

achievements the work with licensed boarding homes. The bureau reimburses towns throughout the state for half the board of children under four years of age if placed in licensed boarding homes. An outstanding achievement has been the diverting of a large proportion of dependent children from commitment to the county children's homes by placement in approved foster homes and their subsequent supervision, or by other methods of care. Naturally, during the last seven years the bureau has taken more or less responsibility formerly assumed by the county home superintendents and county commissioners, and hence the strides made have been somewhat slow.

Everyone is familiar with the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare, which is only six and one-half years old, and the wide range of powers given to it. Let me read the following communication from the director of one of the largest private children's agencies in Pennsylvania regarding this department:

We have for the first time thoroughgoing state supervision of child welfare agencies; the development of minimum standards of child welfare as laid down by the state. Part of these standards are written into the statutory law. Part represent rules and requirements which it is within the power of the Welfare Department to formulate. County and regional child welfare conferences which have been held each year have brought together institutional and child placing workers, resulting in more general acceptance of standards as to admission, care, and treatment, both in institutions and families, and right standards of discharge. Diet, sanitation, hygiene, and general health work have been raised and improved generally throughout the state. The bureau has given special consideration to infant welfare, maternity homes, helping very much in bringing about the passage of the first recommendation of the Children's Commission at the beginning of its study of Pennsylvania laws affecting children. We all feel that the Bureau of Children is a very essential part of the best child welfare forces in the state. . . .

One of the outstanding achievements during the past year of the Massachusetts department is the success of the Institute on Public Service, conducted by the department and open to any person in social work or interested in welfare problems. Heads of the various branches were used as speakers. From the director we learn that

During the past five years our Division of Child Guardianship has continued to improve its methods of handling five thousand dependent and neglected children placed in foster homes. The rate of board has increased for both children over three years of age and for infants. We have been successful in completely abolishing one of our small temporary homes which accommodated from fifteen to thirty older boys. We are now able to care even for the boys received from the courts in smaller foster homes. A splendid new hospital for sick minor wards, one hundred beds, has been built at Canton, with isolation wards and with the most up to date equipment. We have been continuing progress in the removal of feeble-minded children from the State Infirmary and from foster homes to the three state schools for the feeble-minded. A new examination room for the medical examination of children has been equipped at the State House. Two weeks ago Henry Ford opened at the Wayside Inn a trade school for thirty of our best boys fourteen to fifteen years of age. They will be given a four years' course in a variety of trades which are being established at the Wayside Inn.

One of the youngest of the state departments of public welfare is that of Georgia, established in 1919.

Starting with advisory and educational duties only, the Georgia Department has welcomed this opportunity to build on a foundation of education rather than force or authority, believing that, as in the case of the child placing license law (passed in 1922), the necessary legal authority will be given the department from time to time as a logical result of needs recognized by the institutions and agencies themselves. Thus the present situation in the children's field in Georgia indicates that perhaps the next legislative steps lie in the direction of laws making the establishment of new charitable institutions and agencies subject to study and recommendation by the department, and provision for the licensing by the department of all boarding homes for infants and children.

In response to increasing appeals from all over the state for the department's advisory and educational services, the staff has grown from the original three to the eight who now direct the various divisions of adult delinquency, county organization, children's work and education. Early in its career the department realized that considerable emphasis must be shifted from the institutions and agencies themselves to the source which was supplying them with ever increasing numbers of the socially inadequate. . . . Consequently, the department is now concentrating on the program of county or community organization for social work; and again avoiding the use of authority the department is working out this project with each county in an advisory capacity rather than advocate the passage of a mandatory law which would prescribe some set plan for organizing all counties alike. Thus Georgia has made what has been called her unique contribution in the field of county organization—what might be called the "case work method" of setting up the county social work units; for each county is regarded as an individual with its own peculiar situation, and after careful study and diagnosis of its needs, just that form of social service is advised which will best meet those needs.

The North Carolina plan is also well known. This state with one hundred counties has more than fifty counties organized and a superintendent of public welfare appointed. Such appointments are made jointly by the county commissioners and the board of education. Only twenty-nine counties are required by law to make such appointments. The great problem in a state which provides such a good framework for the development of all aspects of state work for dependent and neglected children is to obtain adequate appropriation and a trained staff, which will carry out the ideals which the state has recognized as fundamental. An important feature of the development of county social work in North Carolina has been the tie-up of the state department with the state university for summer training courses for county superintendents of welfare. The recent outstanding achievements have been the activities relating to the development of mothers' aid work, the work in clinics for crippled children, and the development of probation work in the county welfare departments.

These developments in child welfare have been accomplished through education of the public by news stories and talks. This has popularized the work with the laymen as well as made them conversant with the purpose and progress of the project.

In Virginia,

The outstanding achievements of the State Welfare Department during the past five years has been the development of organized child caring work in Virginia by the state and the building up the system for dealing for delinquent children through the juvenile courts.

This work, however, is very far from reaching the stage yet which we hope may be attained later. The State Welfare Department also has been interested in the securing of sterilization in suitable cases to prevent procreation of unfit children by unfit parents. The Virginia sterilization law was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1927. There has been definite progress, moreover, in the past five years in raising the standards of private child caring work through the supervising and licensing service of the state department. Private agencies have been actively cooperative in the entire program of work. The state department very greatly needs adequate staff and adequate appropriation. Last year it had 3,003 committed child wards and three field workers. . . . The state department is being constantly consulted by children's agencies and institutions and also carries on a campaign on its own initiative for better standards, but it is not assuming the kind of leadership which would be possible with a more adequate staff. The Children's Bureau is receiving a considerable increase in appropriation given by the legislature of 1928, but this is still totally inadequate. It will now be able to have five field workers instead of three.

One of the most interesting pieces of welfare work being accomplished for children is in the State Child Welfare Department of Alabama, created in 1920.

The Legislature of 1927 appropriated an attendance fund of \$850,000 to be apportioned to the counties on the basis of actual attendance. . . . The State Board of Education set aside a certain amount of this attendance fund and offered a bonus of \$2,000 to each county organizing a county child welfare unit. There are now 20 counties organized out of the 67, and the work has really just begun. Two of the first counties organized have as many as three workers now. The question of personnel is a serious one. In this connection Alabama College for Women has put on a special course of training in social work. The entrance requirements are graduation from an accredited college and three years' teaching experience. If the department could organize a county child welfare board in every county with a trained social worker to serve the schools as attendance officer and the court as probation officer and furnish general leadership for all child welfare activities, the right sort of organization through which to administer mother's aid would be established.

The West Virginia State Board of Children's Guidance is only nine years old.

In 1923 the law was enacted providing for county welfare secretaries and county child welfare boards. At the present time eight counties are making use of this law, three of which have been organized since January, 1928. The salaries of the welfare secretaries of two counties are subsidized by the state. Although in 1921 the law was passed relative to the inspection, supervision, and certification of private child caring institutions, it has been only during this past year that provision was made for the attempt to carry out this law. Many institutions are reporting monthly to the state department.

This department receives the guardianship of children and feels itself greatly handicapped in not having funds for boarding home care for such of its wards as need such placements. There is also the lack of provision for the mentally and physically handicapped children.

The Welfare Division of the State Department of Institutions of Tennessee was created two and one-half years ago.

Some of the principal accomplishments during 1927 have been in improving the standards of work and general conditions in the maternity hospitals and practically the elimination of commercial maternity hospitals. There has been considerable aid to institutions and agencies in the matter of record keeping. . . . The Department has been rather ac-

tive in propaganda work with community chest and council officials and leaders in the cities, looking toward favorable opportunities to stress with them the importance of the children's field in their respective communities. . . . In a general way the Welfare Division of the Tennessee State Department works in an indirect method for the development of better children's work through service to the Tennessee Conference of Social Work and the Council of Statewide Social Agencies. While the division has organized volunteer welfare committees in more than eighty of the ninety-five counties and one of the objects of these committees is to aid the county juvenile court judges in the adjustment of cases, and while some of these committees have done good work, the division feels that in this branch of activity it has come nearer failing than in any other, for it is unable to visit these committees often enough to keep them interested and active. . . .

In Ohio the Division of Charities, Department of Public Welfare, receives the guardianship of dependent, neglected, delinquent, and crippled children. It spends annually for the care of such children half a million dollars, none of which is for institutional care, since foster homes are used for such wards as cannot be cared for in their own homes or with relatives. The money spent for state wards is collected from the counties committing the child. The last few years have seen fewer children committed to the division because of the increasing number of county units which are becoming more and more equipped to handle their own problems. Special cases, such as the unmarried mother and her child, families of children (in order to keep brother and sister together), long time boarding cases, and infants are being committed to the state instead of the normal dependent child, as was the usual commitment in the early years of the division.

The Ohio plan for crippled children provides for the care, treatment, and education of such children. No state hospital or institution is maintained. Each year the local school enumerator must list the names of all the children from the age of one to twenty-one who are crippled. The local health commissioner must see to it that a medical examination is provided for each case and then notify the juvenile judge as to which cases can profit by medical care and treatment. The juvenile court causes an investigation to be made, and, if the parents are unable to provide the necessary care, commits the child as a dependent cripple to the Division of Charities for orthopedic care. Five nurses on the staff of the division follow the cases from the time of commitment until they are discharged by the surgeon in charge. The educational laws of Ohio provide that when the parents of eight children petition the local school board for a special class for crippled children such class shall be provided, and if the cost of maintaining such class exceeds the cost of educating eight normal children, the state department of education will reimburse the local school board not to exceed \$300 a year per child.

Another responsibility in the child care field of the Division of Charities is institution service and community development. It must be remembered that when the Children's Welfare Department was created in 1913 the county children's home plan (law permitting such homes passed in 1866) was already in

operation in some sixty counties of the state. It was only in 1919 that the law was enacted permitting the abandonment of county children's homes and the creation of county child welfare boards which were to handle cases of dependency and neglect of children. At the present time nine counties have adopted the county child welfare board plan of service, which, while limited in service, provides for the non-institutional care of children by the use of a receiving home or study home and foster home care for its wards. Twenty-three counties have thirty-two paid social workers in connection with their county work for dependent and neglected children. These workers do not have joint service with the court or school. Such a combination position is being urged by the division in many counties which at the present time do not have social case work.

A plan has been worked out by the state office whereby certain local agencies are designated as the local representative of the state department for the purpose of investigating all applications for licenses and for the purpose of supervising such homes if a license is granted. Twenty-six such designations were made in 1927, twenty-three of which are private organizations.

During the years the state department has worked for the development for better county public service for children it has not forgotten the necessity for a private children's agency, and has been in some measure responsible for the establishment of children's service in more than twenty counties financed by private funds. The Ohio department has scheduled district child welfare conferences which will cover all of the eighty-eight counties during the year. Although the Ohio law provides an attendance officer, juvenile court, and county health commissioner in every county, it is the hope of the state division of charities that each county will have a public and private agency, properly staffed, with a flexible program for child care and protection. The several universities in the state which have special courses for the training of social workers are unable to graduate enough students to fill the demands.

North Dakota is looking forward to the time when it can carry out the provisions of the law which created the Children's Bureau in 1923. At the present time the staff of this bureau consists of one person, the director. A beginning has been made in several counties in the development of county social work. Because the organization of such local units is an educational job and the staff of the state department limited, the work has progressed slowly. The state seeks rather to create a demand from the counties themselves than to superimpose a program. Thought is being given to the plan of having several counties unite in the joint employment of a social worker.

The present social service program of the Bureau of Child Welfare of New Mexico is only about four years old. At the present time there is a staff of nine, one of whom is a psychologist.

The state has been districted for case work and also for steps for community organization. Two local units of social work have been secured in two judicial districts. New

Mexico is the first state actually to put in operation district units of children's case work. Each of these districts cover three or four counties and the work in each district is in charge of a trained social worker. In New Mexico there is no state law outlining the relationship of the state department to public and private institutions and agencies, and in this pioneer state there are comparatively few institutions and agencies.

The department at the present time is giving the half time services of one of the workers to a division of institutional service. The worker has been invited to visit as often as possible and offer suggestions as well as help with the problems. The department has expressed satisfaction in the fact that the state does not have a law giving supervisory or licensing power because it believes it must have time to work out some cooperative plan on a purely volunteer basis. It is hoped the institutions themselves will strive for the passage of such a law when it is introduced. No effort is being made to progress faster than public opinion. As in all other departments, the cry is for trained workers.

Everyone is thoroughly familiar with the Minnesota plan and the work of its Children's Bureau. During the last five years the number of county child welfare boards increased from 69 to 81, and only six counties in Minnesota are without a board at the present time. However, only 24 counties of the 81 organized employ full time or part time social workers. The state department recommends such workers in at least 60 counties.

The work of child welfare boards depends upon the cooperation of the counties in order that funds may be provided to carry on the work of the board of control in each particular county. There are two sides to this question, however. It is apparent that laws are not self enforcing, that it is essential there should be a favorable public opinion in a community in order to secure law enforcement and constructive work in the social field.

The passing of the law providing for the care of children unsuitable for adoption is an outstanding achievement in this state. Even though the Governor vetoed in 1927 the appropriation of \$127,000 which was to be used as a boarding fund, the seed has been sown that these children need special care.

California is extremely interested in the development of county units according to the needs of each county and not in accordance with the general statewide plan. The state department has been responsible for surveys in many counties in order to stimulate the creation of such county departments of public welfare with trained social workers. More than 20 of the 58 counties of the state have paid workers devoting full time. Great strides have been taken in its service to the child caring institutions, agencies, day nurseries, and boarding homes which the state department licenses. At the last session of the legislature a bill was passed which provides for the investigation by the state department of all independent adoptions. State aid was also provided in cases where the parent is incapacitated and cannot pursue a gainful occupation.

In gathering material for this paper I thought it would be helpful to know that the local private agencies of our different states are thinking about their state departments of public welfare, or bureaus which have some provision rel-

ative to children's work. Therefore the following three questions were sent to child caring institutions and agencies throughout the United States which are members of the Child Welfare League of America:

1. According to your knowledge and judgment, what has been the outstanding achievement of your state welfare department during the past five years in any activities relating to children?
2. In what ways in your opinion can the present program of the state department be strengthened?
3. Is the state department assuming leadership in the children's field in your state?

The answers received from 60 private agencies regarding 25 state departments are quite illuminating, as follows. Seven state departments are purely political and the agencies are not looking to them for inspiration and help; that nine state departments are assuming leadership in their own state was the opinion of twenty agencies; sixteen state departments are not assuming leadership, in the opinion of thirty-two agencies; eight agencies did not answer the particular question.

The outstanding achievements of the various state departments in the opinion of the agencies answering are as follows: Thirteen agencies stated they had little or no knowledge of the activities or achievements of the state department in eight states (several of these eight states, however, have a progressive program, but for some reason the agencies have not been drawn closely enough into the program as to be familiar with its aims); fifteen agencies stress the wide awake, splendid educational plan being carried on in five states; the raising of standards of child caring institutions, agencies, and maternity hospitals was stressed in eight states; better methods in adoptions, in three states; fostering of institutes for local workers and district conferences under state guidance was outstanding in three states; the state's concentration on the development of county units was pointed out in three states; the securing by the state department of an appropriation for boarding of children, in two states; the efforts of the state department to foster legislation was noted in several states.

In answer to the question as to how the present program of the state department could be strengthened, the following answers were received from the sixty agencies:

Department needs larger appropriation in 10 states; state should assume guardianship in one state; state should have some supervision of juvenile courts in one state; state should have authority to enforce recommendations made to children's institutions and agencies in 5 states; state should organize county units in 2 states; state has poor standards of service in 4 states; state has no program and no apparent interest in 2 states; state should have authority in adoptions in one state; state should organize child guidance clinics in one state; state is placing too much on private agencies in one state; state department needs change of organization in 6 states; state department needs complete change in staff in 6 states; "cannot be truthful and ethical" in one state; state

should give proper and sufficient supervision to wards committed to its care, which is not being done at present, in 8 states; no suggestions offered from 4 states.

It is impossible to use all of the material received because of the length of time allotted to this paper. Many splendid suggestions carefully thought out by different agencies will have to be omitted.

It has been clearly brought out that the concern of a state department is not alone with the supervision of child caring institutions and agencies or with direct state care of children. The development of adequate local resources and machinery for dealing with social problems, the education of the public in the eradication of the causes of dependency and delinquency, and the substitution of compensation and insurance for relief must be a part of the program of a state department.

Private agencies desire a strong, properly staffed public department, with a far reaching educational program so organized that politics cannot hinder nor harm, with high standards of administration, and finally, with a program flexible for child care, and protection from dependency and delinquency, constantly in tune with changing trends.

CHILD GUIDANCE CLINICS AND CHILD CARING AGENCIES

THE VALUE OF THE PSYCHIATRIC APPROACH FOR ALL CHILDREN'S CASE WORKERS

Elizabeth McCord, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

It is undoubtedly true that most children's case workers of today possess in greater or less degree some measure of a psychiatric approach. It may be entirely unconscious in some cases, but if we were all to examine the fabric of our case work technique we would find many evidences of the contribution of psychiatry. We would discover that a dozen times a day we put into practice the essence of the psychiatric approach. Case workers have been eager to welcome and use the specialized services of the psychiatrist and of the psychiatric social worker with a far more open minded acceptance than has been granted by schools and colleges. More than that, case workers have been quick to accept and to act upon the new interpretation of behavior which has come to us through psychiatry.

Perhaps no other branch of social work has been more affected than work with children by the joining of the forces of psychiatry and social work. All of this has taken place within the memory of most of us, and it may be for this very reason, because it does not have the perspective which age gives, that we are so apt to take for granted these changes which have gradually pene-

trated and which are now part of the case work technique of almost all children's case workers. But if we look backward we will see that many of our accepted theories in regard to punishment, the substitution of fulfillment for repression and deprivation, our emphasis on environment as opposed to the old idea that heredity was all important, our attitude toward the sex life of children, toward masturbation, enuresis, temper tantrums, and a hundred other problems with which we deal daily, have their roots in the understanding which has been given us either directly or indirectly by psychiatry.

In 1916 there was a division in the National Conference of Social Work on Feeble-mindedness and Insanity. In 1917 the name of the division was changed to Mental Hygiene, but the principal consideration was mental disease, and not mental health. The year 1919 marks a new era in social work, and those of us who attended the Conference in Atlantic City will always remember the thrill with which we listened to speakers who startled us with really new ideas. One speaker said,

The term "normal" applied to the mentality of an individual has no exact meaning, but it is a very serviceable word if taken to mean that a person's mental condition is such that he is likely to get on in the world without difficulty. The normal person is one who is able to adapt himself to his environment. In this sense a person who is normal may have a slight mental disorder just as a well person may have a headache, a toothache, or a cold. We are an assembly of normal persons, but probably no one of us could claim never to have had any sort of mental or nervous trouble.

Another speaker made a statement which was heeded by few because it was so foreign to the thinking of the times, but we are today realizing the force of its prophecy. She said, "Social psychiatry is in the position, not so much of supplying a new branch of social work as of offering the psychology and the field work of a graduate course for all case workers who wish to go beyond the level of intuitive psychology in dealing with the personality of the patient."

This was nine years ago; and if we look over our present Conference program we will see to what an extent those ideas have borne fruit. The division on Mental Hygiene is closely interwoven with those on Children and The Family, and in many other allied groups which are dealing with case work problems the contribution of psychiatry is being discussed.

The value of the psychiatric approach is not new to any of us. Perhaps the question is whether psychiatry offers enough of value to the case worker to warrant its being made a conscious part of her equipment as a specialist with children. We would be very loath to go back to the days when enuresis was treated as a naughty habit which deserved a good spanking (the remedy all too readily applied to any form of a child's behavior which irritated or baffled the adult), when sex interest was regarded as immodest, and masturbation as little less than wicked. I am often reminded of the foster mother who was trying valiantly to break her young charge of lying. He came rushing in one

day full of excitement and said, "Oh gracious there is a lion in the front yard." The foster mother looked disappointed and then grimly said, "Nathan, you know quite well that is only our old dog Carlo. Now go right up and ask God to forgive you for such a terrible lie." Nathan went up and returned in a few moments looking almost too serene. "Well, did God forgive you?" questioned the foster mother. "Oh my yes," said Nathan, "He said He thought it was a lion himself the first time he looked at it."

This sort of treatment would scarcely be sanctioned today for an imaginative child. May it not be possible that the science which has so helped us in our understanding of children's behavior has even more to contribute if we do not wait for its philosophy to gradually break down the barriers which we erect because of personal prejudice, busyness, or indifference. May it not be worth while to seek it as a useful and necessary tool?

It has been interesting to see the emphasis change in the last few years from the feeling that the psychiatric interview and the psychiatric approach were highly specialized techniques, very valuable in helping us with some of our most difficult cases, but wholly extraneous as far as the majority of our case load was concerned and beyond the province of the average case worker. We all realize that we must have expert leadership and that a valuable part of our job as case workers is to discern at an early stage the cases which will profit by the skilled services of a psychiatrist. But since the responsibility of the majority of the case load rests with the individual worker it is only through her intelligent handling of the situation that a satisfactory adjustment can be effected. It is obviously impossible for all children, even all serious behavior problems, to be treated by a psychiatrist, and surely this change in emphasis is very hopeful if we believe that psychiatry has a valuable contribution to make in the understanding of all human relationships rather than just in the field of mental disease. The case worker frequently feels baffled, and while psychiatry offers no sure cure for all our worries, it does open to us the possibility of a deeper understanding of why people are as they are and how we may help them. It is usually the lay person and not the social worker who feels perfectly competent to deal with all the variety of personality problems and difficulties of adjustment and to diagnose, prognosticate, and prescribe. Let us take some specific fields in our case work with children and see how this approach can be of further value.

The art of getting from our clients enough of a picture of their situation to be of real service to them has greatly changed since we investigated the neighborhoods of the family, both past and present, and interviewed every living relative. I shall never forget my first experience in a large and reputable organization when I was told in hushed and slightly superior tones that my term "investigation" was not at the moment good form, and that "first contact" was now the approved expression. However, that marked a changing point of view and a feeling that it is the inside, and not the outside, story

which we care most about learning. Our shift in the records of foster homes from a gathering of references to a real understanding of the family relationships is another evidence of this change.

What in addition can the psychiatric approach give us in regard to history material? If the gathering of the history is not primarily for the sake of a neat face sheet, but for the better understanding and the more skilful assistance of the persons involved, we will see that our first interest is to ascertain, not as many happenings as possible, but how the people felt about these happenings. We may gather all the obvious facts about the life and habits of Mr. Mathews and may see in him a very domineering man, severely treating a young nephew who has been left in his care. But how are we going to understand this man's attitude toward the boy unless we have learned at the same time that to Mr. Mathews his nephew represents a younger brother who was the mother's favorite child and of whom Mr. Mathews has always been bitterly jealous. Any given experiences may have very different value to different persons. Let us imagine any sixteen-year-old girl who has struggled to get high school training and is about to graduate. To one child that might be an experience fraught only with destructive love value because she has done it to please an ambitious exacting mother to whom she is tied in an overdependent way. To another it may mean satisfying and constructive achievement because her abilities and interests lie along that line; her family have been interested but not insistent; and her own growth has been developed in the process. To still another it may take on such importance as to be narrowing, because deprivation on the love side has made her put too much emphasis on accomplishment.

After securing a history which helps us to measure the deep seated needs of the child, the next point at which our psychiatric approach can be of value is in our plan of treatment. We recognize first of all the fact that his needs both on the love level and on the level of achievement must be met in some way, and if there is an overemphasis on one side, or an extreme deprivation, destructive behavior is apt to be the result. As we all know, an overindulgent mother may be very satisfying but produce just as serious behavior problems in the child as the depriving mother—requiring, however, very different treatment.

In making our plan we must keep our eye not only on the ultimate goal, but must evaluate the details of treatment day by day. It is not only necessary that we have a genuine understanding of the child, but we must recognize the value which our treatment has for him. We occasionally rush through a long series of physical recommendation just because the physical work seems such a simple place to start. Perhaps at times this procedure is quite all right; at other times it may be absolutely necessary, even though not ideal; and again it may be merely our frantic need to get things accomplished, while it impedes the progress of a sensitive, fearful child who is having enough to stand in the

way of difficult experiences and could just as well wait a few weeks before having his tonsils out, his teeth straightened, and his posture corrected.

We sometimes recognize that a child's deprivation is extreme and that from infancy he has had no security whatever and still fail to see that before he can behave like a healthy boy he must have some of his infantile needs satisfied. An example of this is Paul, a ten-year-old boy of normal intelligence who had been cruelly treated almost from birth. His behavior was marked by continual masturbation, stealing, enuresis, enormous appetite, and failure in school. He was tried in several foster homes, even in one where a special class teacher was the mother, but where another child was the good boy of the family. No foster mother would keep him, and each term he was demoted in school and finally put in an observation class. It was at last decided to put him in a home where there were no other children and where the foster mother was willing to ignore his behavior entirely, giving Paul as much love as possible. This was done, and within a short time it was interesting to note that the destructive behavior stopped and he passed his grade in school for the first time in eighteen months. The fact that he had had no real affection in his entire life meant that he needed an unusual amount of this before he could give up what he had substituted for love and take on more grown up interests. We must be as careful and as objective in evaluating the treatment as we are in weighing the former experiences of the child if we are to gain the result we desire.

It is comparatively easy for us to go this far because we are really interested in the child's problem and in finding the right solution for it; but are we willing to include in the same treatment philosophy the irritable mother, the domineering father, the unsympathetic school teacher, the politically minded judge, the oversentimental foster mother? Can we identify ourselves with them as easily as with our more appealing client, the child?

In the case of Mr. Mathews, who was cruelly treating his nephew for very trivial misconduct, the plan was failing utterly until the case worker realized what she was doing. Her zeal to make things right for the child had led her to use Mrs. Mathews as a factor in treatment by arousing Mrs. Mathews' sympathy and enlisting her interest. This was simple enough to accomplish, but could hardly help the main difficulty since it merely recreated the old situation of Mr. Mathew's childhood. Here was his wife taking the part of the nephew as opposed to himself, just as his mother had championed the younger brother. This very naturally did nothing but add fuel to his antagonism toward the child, and it was not until the visitor changed her tactics that anything could be done. Mr. Mathews was gradually helped to see how much he had given the boy by his care and protection and in how many ways the nephew had actually taken on qualities and characteristics which were Mr. Mathews' own. His very independence was related to Mr. Mathews' own boyhood and the likeness in their personalities was emphasized. Had the case worker proceeded

along the first plan nothing would have been accomplished for the child and it might have resulted in serious friction between Mr. and Mrs. Mathews.

A sensitive insecure foster mother whose own need for love and affection was great because of a starved childhood was rapidly increasing babyish behavior of one of her small charges by fussiness in physical matters and too much attention. The visitor began her treatment by practically ignoring the foster mother's mistakes and by helping her to feel as secure as possible with the organization. She gave her approval for any constructive thing which the foster mother had done and made her feel as confident as possible of her ability to handle the child. Gradually, by drawing out the foster mother's ideas and emphasizing the ones that were good, she was able to change most of the treatment of the youngster from a destructive to a constructive level. It was a home in which the case worker saw certain possibilities, but had she gone in at first and suggested changes, even in the most helpful friendly way, the final success is very doubtful. The foster mother's own problem had to be met, and in the end she was able to get her satisfaction from her accomplishment with the child rather than from attention which she had been showering upon her.

Often we would not be able to use that sort of treatment. The case worker might easily feel that it would be too long and doubtful a process and that it would be better to remove the child. But at other times we have unremovable factors and it is only by seeing them clearly and by meeting their problems in terms of what they can actually accept and profit by that our treatment will be successful. A helpful plan for the child must include an understanding of the behavior of all the individuals involved, and our treatment must lie along lines which will be satisfying and constructive for them.

Is it enough that the case worker shall possess this intellectual understanding of her client's problems? Not unless she can see clearly her own relation to each situation and can have the emotional maturity to recognize her own needs while helping to meet her client's. We have all seen the case worker who cannot bear to have any brothers and sisters separated, no matter what the advantages of separation or what the liabilities of keeping them together. It is possible that if we looked behind the reasons which she gives for this feeling we would see an exceptionally strong family tie of her own which unconsciously makes her wish this for all of the children with whom she has to deal. It is just as possible that a lack of satisfaction in her own relationships makes her cling more tenaciously for other children to the privileges which she feels she has been denied. We are all familiar with the case worker who must give her children educational advantages and who sees no other satisfactory achievement. We know of workers who are unable to take over another person's case with any degree of satisfaction and who continually explain their lack of success by saying that they did not make this plan, or sanction this placement, or take this history. No one cause can be attributed to any of these

things which hold a special value for some of us, and often recognizing it does not remove the overemphasis. But if we have become aware of the intricacies of our own personality problems so that we realize when they may get in the way and prevent our clearly seeing the situation of another person we have gone far toward achieving a psychiatric approach.

If we can get at the causes and plan treatment accordingly, seeing our own place in the scheme of things, we will have some assistance in deciding what cases we can help with the skill which we do possess and the facilities which we actually have at hand, and what ones we will struggle with futilely, giving only the most temporary palliative help. To be sure, even though we see that causes are too deep seated for us to touch, it may be necessary for us to help in a superficial way; but we can at least know what we are doing and not fool ourselves with the idea that our case load is sixty when we are actually able to do case work with thirty. It seems to me that this is true of all case working agencies and to take specific examples from child placing work. If we can truly evaluate a child's former experiences and estimate his needs, will we not be able to say with some degree of assurance: This child cannot take on a substitute mother, and the only thing we can do is to find him a good boarding place and interfere as little as possible with his own relationships; or this girl must have her problems met in her own environment because placement at this time would create more emotional upsets than could possibly be balanced by good physical care; or, for this child a complete break with his own relatives would be the most constructive thing we can offer, because he seems to be capable of really taking on a new mother and father and getting a large measure of security in a new home setting.

Some of us have an unconscious sensitiveness to our own problems and a keen understanding of other people's. Our work for the most part may be most skilful and our relationship with our client both satisfying and constructive; but how much more valuable our contribution might be if our technique were made conscious and our understanding were given a firm basis of real insight. We would then be better able to get from our clients the information which is really significant; to interpret it and to plan with an appreciation of what treatment is aiming at in terms of the child's growth, and to see our own relationship to all of the individuals involved.

"OUTSIDE" ACTIVITIES OF CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS

Anita Bolotin, Social Worker, Hebrew Orphans' Home, Atlanta

My knowledge of "outside" activities of institutions excepting the one with which I am connected is very limited. I therefore shall base this paper entirely on my own experiences. Before I begin on the "outside" activities I beg permission to give you a general outline of the "inside" activities of my

institution, just a glimpse into the matching up of the "inside" to the "outside."

"Inside" activities of the Hebrew Orphans' Home.—Physical and Recreational: Shower baths twice a day; well ventilated sleeping rooms; well prepared and wholesome food; outdoor play of all types; indoor play of all types, including dancing and group celebrations or parties. Educational and cultural: Children attend city schools, colleges, and universities; Vocational classes in the Home, such as sewing, domestic science, manual training, and commercial subjects; music, dramatics, and interpretive dancing. Medical and psychiatric: Children thoroughly examined prior to their admission. For followup or corrective work, all available resources in city used. Well equipped dental room; paid dentist; two hospital rooms well equipped for mild cases or conditions; city and private hospitals used for serious conditions; resident nurse; mental tests made by psychologists of local college. No psychiatric work done due to lack of such facilities in the city. Religious: Children attend services and Sunday school at neighborhood temple. Population of this institution at present is sixty children within its walls, forty-six without. Workers: two supervisors, matron, and superintendent; help, colored; admission age, between four and twelve; no demission age, this depending upon the individual needs.

I sincerely hope the foregoing outline has not made upon you the same impression that I seem to have made upon a little old lady who came to us some time ago from South Carolina. She appeared to be considerably disturbed as she entered our doors. Then, very plaintively, she asked to be shown our institution, about which, she advised, she heard some good things. After she looked the place over very carefully she said with tears in her eyes and trembling voice, "I never realized that an orphan's home could be so nice," then added with more tears and more trembling in her voice, "When I come back to my state, I'll tell them to send you more children."

"More children" is not our chief aim. What is our aim? It is to make use and develop every possible and desirable outside resource for the placement and adjustment of children; to admit children within the gates of the institution only when no other adequate disposition is possible. How are we endeavoring to do it? This question I can best answer by reviewing my own experiences with my institution from October, 1925, to April of this year.

Assignment of cases and control of types of children received.—Applications for admission of children to our institution are received for orphans and otherwise dependent children from seven southeastern states, from agencies, and interested persons. From October, 1925, to April of this year nineteen applications involving forty-two children were received. Of these three children, representing two applications, have been admitted; sixteen children, representing five families, subsidized with their mothers in their own homes; other arrangements made for the remaining twenty-three. How? I shall cite some cases.

A distant city made application for the admission of four children. Reason: parents inadequate. A visit to the city was made. A study of the situation disclosed the facts that the family were residents of a large eastern city and there known to several agencies: children's bureau, clinics, and hospitals, this largely due to the mother's mental and physical condition, the father's emotional instability and irresponsibility, and the children's physical condition. The social service agency making the application was convinced that the better plan was to return this family to the city to which family not only belonged but where the equipment for the necessary disposition of the children was much more adequate, this due to their better knowledge of the family and to their better facilities. The family was sent to their resident city.

Another case: Father deserted, mother mentally defective and unstable, three young children. Social service agency placed youngest child with relative, oldest with foster boarding home, and made application for the admission of the third to our institution. This child was malnourished, undersized, timid, mentally subnormal, and physically unattractive. Reason for request for his admission to the Orphans' Home, "Hard to find a relative or foster home to take him." Certainly no sound reason for his admission to the institution. Is there any need for me to elaborate on the fact that very frequently institutions at present, and especially in our southeastern states, where the equipment is so limited, must accept those children who do not belong with the so called normal although heterogeneous group of children. This child was not accepted. Two alternatives were presented and discussed with the social service agency: first, a sufficient interest aroused and developed in an adequately equipped relative's home; second, an adequately equipped foster home found to handle this child, even though it required a good deal of time and effort. Child was placed in paid foster home.

And another case: Both parents dead. An only child of nine years left. Application for his admission to our institution made by an interested relative, an unmarried young man. We communicated with the children's bureau of that city to advise placement of this child in a private foster home. The child was placed in such a home and the mentioned relative pays for the boarding care.

Case work with families during care of the children.—In October, 1925, when I became connected with the Hebrew Orphans' Home, we had eleven subsidized families in the city of Atlanta and twelve distributed through the other cities and states. Six of the Atlanta families and four of the others have become entirely self supporting in the interim. And here permit me to give you a bit of history. The subsidy plan was established by my institution about seventeen years ago: no trained worker. The superintendent, with the help of some very well intentioned lady volunteers, did all the investigations and supervision. The superintendent's heavy responsibilities on the inside did not permit to give any appreciable time to the outside job. Result: volunteers

did nearly all of the outside job. No written records excepting the filled formal applications. These two dozen families spread through seven states got along "lovely" for many, many years until a trained worker came. And then there was heaps of trouble!

The following reviews are conditions found by worker and the treatments as administered by her. A study of the family situations discovered facts that were disturbing to both family and agency:

Family A, consisting of mother and one girl of seven years, occupying a room in the home of a sister. Mother was young, slow moving, easy going, lackadaisical, always worried, always complaining. Husband committed suicide four years ago, leaving her an insurance of five hundred dollars. She bought a piano with it and remained penniless. The Hebrew Orphans' Home granted a subsidy. She had ample time, nearly all of which she used in recapitulating all the sad occurrences of her life. She thought she was physically unable to do anything for herself. Several physical examinations, however, showed her to be in good physical condition. A job was found for her, and her sister cared for the child during the day. Her income was supplemented by a small subsidy until her earning capacity developed sufficiently to maintain herself. She became a happier creature. She discovered among her fellow workers humans who too had suffered, but who must keep on living, hoping, and helping themselves.

Family B, consisting of a mother and two children. Family came from state out of district, but became residents of Atlanta prior to man's death. Family was left in indigent circumstances and a subsidy was granted. Mother only fairly intelligent, coarse, crude, illiterate, and always complaining about her health and financial condition. Oldest child, a girl of ten, in good physical health and average in intelligence. Behavior in home and school, fair. The next child, a boy of seven, problem in school—in a special grade in school, where he beats up children, refuses to follow instructions, talks loudly in class, and is generally stubborn. At home his behavior is not felt so keenly, as mother leaves him to his devices and appears to have no appreciation of the boy's condition. No mental hygiene clinic to help the situation. Mother and child sadly in need of same. (There has recently been established a mental hygiene clinic in Atlanta, but it strictly confines itself to patients with ductless glands. Numerous visits were made to this clinic with this boy. Many tests and examinations were made, but the boy persisted in not having ductless glands, and so not a thing could be done for him.) A further study discovered relatives, such as two brothers, cousins, nephews, and nieces, all in a distant city. These relatives were visited. They had not seen the woman for twelve years—antagonistic, and "don't like woman." All of them in fairly desirable financial circumstances and of much higher caliber than woman. After many conferences, talks, and some more talks, they consented to assume the financial responsibility if family were sent to their city. Connections were made with

social service agency of that city, which was very cooperative and much better equipped to handle this family due to their city's far better facilities. One of woman's cousins promised to supply her with a part time job in his small dress factory. Family was transferred. Woman became employed half days and with the help of her relatives is well able to maintain herself and the two children.

Family C, consisting of mother and two children, aged ten and eight. Woman young, fairly intelligent, good housekeeper and mother, but complaining of continuous fatigue. Husband died five years ago leaving her in destitute circumstances, and a subsidy by the Hebrew Orphans' Home had been granted. Woman capable seamstress, but earnings intermittent and irregular. She spent it all in addition to her subsidy and complained of not having enough. Both children apparently in good physical condition, although youngest undersized and pale. School work of both fairly satisfactory. Physical examinations of the family revealed the following facts: woman's tonsils seriously infected, needed immediate removal; she was also in need of dental attention. The same was true of the younger boy. This necessary attention was given them as soon as arrangements could be made. They are both in splendid condition at present. Woman no more complains of fatigue, and boy is beginning to look more robust. Woman's earning capacity was developed through a group of women (some of them the lady volunteers, who visited these families) who organized the "Industrial Guild," whose function is to supply the subsidized mothers with work fitting their individual capacities. This particular mother has now \$155 in the savings bank. The aim was to make woman at least partially selfsupporting. In July, 1926, when her earnings reached \$200, her subsidy was reduced by \$15 per month, and she was permitted to draw from her own earnings the amount of \$10 a month, as she was overbudget. It is interesting to note that since then this woman has drawn the sum of only \$5 a month. She never complains, is getting along very well, and is very anxious to save as much as she possibly can. Another of our Atlanta subsidized mothers has become partially self supporting in the same way.

Permit me to cite just one more experience of how a family in a distant city became selfsupporting. A mother and four children were subsidized for a period of five years by us and the local community. No organized agency in that city—just a group of women known as the Ladies' Aid Society. Mother conducted a small grocery store in a very undesirable alley. Behind this store were four rooms, well enough ventilated and well kept, in which the family lived. Woman healthy, strong, and intelligent; appeared to be capable business woman. Children: boy of sixteen, girl of fifteen, and twin boys of eight. Boy employed as clerk in department store; girl employed Saturdays in the same place. Woman claimed store yielded very little. Investigation showed that family's income equaled at least \$30 per week, minus the two subsidies of \$40 per month. Several conferences with the president of the local society

were held. She was advised that what family needed was removal from that undesirable neighborhood, which was no place for bringing up children, and especially a girl of adolescent age. The lady president did not see any harm in the change of location for family, but she could see great harm in the discontinuance, or even reduction, of the subsidies. She strenuously objected to such a suggestion and threatened the discontinuance of her city's contribution to our institution if such a plan be carried out. Several visits to that city were made before family moved and consent was gained to discontinue subsidy. In the interim both children became employed full time and their earnings increased substantially. The lady president had no knowledge of these facts, as her firm conviction was: "The left hand should never know what the right one is doing." And it never did. And upon the last visit when woman was advised how fine it would be if she created the opportunity for our agency to be in a position to use her subsidy to help some other family more in need than she, she spilled out: "I don't care if you do stop sending me that little money. I have been able to take care of my family for the last three years anyway, but I thought I'd let you give me that little money. It did not hurt you people any."

Follow up of children after dismissal by own worker or through other agencies.—This field of my job has been comparatively small. However, the need is increasing and we are attempting to make use of all the available resources to meet it. Nine children have been discharged from the gates of our institution since October, 1925. Arrangements, or may I say adjustments, have been made for them all to suit their individual needs. For instance:

A girl of about eighteen, who was graduated from the commercial high school and also had the advantage of the commercial vocational classes in the institution, was sent to a paternal uncle residing in one of the large cities in a neighborhood state. Prior to her demission an investigation of the home was made, and through an agency in that city a job found which made her entirely self supporting. Through the same agency this girl was able to avail herself of the opportunities offered in a neighborhood social center. She appears to be very well adjusted.

Another girl, with the same school advantages as the one just mentioned, was sent to a midwestern city, to a maternal aunt, who, due to her physical condition, was in no position to take girl into her own home. This aunt, an intelligent, refined person and keenly interested in the girl, found a job for the girl. Through the social service agency of that city connections were made with a club for minor girls, where girl was sent to live. She, too, seems well adjusted.

In the case of the third girl, although nineteen years of age and also a graduate of high school, with the advantages of the extra training in the instruction classes, it was deemed advisable to give her the opportunity to become adjusted to the "outside" life before sending her away to a brother of a

distant city. She had been in the institution since the age of four. We felt she needed closer and more sympathetic supervision than her estranged younger brother could give her. She was placed in a carefully selected boarding home. A job was found for her. She became self supporting. This girl remained in Atlanta for one year, during which time she was not only self supporting, but saved \$80. She is now with her brother, who is married and has a nice home.

Two boys were given the same type of opportunity for adjustment as the before-mentioned girls. At this time one is with his father, the other with an unmarried brother, in distant cities. The remaining number were discharged direct to relatives. All the homes used were investigated first, connections with local agencies made for finding jobs and general supervision or friendly visits. These children are seen at irregular periods, whenever time permits, and a regular correspondence has been kept up with every one of the children since October, 1925.

In conclusion may I say that since the coming of the trained worker the following points have become very apparent: first, more desirable arrangements made for the children for whom applications have been received by my institution; second, the amounts of subsidy, granted unnecessarily, reduced very considerably (here I should like to mention, for the sake of board members or directors especially, that more than the worker's salary has been saved); third, better adjustments made for those demitted from the institution.

I sincerely hope that this paper will arouse constructive criticism of our treatment, for we should like to know wherein we erred.

SUMMARY OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS

GROUP DISCUSSION NO. I.—INSTITUTION ADMINISTRATION

H. W. Hopkirk presided.

The first discussion led to a review of some of the difficulties involved in recruiting cottage mothers. Executives from several institutions agreed that only indifferent results are secured in the use of employment agencies and newspaper want ads. The most capable cottage mothers usually are secured because of their own applications for employment and because of recommendations by friends of the institution.

The employer's interview with a prospective cottage mother should never be neglected, even when the applicant has been highly recommended. This interview should satisfy the employer that the applicant has cultural interests which may profitably be transmitted to the children under her care. From her references and from the interview it should be established that she has the nervous stability and physical strength with which to meet the exactions of service in an institution. These factors were agreed upon as more important

than any age or educational qualifications, although there are obvious advantages in securing as cottage mothers mature women who have been fairly successful in caring for their own children.

Adequate salaries, small cottages, and suitable living quarters (whenever possible a room with private bath for each cottage mother) will attract many capable women who will not consent to work under the less promising conditions which so generally prevail. Difficult working conditions appear to contribute to the rapid turnover among this class of institution employees.

Another discussion centered about the problems presented in the care of children of both sexes in the same institution or even in the same cottage. For several years institutions in California and Connecticut have secured happy results in operating specially constructed cottages which in each case accommodate mixed populations of about twenty boys and girls. This allows brothers and sisters to remain in the same unit, an arrangement impossible under any other plan. Some of those participating in the discussion urged the value of caring for boys and girls in separate institutions, and strenuously opposed mixed cottages. It was agreed that success in the operation of cottages containing both sexes depends upon the employment of none but intelligent and capable cottage mothers.

One discussion touched in general terms upon several of the children's behavior problems which most commonly confront institution workers. It was claimed that to some extent children from even the best institutions are thought of as unfortunates by both children and adults in the community. The most effective means with which to influence this attitude may be found in the child's own mental attitude toward his institutional environment. Our best institutions build up a morale which largely offsets such unfavorable reactions as they develop in the public schools and other places where the children from the institution meet others.

The institution workers at this meeting agreed that in the future more sessions of the Children's Division of the National Conference of Social Work should deal with problems of institutional administration. This was urged especially because of the apparent increase in attendance of institution workers this year.

GROUP DISCUSSION NO. 3.—THE CRIPPLED CHILD AND THE SOCIAL WORKER

The discussion was opened by Dr. John A. Lapp, professor of sociology, Marquette University, Milwaukee.

There are probably 350,000 crippled children in the United States who need special services. . . . Until we stop accidents and until we find a preventative for infantile paralysis the mass of crippled children will undoubtedly increase. The social worker is probably influenced by the same motives and sentimental appeals as the general public. But the social worker must look at such problems with more objectivity than can be expected from the average individual. . . . She realizes that any good that comes to crippled children must be long continued and adequate to the situation. She knows that improvement

in the condition of a cripple requires aid from many sources: the surgeon, the clinic, the hospital, the schools, the vocational advisor, the vocational educator, and the employment expert. She knows that the child must be restored physically as far as medical and surgical science makes that possible. She knows that hope for achievement must be implanted in the personality of the child. She knows that the child must be eventually trained for work in which he can successfully engage, and that he must be advised and adjusted in the work which he can do. She knows further that wise counsel is continuously necessary as long as the handicap of the individual impairs achievement. The approach of the social worker to the problem is, therefore, one of knowledge of the peculiar difficulties and needs of the crippled child and of the community resources available for aid. Such knowledge of the problem must be constantly advancing to keep up with medical, psychological, and educational science, and such knowledge of resources must necessarily extend beyond the immediate community to the larger accessible urban centers and to the state. . . . The foregoing will indicate the ideal which we may eventually reach. But in most of our communities today the social worker, faced with the responsibility to provide for crippled children, must realize that in the main these facilities are not available [but] must be developed, and it falls to the lot of the social worker to be a leader in this development. Who else is in a position to do it? . . .

Harry H. Howett, executive secretary of the International Society for Crippled Children, Elyria, Ohio, pointed out that Dr. Lapp seemed to be very charitable in his estimate of the work done for cripples by social workers, even though he said, by way of warning, "I fear that many social workers know all too little about the resources that are needed or those which are available in city, county or state." Mr. Howett asked who organized most of the work for cripples in the United States, and answered the question as follows:

The first two institutions for cripples in this country were inspired by physicians; the first state institution was secured from the legislature through the inspiration of a surgeon and a crippled girl. Fifteen of our hospitals were founded by the Ancient Arabic Order of the Mystic Shrine. Over twenty state societies for crippled children and the state legislation which has resulted from their efforts have been inspired through Rotary and other service clubs and civic and fraternal agencies. Of course this does not mean that many of these efforts have not been assisted materially in various ways by social workers, but it does seem to give greater emphasis to Dr. Lapp's fear than was given to it in his address. . . . It might seem fair to conclude that while, as Dr. Lapp said, "the social worker who knows her duties and realizes her opportunities will not rest until the search for resources plainly fails," she has not consistently sought ways to create such facilities. The problem of the cripple appears to be a state responsibility, and the social worker, in order to do her full duty, must find a way to see that through an enlightened and organized public opinion the state assumes that responsibility promptly and adequately. I would therefore supplement Dr. Lapp's thesis by saying that while it is commendatory for the social worker to seek all facilities and resources for the aid of cripples, it is also necessary that she take on the additional leadership in the creation of new facilities and new resources. She must carry her work into the field of statesmanship and call upon the state to do its full duty toward the cripple. The National Conference of Social Work could well afford to appoint a special committee to survey the present knowledge of the social worker in the field of the cripple, to the end that that leadership which Dr. Lapp says she must assume in this field of service may be more promptly and adequately undertaken in all parts of the United States.

Miss Bell Greve, superintendent of the Ohio State Division of Charities, Columbus, recited the fine work done for cripples in Ohio and showed that a leadership in work for crippled children there was undertaken by the State Department of Public Welfare. The nurses in charge of this work cooperate closely with social workers in the county juvenile courts and with all local public health departments as well as with hospital social service departments and public school authorities. "It is highly important for the social worker to take the leadership in work for cripples. It is a case work job."

Miss Emma O. Lundberg, of the Child Welfare League of America, New York City, said in substance that the average social worker throughout the United States does not know the problem of the cripple either in its size or various and numerous technical ramifications. The National Conference of Social Work has never given to this important social problem the place it deserves, judged by its comparative importance. This is another evidence that social workers, taken as a group, do not appreciate this problem of the physically handicapped. Neither do schools of social work show an understanding of the importance of this field of service if they be judged by the time given it in their training courses. Persons and agencies realizing this should personally request the faculties of these schools to give more attention to the problems of the blind, the deaf, and the crippled in the training of social workers.

GROUP DISCUSSION NO. 4.—RURAL CASE WORK WITH THE CHILD

Miss Josephine C. Brown, associate field director, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, New York, presided.

The discussion was based on the papers read at the joint session of the Divisions on Children and The Family on "Undifferentiated Case Work."

It was agreed that undifferentiated case work required an even higher degree of skill than specialized case work, and that it should not be confused with undeveloped case work. While it is important that the rural case worker who finds it necessary to work in several fields should acquire the special techniques needed, it is even more important that she be able to adjust herself to rural conditions. She must be willing, if necessary, to forget or entirely change the technique acquired in city work to fit the needs of a rural community. The county worker who does an intensive piece of work with a group of families and does not interpret it to the community may, from the standpoint of rural social work, be doing a much poorer piece of case work than the one who works less intensively with her families and carries her community along with her. In other words, in a rural county it is impossible entirely to separate case work with families from case work with the community.

In discussing the qualifications of a rural social worker the importance of personality was stressed emphatically. In order to make any progress what-

ever in a rural community the worker must be flexible, tactful and patient, and willing to so adapt herself to rural life that she is accepted as a part of it.

The question was raised as to whether counties initiating a case work program in states where there was no state program already under way should plan for an organization to do undifferentiated case work, or for a specialized agency. In many counties where one case worker has started with a general case work program she has usually been seriously handicapped by a heavy case load from the very beginning. Would this handicap be avoided for a time at least if the work began under the auspices of a specialized agency? It was agreed that the approach to the problem should be determined by the field of work in which the strategic group in the county was most interested.

Twelve states, every section of the country except the far West, county workers, state, and national organizations were represented in the group. Children's and family case workers predominated, coming from both public and private agencies.

II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

LAW OBSERVANCE VERSUS LAW ENFORCEMENT

Karl N. Llewellyn, Professor of Law, Columbia University, New York City

Law, like social work, begins when someone takes to doing something someone else doesn't like. One way of attacking this problem of human conduct is by centering on the individual whose conduct is making trouble. That gives us case work, and, with luck, individual cures. That method of attack takes the social system for granted. The job is to get the individual adjusted to the system. Different in matter, method, and aim is the attack by way of study of the system to see what it is and how it works. This is, to be sure, of service later in undertaking individual cures; but it is, with luck, of service even more in opening up a chance of modifying the system and of reducing the need for cures. This paper moves along the second line: that of study of the system, of mass and not of individual effects.

I propose to ring changes, perhaps *ad nauseam*, on three simple facts: first, that law observance is a question, not of legal rules, but of the formation of folkways that can be and will be learned without reference to legal rules; second, that law and folkways alike are not general and common to our society, but different and specific according to groups, occupational and other; and third, that for mass, as contrasted with individual, attempts at control, the problem of lawmaking and of law enforcement centers on informed, sustained effort to find the particular persons whose conduct is concerned, and to devise means for affecting the conduct patterns of those particular persons.

I should like to begin with the proposition that law, as we know it in modern society, is not a good, but an evil; it is a thing to regret; it is an expression of our somewhat startling incapacity to arrange our affairs in any decent fashion. At the same time, that incapacity being present and obvious, law as we know it becomes necessary as a makeshift to fill the gap; it is necessary as a makeshift; it is a clumsy, rickety thing, but it is our own and some of us still love it. Let me illustrate. If what we think of as law observance should ever be or become universal, it is clear that law enforcement would have no reason or room for existence. And the concept of law would be in grave danger of vanishing with it. What would be left would be the ways of the society, the patterns of action which people learn and live. Those ways are not law. Law, as we know it, is the set of rules specifying what government officials shall or may do when other people do or fail to do specified things. Law, as we know it today, presupposes a government. And it presupposes also that there will be people who do not walk in the ways desired; indeed, those are

the only people with whom our rules of law concern themselves. Those who, as the phrase goes, observe the law, the law pays no attention to. It will thus be clear that I am using "law" to mean official pronouncements or official action aimed at keeping the action of other officials or other people within desired lines or limits. This is not the whole of law; but it is the whole of such law as is contemplated by the terms "law observance" and "law enforcement." It will be clear, too, that I am using "folkways" to mean any established practices, any pattern of action actually observable among some group of persons—especially practices which not only exist but are accepted by the group concerned. The term thus used is loose and broad; it requires as careful specific analysis as does "law," but limitations of space require the use of shorthand terms.

What is meant, now, by this phrase, "observance of the law"? It is a phrase which rests upon confusion. It is a phrase which assumes that in some manner the law contains precepts, that the law tells us what to do. Such is not the case. The words of the law are not: "Keep hands off the goods of others," but "Any person duly convicted of larceny shall be sentenced" to so many years in prison. Undoubtedly there is behind this rule a purpose or policy of inducing people to keep hands off the goods of others. But the rule and the policy it is supposed to further may or may not be on speaking terms. If you happen to believe that imprisonment breeds crime, you may have your doubts even about the simple case I have instanced. When it comes to whether the policy of farm relief will be accomplished by the McNary-Haugen Bill, the possible divergence fairly aches its way to attention. I start, then, with distinguishing the legal rule from the policy which it is supposed to effect. To this I shall return. As to the rule itself, I urge that in strictness its only application is to people who do things we wish they wouldn't; it can be observed only by judges and sheriffs and jailers.

But there is another and more important reason why we cannot "observe" the law: we do not know what the law is. How can we? We commonly train a man for three years before we let him begin to claim that he can find out what it is. We pension a whole profession to tell us what it is, when any of us by accident need to know. Even as to things of daily life we do not know. What is larceny? Is it larceny to embezzle? Is it larceny—is it an offense at all—to run an electric connection around my power meter, or to tap a telephone wire and steal valuable information? You do not know, and neither do I; and what would be the difference if we did? We live adequately without knowing. What we in fact set about "observing" is not the law, but those taboos on meddling with other people's goods which we grew up with. Prescribed patterns of conduct, prescribed inhibitions, resulting attitudes which vouchsafe rough predictability of what we should do even in a novel situation: these are what we really "observe." And, in the main, we observe them, not at all because they conform to the law, but irrespective of whether they do or not. The law has nothing to

say on making subject and predicate agree, nor on the manner of beginning a letter, nor on whether you will accept a given job, nor on your power to dispose of your street car seat by gift to a lady. There is law with an apparent policy of discouraging indulgence in alcohol. And the bulk of us abstain or do not abstain from alcohol and theft for the same reason that we abstain or do not abstain from double negatives: the ways of our environment indicate that course of conduct. Rarely, very rarely, we check conduct, or embark on conduct, or modify conduct, with a conscious eye to the law. When we do, it commonly has to do with fresh-baked law, new law—and it must be that most freakish of new law: new law that for some curious reason we happen to know about.

All of this brings me to the following propositions: First, law observance, so called, to be generally effective requires that folkways in conformity with the law concerned shall have been first developed. It is the folkways, not the law, which are known; it is the folkways, not the law, which our present scheme of things offers some guaranty of people learning and following. Second, hence, when there is new law made, it presents itself as a problem of inducing change of folkways. And this involves working out patterns of action which conform, and finding the people whose conformity is desired, and putting those patterns of conduct across with those people. This is so obvious that I should feel ashamed of taking your time to say it if it were not so regularly overlooked. New law on the books, without more, is an exhortation. In the case of a delinquent we recognize that exhortation, not buttressed by a sound technique of habit change, is worthless. In the case of new law the very exhortation often does not reach our ears—until the rod falls.

I come now to the fact which the criminologists tell us accounts for much of our delinquency: folkways in our complex and changing society are neither uniform nor stable. They vary by groups. Children exposed to the conflicting ways of various groups run risk of failure to firmly ground themselves in ways that will keep them clear of the law. Then arises that particular phase of law enforcement. Having trained the dog to snap, we beat him; he is a vicious brute. That is infinitely easier than training him over again; it also hangs responsibility on a less awkward peg.

But my concern is with another aspect of this fact that folkways are not uniform, that they vary by groups. And it is this: while folkways vary thus, each group being concerned with its own, much law purports to lap over the whole of society. Such law therefore finds observance group-wise, according to the varying folkways. It finds opposition and evasion group-wise, too. There are peculiarly Italian crimes, says Sutherland: personal violence in personal disputes. There are peculiarly Finnish crimes: public drunkenness and disorder. One may go on: there are offenses of the central markets, from bucket shopping to the grand manner of financial jobbery; and offenses of the petty markets, such as short weights or city milk graft. Observance, then, and opposi-

tion, group-wise. What is equally to the point, the folkways of our society at large do not extend to very vigorous support of law as such. There is indeed common to most of us a passive benevolence toward law enforcement; so in all cases where we lack knowledge of the facts, or where the outcome does not seem to touch matters near to us: benevolence, but passive. For, equally common, is that carryover of our youth which makes us know it is a scurvy thing to peach on anybody. Equally common also is that attitude of an age of specialization: let the cop do the dirty work; what else are we paying him for? Equally common, finally, is a total absorption in one's own affairs, which call for time and energy; and a natural diffidence about rushing into this law game when we do not know the ropes—or the wires! So that benevolence to law enforcement remains largely passive, with an exception. There are the interested groups. There is the Antisaloon League, Mr. Comstock's organization, the S. P. C. A., the Ku Klux Klan; the League for Industrial Rights, the American Legion, and the American Bankers' Association. Here again, however, the interest is not in law as law, but in the mores dear to the group concerned. At times enforcement of those mores proceeds by flogging, or by terrorization; at times it proceeds against the doing of acts legally indifferent, or laudable in law. In such case the group fights for its mores, not by enforcing, but by displacing, law. But more typically we find the militant group urging, backing, vigorously supporting some phase of law enforcement which happens to coincide roughly with the group desires, using the law to force other people into line. And this, I take it, must be set against its opposite: interested groups operating in criticism, pressure, passive and active opposition to some policy of law which runs counter to their mores, or their desires.

I draw the conclusion that most law, today, is indifferent to most people; that group ways and group interests, where at all strongly developed, are likely to lead the group concerned into flat disregard of whatever law becomes too inconvenient; that active support of phases of law enforcement depends on there being groups whose particular interests, or dear-held mores, the phase in question seems to further. Am I arguing that law as law has lost all meaning to our community? Not quite. There is this passive good will toward law in general—a fossil deposit of the days when law was held right in itself, and sacred. (Perhaps, even, a newer point of view is gaining ground: that the rules of the game are worth abiding by: a sense of civic sportsmanship. But query: we still show some tendency, when the umpire isn't looking, to play to win.) There is, too, in the average citizen a disposition to conform personally to the law when it happens to touch him—if it does not make too much trouble; that is the one case. Or if the chance of discomfort from non-conformity looms large, that is the other case. And here it is worth note that a deal of confused thinking has been done on the deterrent effects of severe punishments. They may be futile in dealing with the professional criminal. They may be footless in preventing crimes of passion. But when the question is one of urging the

great well-meaning public into conduct which happens to be slightly inconvenient, severe punishments in the offing—known to be in the offing—are capable of effect. The effect may come at too high a price; but that is another matter.

So that I am arguing not that law as law has no effect, but that in the main it has too little effect to be of moment in producing conduct which conforms to the policies concerned. And it seems to me that little is gained by decrying this fact. Whereas much might be gained by recognizing it, by ceasing to think of the passing of a law as having some inherent magic potency. At the same time it would be useful to deposit on the dump heap that paleozoic hold-over, the idea that law is the same for all.

You will have noticed, cropping up through all the foregoing, references to laws which affect different groups in different ways. This is true of the simplest and most generally applicable of our laws. Pass by the obvious inequality of effect of laws on theft, trespass, vagrancy, and so forth as they apply to the haves and the have-nots. Come to the simple property taboos mentioned before. For you and for me it is about enough to have a simple rule of hands off for goods of other people. But suppose you are the assistant trust officer of a bank. You have a fund with loose proceeds to invest. That fund you hold for Mrs. Smithers, who will get the income for life; after her death young Harold takes the principal. Mrs. Smithers needs a security with quick immediate return. Harold needs a principal, safe at all costs to income, and preferably in a corporation which ploughs a goodly share of earnings into plant. Your superior has an investment banker friend with some sluggish securities on hand unsold; or perhaps it is the investment company associated with your bank which wishes to unload slow movers. Or, if the securities offered are peculiarly desirable, should you load up for Mrs. Smithers and Harold, as against Mrs. Roberts and Richard, whose fund you also hold? Here no plain rule of mine and thine will do. You need elaborate and detailed rules of action, elaborate and detailed far beyond the needs of persons who are not specialists. And if any of those rules of action are to be provided by law, the law will likewise move into detail which to the non-specialist is meaningless, and from whose knowledge he is mercifully spared.

Now regulative law is used for two main purposes. Within any group, and as to that group's own affairs, regulative law is used—to some extent—to buttress the group's own folkways at significant points; the state lends aid to help the group line up its own; so, for the community at large, with the law on sex offenses, or on homicide; so within that most prevalent of smaller groups, the family. There the law works indirectly by privileging moderate "correction" of the children; it works directly by helping a parent to secure the return of a runaway. But even more, regulative law attempts control of relations not so much within a group as between groups, marking out the limits or the obligatory methods of one group's impingement on another. Workers may strike, but

not to secure the discharge of a fellow worker; they may not "picket," but they may employ one "peaceful emissary." The father may "moderately correct" his child, but may not abuse him. In case of abuse the law suddenly recognizes the family, not as a unit, but as conflicting individuals, and proceeds to police their relations. Again, in this regulation of contact between groups, the law may simply stake off the ring, lay down a few rules prohibiting the use of brass knuckles and gouging, and leave the parties to battle or bargain to an issue. This it does in most of that wide field of adjustment we speak of as "the" open market. Or the law may attempt to prescribe certain specific conduct for one group, as when the rates of a public utility are laid down, or its obligation to serve all comers; or when specific safety devices are prescribed for an industrial process. Whether such attempts at group control are directed to the internal or to the external phases of group activity, one thing is clear: to be either intelligent or effective, the control must move in terms of the particular group activity; it must be drawn to fit each particular group; it must be special law and not general. And in the main it turns out to be special law, and not general, even when it lacks intelligence or effectiveness or both. This means that the vast bulk of regulative law has reference to the conduct of relatively few persons: few, that is, for each rule or set of rules; different persons for different sets of rules. So that law observance becomes for most law the prerogative of the few who happen to be concerned. And law enforcement becomes a question of properly influencing the conduct of those few.

It becomes convenient here to distinguish those persons who specialize in what we may call a legitimate activity which is subject to regulation from those whose line is regarded as wholly unlawful. They are significantly different in the problems they raise; yet, as I hope to show, they are also significantly similar. First, then, as to regulation of the legitimate activity: proper fire safeguards in places of public meeting; avoidance of combination prices in supposedly competitive selling; compulsory disclosure of the ingredients of packaged food, etc. The line of activity in such a case is either highly organized or it is not, and the problem differs accordingly. If not highly organized, the problem is one of ignorance, of inertia, of possible severe economic pressure against any change involving expense to the single enterprise, and of difficulty both in getting uniform action and in policing. All of which may be accentuated if the line is such as to lend itself to the mushroom, fly-by-night form of doing business. Licensing is one hopeful road into regulation; it gives ready notice of location; it raises some funds for inspection. Well nigh essential to success, however, is the working out of ways of compliance, ways such that they can be introduced without killing off the business; and, along with that, reasonably uniform pressure on all competitors. Beyond this, the problem of education to conformity does not greatly differ from that of educating a loosely organized trade up to intelligent bookkeeping or cost accounting. And from the trade associations the government can learn. One of the lessons will be patience, when regulation jumps too far ahead of trade practice.

If, on the other hand, the line is highly organized, two things become possible. One is to direct both education and pressure to a relatively small group of executives, who, if they will, can shape the conduct of their whole organizations. The other is to police more cheaply. It is easier, too, to procure a rough equality of pressure; it is easier to procure from competitors or customers, some assistance in detecting violations; it is easier to procure rather expert advice on what can and what cannot be done without injuriously affecting the legitimate phases of the activity. All this in the ideal case. There are flaws in the ideal. The more highly organized the activity, the less chance there is, politically, of getting what seems to be, or even to portend, adverse legislation by the legislature; the more danger there is that, once passed, the legislation will fail of enforcement. There is still a certain odor of oil around the capital. Nor have I heard of great present interest in the Department of Justice as to the bearing of the antitrust laws on aluminum. Finally, the more highly organized the activity, the more the policy behind a specific measure is likely to fail of reflection in the measure. This first, politically. The teeth of the law may be extracted in committee. Section 20 of the Clayton Act was touted, you remember, as a charter of liberties for labor. But toothless it came into the world, and toothless it will go out. Secondly, attempts at regulation of highly organized business are rarely drafted by men as skilled as those whom they attempt to regulate. And—this is important—they are commonly drawn in terms of what the supposed offenders have been doing; whereas equally necessary is study of what else the supposed offenders may proceed to do. For a highly organized activity, thanks to skilled legal counsel and a high executive I. Q., can undergo very rapid changes of conduct pattern, under pressure; but such changes can be either in conformity with both a measure and its policy, or equally well they can be around the measure and in the teeth of its policy. Once again the question becomes one of education, of inducing so called observance. It can be done. We have the trade practice submittals of the Federal Trade Commission as cogent evidence. We have the Department of Labor of New York issuing, in 1927, 166,000 orders with reference to the labor and factory laws, with which substantial compliance was had without resort to the courts or police. And may it not be urged that both the technical problems of dealing with a technical activity and the delicacy of the task of persuasion to conformity go some distance to explain the huge development in these latter days of specialized administrative departments of government?¹

All this brings me to a question: whether some similar type of specialization is not a condition to more adequate control of those equally specialized activities which we regard as wholly illegitimate. The criminologists have made a promising beginning at breaking up this catch-all concept "crime" into sub-

¹ Peculiarly difficult to reach by regulation are those cases where executives, directors, etc., exercise discretion in their own interests, in opposition to the interests of the group they supposedly represent. This is the problem of government; and we seem to be quite as far from solving it in the business and social field as we are in the more purely political.

groupings with a trace of living meaning. They argue cogently that traffic offenses, public drunkenness, and burglary show no significant *a priori* likenesses. They point out that homicide among Italians is largely confined to other Italians as the victims; and, more significant still, that it is by way of disappearing in the second generation. There is, then, homicide and homicide. But even more strikingly there is divergence among the lines of professional crime, crime for a living. I mentioned before that such lines differed from legitimate lines in various ways. Chief among these are that professional crime presupposes secrecy in the business, so that one major problem becomes that of detection; of the channels of trade and that the professional criminal cannot be induced to conform to law without abandoning his occupation. There remain the points of similarity: that professional crime depends upon profit, and profit upon a market, and a market upon the nature of the goods concerned; and, finally, that an unprofitable market is a discouraging field of enterprise. It seems obvious that this is a matter of informed, specialized inquiry. Let me take a simple example. The books of the New York Public Library persisted in disappearing. This was a field peculiarly of juvenile delinquency; the opportunity was open to all, but the rewards of theft so petty as to make juveniles the likely prospects. A statute was passed making exhibition for sale of a book bearing a library stamp an offense. The library officials saw to it that every second-hand book dealer in the city received notice of this statute. Promptly the thefts decreased almost into nothingness. The market had become unprofitable. There has never been a prosecution under the law. There is no need.

This suggests important differences between such goods as raw silk and woven silk and furs. Woven silk could be made readily to carry identifying marks on every yard. Forthwith the risks and costs of marketing stolen piece goods would rise; they might be made to soar to the point of no return. The problem of furs and of raw silk would remain. And it seems to me highly suggestive that the agencies of private interested groups have moved much further into this type of specialized study of particular lines of crime than have our police. One thinks of the Bankers' Association, the jewelry men, the insurance men who deal with wilful destruction of insured goods, the present move against fraudulent claims, the investment bankers' attack on fraudulent promotions, the credit men's approach to fraudulent bankruptcies. They have not solved their problems. But they have begun the saner type of study. They seem to me particularly interesting because they set specialized skill against specialized skill; and because they move mass-wise against narrowing specific opportunities for criminal aggression, and particular market for the proceeds of aggression of particular kinds. On the side of the individual delinquent they seem interesting in that they promise to reduce the urge and opportunity to become professional.

But there remain certain phases of crime-for-a-livelihood of which a word should be said: commercial prostitution, gambling, and the liquor traffic. These

are peculiar in that they require a reasonably wide market and in that they further require an ultimate consumer who fully knows the illegality of the trade. And I take it such are precisely the reasons why these lines find operation difficult without corrupting the police into protection. The only point I wish to make is this: it has been our practice to approach the prohibition of these activities by way of pressure on the purveyor, leaving the consumer largely to himself. This is to leave the demand vibrant and profitable, while seeking to choke off the supply. It is a curious piece of legal engineering. It is a charmingly unbusinesslike approach for a community dedicated to the business man. Not only is the surveyor, by hypothesis, peculiarly ingenious in obtaining corrupt protection; not only, even when that fails, is he equipped with the most competent talent for legal defense, and largely impervious at least to fine if he should lose. The publicity of the proceedings become a business asset to him, whereas the consumer shrinks even from the publicity of an arrest. And while the purveyor gambles cheerfully, and in money terms, his present profits against his possible losses, and writes off a contingent reserve against his fines, the consumer must put his reputation on the table as a stake. Altogether one thing seems fairly clear: the present approach is as well foredoomed to ineffectiveness as social activity well can be. Effective prohibition calls for coping with the market. If the wide public does not sufficiently desire prohibition to swallow what this costs in burdens to consumers who happen to be caught (and there need not be so many), then it might be well to stop pretending that we want law which we do not want. I would not be understood to deny the utility, at times, of laws concededly unenforceable and unenforced, as a first step toward public education along particular lines. But I would argue that the price of such education advances very rapidly as non-observance becomes not only widespread, but conscious and purposeful.

Well, you will say, Llewellyn's argument comes to this: first he denies the existence or the possibility of law observance; and then he treats law enforcement as a technical problem of producing or inducing this same law observance which he says is quite impossible. Then he divides society into a lot of so called groups, and talks as if the groups were really solid, and as if the people he treats as group members took over the supposed folkways of their groups in block; whereas our main problem is trying to reeducate youngsters and adults who have failed to get, from anywhere, conduct patterns solid enough to see them through life. Finally, you will say, he talks as if the closing of illicit avenues to gain would prevent youngsters from going wild. He is content to leave society organized in terms of money measurement, money incentive, high pressure salesmanship to make people want what they don't need, and buy what they can't afford, to break down all their resistances to easy, illegitimate gain; he is content to leave youth shut in from legitimate adventure, open to the pulls of life and groups in flux, given over to commercialized external recreation, with a mobility both from hour to hour and from year to year which defies all

the ancient devices of control and education. And he asks us to believe that study of specialized groups, licit and illicit, with an eye to the particular problems of prohibitive control each raises, will cure all that.

And if you should thus accuse, I think I should admit the accusations, with these three exceptions: first, that any merely repressive ways of tightening up the present control machinery I should regard as temporary expedients, good, so far as our present order of things is good, but bound to raise trouble by their very effectiveness so far as our present order denies normal human outlet to a significant number; second, that this same process of microscopic study of the living ways of specific subgroups in our society seems to me as essential to any technique of single case adjustment and re-education as it does to the effective adjustment and control of mass relations between these shifting but real clumps of humanity I have chosen to call groups; third, that I have not been asked to talk on whether our civilization was worth having, but on how to keep people moving inside the paths that civilization has marked out, for good or ill. Certainly, I shall insist again, in closing, that law observance is a question of folkways rather than of rules; that rules and folkways are not uniform but diversified in our society; and that any problem of law enforcement is a technical job of altering the conduct patterns of specific individuals. And I shall insist again that all law, as we know it, is at least this far an evil, as its very necessity evidences that our society has outgrown the only really adequate means of government which man has thus far invented.

THE CONTRIBUTION WHICH THE JUVENILE COURT HAS TO MAKE TO THE SUCCESS OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

Hon. T. Munford Boyd, Judge, Juvenile Court, Charlottesville, Virginia

In spite of the clumsiness of its phraseology, I have chosen the present title for my remarks, in preference to a more graceful and sententious one, because I wish it to sound the note of a distinction. Upon this distinction is founded the realization that, at the present time, whatever contribution the juvenile court may be capable of making to the solution of the general problem of law enforcement, is not so much actual as potential; by no means made, but in the process of being made.

Assuming that I can convince you—if, indeed, you are not already convinced—of the genuineness of this contribution by a few remarks of an entirely obvious character, the burden of the remainder of this address will be primarily in the nature of a plea for the extension of the juvenile court in the rural communities of the South, while as a minor theme, if I might call it such, I shall advocate the incorporation of the essence of the philosophy, and much of the method, of the juvenile court into our system of criminal justice.

The historian to come will undoubtedly denominate this an irreverent age

in comparison with almost any age which has preceded it. The absolute, the ineffable, the unquestionable are at once suspect among us. The last century of thought has dethroned many majesties, shattered many icons, and, in our determined quest for intellectual and moral freedom, the so called majesty of the law has been made to totter. It could, however, scarcely have been expected that the law would escape unscathed the thoroughgoing skepticism, the intrepid criticism, which are part and parcel of the intellectual spirit of our time and among our most highly recommended individual mental traits. The need for more laws, created by an ever increasing social complexity, has been answered in the form of voluminous codes and innumerable statutory regulations. Fewer people than ever before observe the law simply because it is the law. On the contrary, most of us feel quite honestly that we are entitled to select for observance those laws which do not offend any opinion or concept which we have decided to be fundamental, or those which do not interfere with any particularly congenial line of behavior.

Our existing system of administering criminal justice, which originated in the declining days of medieval ignorance and superstition and which has survived virtually unchanged in its underlying philosophy and essential machinery through more than half a millennium of unparalleled changes in human society, for a long time and for many reasons has been doomed to failure. Its failure today to accomplish what we have come to believe it ought to accomplish constitutes one of our most generally admitted and frequently discussed problems. In spite of a few relatively insignificant refinements of procedure acquired reluctantly through the centuries of its longevity, the system still partakes too much of the nature of the once popular trial by wager of battle. In a criminal prosecution the state concedes a certain handicap to the accused, expressed in the form of strict rules of evidence, an ubiquitous presumption of innocence, immunity against self incrimination, and a number of other familiar safeguards. But today, with scientific knowledge made common property, with mass education raised to an unprecedented level, and the masses of the people schooled in the philosophy of individual independence, the criminal usually finds himself quite equal to the demands of the battle. This he is daily demonstrating, and winning the applause of a sport loving nation.

We have developed an almost incredibly high standard of living, but it is by no means uniform throughout all classes. This might have been all right; historically speaking, class inequality is no novelty. The trouble is that we started out in this country by solemnly telling all men that they were born free and equal. It is not difficult to see that our political philosophy is still a few paces ahead of our economic order. In the conditions which this state of affairs has produced may be found the sources of much social maladjustment. Where there is social maladjustment, there will be crime. You may count on that, for it is axiomatic.

I have tried to give a brief—knowing that it must necessarily be an inad-

equate—sort of impressionistic picture of the society in which the antiquated machinery of criminal justice lumbers on while the criminal multiplies, both in numbers and in variety of achievement.

Less than any other department of human activity has the law responded to the point of view and the method of modern science. The thought category of cause and effect, which has proved itself so useful to the natural sciences, has been almost wholly neglected by that branch of our juridical science devoted to crime and criminals. Our criminal justice shows no concern over the causes of crimes or their possible elimination. Its machinery is put into operation only when the effect has been consummated and become notorious. When we reflect upon the deadly conservatism of our criminal law and its imperviousness to the contributions of scientific investigation we are reminded of one of Mr. H. G. Wells's more pertinent remarks. He says: "When the intellectual history of this time comes to be written, nothing, I think, will stand out more strikingly than the empty gulf in quality between the superb and richly fruitful scientific investigations that are going on, and the general thought of other educated sections of the community."

There is one department of our criminal justice, however, which does reflect the point of view of modern science—using science in its broader connotation—and make use of such of its data as are appropriate to its purposes. It is that very recently developed institution known as the juvenile court. The juvenile court is not so much concerned with punishing the offender as with seeking the cause of the offense and endeavoring to prevent its recurrence by eliminating the cause when discovered. Its function is not so much to chastize as to check, to conserve, and to reclaim in the interest of the state. Its philosophy is not vindictive, but protective. Its attitude toward the offender is not magisterial, but parental. It does not, like the other agencies of our criminal justice, postulate a hard and fast dualism between the criminal and the non-criminal element in society, which are pitted against each other in the courtroom. For convenience, it classifies those coming within its jurisdiction into delinquent, dependent, and neglected children, these terms being more or less specifically defined in the typical juvenile court statutes, though the classes mentioned do not purport to be in theory, and are by no means in fact, mutually exclusive. The juvenile court judge who is confronted by a delinquent child, provided he knows his business, will immediately set about to find the element of dependency or neglect which was antecedent to the delinquency, and he will usually find it.

We cannot flatter ourselves, however, that such a sane point of view, or even ordinary clemency, has always characterized our manner of dealing with youthful dereliction. At this point I am reminded of an early English case, a report of which usually finds its way into case books compiled for students of criminal law. According to the report which has come down to us, a girl of eight was tried and convicted at the assizes on a charge of practicing witchcraft. The customary penalty at that time for this dangerous offense was hang-

ing; but this honorable court, moved by true Anglo-Saxon compassion, decided that, due to the tender years of the culprit, she would not be subjected to so severe a punishment as hanging, but instead she should be merely burned in boiling oil.

A century ago it was not extraordinary, either in this country or in England, for a child to be hanged for his offense, and there are instances of imposing the maximum penalty much later. But during the latter half of the nineteenth century there set in a strong reaction against applying the rigorous methods of the criminal law to children. In 1870 Massachusetts adopted a probation system for juvenile offenders. In 1899 the first modern juvenile court in the world was established in Cook County, Illinois. Other states followed this example in somewhat rapid succession during the ensuing decade. In many quarters this innovation met with vigorous and often formidable opposition, based upon many a specious and ingenious argument. Since their origin the juvenile court laws have practically run the gamut of objections on constitutional grounds, such as their alleged violation of the right of trial by jury, their denial of due process of law, their infringement of the inalienable right of a parent to the custody and society of his child, and many other familiar barriers always reared by the timid in the way of the new and unfamiliar. To their eternal credit it will be noted that almost every appellate court, not to mention many courts of *nisi prius* jurisdiction, which has been called upon to review a typical juvenile court statute has been prompt to recognize its beneficent purpose and its high social value, and has upheld it on constitutional and other grounds. It may be counted as unfortunate, in a sense, however, that relatively few cases coming before juvenile courts have found their way to courts of last resort, for the result of this is a wide contrariety in the application of the law by local juvenile court judges, many of whom, either through lack of training or even more serious deficiencies, utterly fail to grasp the underlying philosophy of the law they attempt to administer.

It may be of interest to allude briefly to some of the leading cases in which juvenile court statutes have been reviewed in the courts of this country, giving significant quotations from the opinions in a few of them.

As early as 1905 the Pennsylvania Court of Appeals, in *Com. v. Fisher*, 233 Pa. 48, held that the statute establishing juvenile courts and providing for their procedure was not invalid because it failed to provide for a trial by jury, and also that the procedure did not violate the "due process" clause of the Constitution. The court said *inter alia*:

To save a child from becoming a criminal or continuing in a criminal career, to end in maturer years in public punishment and disgrace, the legislature surely may provide for the salvation of such a child, if its parents or guardian be unwilling or unable to do so, by bringing it into one of the courts of the state without any process at all, for the purpose of subjecting it to the guardianship and protection of the state. The act is not for the trial of a child charged with crime, but mercifully to save it from such an ordeal, with prison or the penitentiary in its wake.

In *Moore v. Williams*, 19 Cal. App. 600, the objection that the law was class legislation was discountenanced by the California Court of Appeals.

In *ex parte Januszewski*, 196 Fed. 123, the Ohio juvenile court statute was upheld by a district court, the court explaining that the proceedings were not a criminal prosecution.

Later, an objection was raised to the Louisiana statute on the ground that it violated the inalienable right of the parents to the custody and society of their child. In *U.S. v. Behrendsohn*, 197 Fed. 753, it was held that a parent has no such inalienable right, whatever right he may have being relative and capable of being forfeited by neglect or misconduct. Such illustrations might be multiplied.

Forty-six of the forty-eight states now have juvenile court laws which either create new and special courts for the handling of delinquent, dependent, and neglected children, or, adopting the essential philosophy of this new method of dealing with children found to be in need of the care and protection of the state, confer jurisdiction in such cases upon some existing court. Maine and Wyoming are the two exceptions. Unfortunately, however, the vast majority of these courts exist on paper only. In many instances state legislatures have merely passed enabling acts empowering county and municipal governments to create such courts, and the local communities have too frequently failed to act upon the authority given them. All too often, moreover, where localities have established such courts in name, the office of judge has been filled by some amiable lady or gentleman of the training and mental caliber of the average justice of the peace, who treats delinquents kindly enough, but who, either through lack of the proper court facilities or in an absence of any conception of the real meaning and purpose of the court, neglects the more important and difficult social phases of his official duties, leaving the delinquents precisely where the court found them. A statement of the number of juvenile courts now in existence in this country, therefore, is exceedingly deceptive.

It is in the rural communities that the extension of the juvenile court system encounters the greatest obstacles, either in the form of local inertia or active opposition, and inasmuch as the South, in spite of its industrial progress and its increasing number of cities, is still largely rural or semirural in character, the education of that large portion of the population which still regards the county as the important unit of government, or which is grouped in small towns, to a belief in the social and economic value of this new tribunal is peculiarly, in many respects, a southern problem. It is true that today all the states commonly designated in the southern group have some form of juvenile court law; but the restrictions and provisos which many of these statutes contain, and the manner in which they are actually administered, are interesting subjects of inquiry. There are two main factors which impede the juvenile court movement in the country districts. They are: first, the native conservatism of our rural and small town inhabitants; and second, the economic prob-

lem which the establishment of such a court raises. The court is new, and the court costs money, which must be paid by additional taxes, fees, or assessments.

As an example of this sort of opposition to the court, I recall rather vividly a personal experience. The board of supervisors of the Virginia county embraced by the writer's jurisdiction was one day confronted with a resolution asking an appropriation for the use of the juvenile court. The clerk of the circuit court of the county rose to voice his opposition to the measure, and did so with swollen eloquence. He saw in the court, a symptom of a pernicious and growing modern tendency to "coddle" the criminal. "Criminals," he told the gentlemen of the board, "should be treated as criminals." The court to him represented the present day débâcle of the forces of law and order. Working up to a splendid climax, and digressing to enforce his argument by means of example, "Why," he said, "they have now even put baths down here in the jail!"

This stubborn rustic dread of the new, and of all change, is reflected in some degree in most of the juvenile court laws of the southern states. In Kentucky, Georgia, Texas, and several others, although the law states that the proceedings are not in the nature of a criminal prosecution, the right of trial by jury is carefully preserved, in servile worship of that fetish of American jurisprudence which is naïvely revered to a degree quite beyond its intrinsic worth, and with startling ignorance, or at least forgetfulness, of its origin and early uses. In Virginia, as in a number of the other southern states, the juvenile court is inferior to the first courts of record, and an appeal from the adjudications of the juvenile court brings the case up *de novo* before the regular trial court of general jurisdiction where a jury trial may be had. Thus, although the juvenile court is created as a special tribunal, vested with extraordinary powers and equipped with peculiar machinery for handling certain cases designated by the law for special treatment, its findings may be absolutely annulled by the verdict of an ordinary jury or by the judgment of a court which has neither the powers nor the machinery necessary to deal with the case. To the credit of Alabama, the right of appeal lies to the circuit courts sitting, not as courts of law, but in chancery. In a majority of the states of the South the upper age limit of the court's jurisdiction has been set at sixteen, Virginia being the only southern state in which the age limit for both boys and girls is eighteen. In many instances the legislatures have emasculated the court by the same stroke which created it.

Few rural communities provide adequate probation staffs, and without proper probation facilities the juvenile court can perform but part of its intended function, and that not the most important part. The judge who feels that he has fully discharged his duties when he has kept the child brought before him from the severities of the criminal court, lectured him soundly and paternally, and sent him away probably hoping that he won't get caught next

time, has, in reality, merely wasted his own time and the state's money, without changing the child very much either for better or worse. In my own jurisdiction the court is greatly hampered by the absence of an adequate probation staff. Frequently, when I am endeavoring to act as my own probation officer as well as judge, and am handing out excellent and paternal advice to a boy or girl who squirms and fidgets disconcertingly under its stern fire, I wonder if that child is not mentally groping to articulate the idea which a certain French epigrammatist expressed so poignantly when he said that old men are fond of giving young men good advice when they are no longer capable of furnishing them bad examples.

I, for one, cannot permit myself to become particularly sanguine about the haste with which it will be possible to convert the mass of rural taxpayers to a belief in the economic soundness of the juvenile court. Such a belief presupposes a sociological background and an entire set of concepts which have by no means been generally acquired outside a relatively small group. It proceeds upon the theory that when a child becomes a criminal the state is the loser. It must grow out of a knowledge of the stupendous cost to the state of apprehending, trying, and incarcerating criminals, and out of the frightful waste in productive human power which the whole system of criminal justice, as now organized and operated, connives at rather than curtails. Such ideas and such information, however plain they may appear to a few, are as yet unthought of by large numbers of citizens with full political privileges, and timidly avoided by still others. The education of rural communities to the point of believing in the economic and social value of juvenile courts should be one of the principal aims of any group whose efforts are dedicated to a reduction of crime. Despite the opinion, somewhat prevalent in certain quarters, that the road to the post mortem furnace lies through the market places and down the "great white ways" of the cities, the truth is that delinquency, whether juvenile or adult, is by no means an exclusively urban condition, and of this the rural South may take note.

In a society in which a host of novel factors have combined to produce unprecedented conditions of the environment, unprecedented mental attitudes, and unprecedented individual and group maladjustments, the juvenile court offers a twofold contribution to the solution of our problem of law enforcement: first, in preventing children of discovered delinquent tendencies from joining the ranks of professional criminals; and second, in pointing the way toward a more intelligent, effective, and less wasteful method of dealing with adult criminals. For, after all, when we are dealing with crime, it is the mental, rather than the physical, age in which we are or should be interested, and we know that mental age by no means always depends upon the degree of physical maturity reached. The inescapable conclusion, then, is that age limits of juvenile court jurisdiction, as now fixed, are arbitrary in the extreme.

If I might venture cautiously to predict, keenly conscious of its hazards,

it would be to express my belief that the next decade will witness many revisions of our existing criminal codes, and far reaching modifications of existing machinery for the administration of criminal justice. I shall go one step farther and predict that many of these changes, both in substance and method, will be patterned upon, or at least very similar to, the law and practice now followed in our better organized juvenile courts.

USE OF PSYCHIATRIC FACILITIES IN COURTS AND PENAL
INSTITUTIONS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES:
A SURVEY OF PROGRESS

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The history of the development of psychiatry as an adjunct of the American criminal law has yet to be written. Such a history this paper does not claim to offer, although a few of the milestones will be mentioned. The purpose of the author is rather to offer an outline of the present status of psychiatry in its relation to the criminal courts and penal institutions, this outline being based upon an extensive questionnaire study made under the auspices of the National Crime Commission during the past eighteen months. For permission to present the facts concerning the study the author is deeply grateful to the National Crime Commission.

Lombroso, by his publication of *Criminal Man* in 1876, set in motion a new line of thought and attitudes regarding the offender, which, far from subsiding, is gaining impetus as the years go on. With the development of the concept of individualization and such machinery as probation, the indeterminate sentence, and specialized institutions for various types of offenders has come a demand for knowledge of the offender, and psychiatric facilities have arisen in response to the call.

In any consideration of the development of psychiatry and its relation to the courts and correctional institutions there are a few names which stand out as of preeminent importance. First of all should be mentioned Dr. William Healy, the first court psychiatrist, who began his work in the Chicago Juvenile Court in 1909. The first adult court similarly provided was the Boston Municipal Court, which in 1913 appointed Dr. Victor V. Anderson. In the penal institutions, the pioneer work of Dr. Guy Fernald at the Massachusetts Reformatory (1908), of Dr. A. Warren Stearns at the Massachusetts State Prison (1915), of Dr. Bernard Glueck at Sing Sing Prison (1916), and that of Dr. Herman F. Adler as state criminologist of Illinois (1917), likewise call for especial mention.

The existence and activities of the National Crime Commission are, in a general way at least, familiar to everyone who is seriously interested in what is

going on in the life of our nation. The National Crime Commission was organized in 1926 by Judge Elbert H. Gary and several other prominent and public spirited citizens at a time when much attention was being drawn to the fact that the administration of criminal justice in this country leaves much to be desired. The Commission has done valuable work in directing public attention to the defects in administration of the law, has encouraged the formation of numerous local crime commissions, and in November, 1927, held in Washington a highly successful Conference on the Reduction of Crime. In addition to these activities, the Commission has undertaken studies of various problems, such as police systems and criminal statistics. At the outset the Commission recognized the fact that medicine plays an important rôle in several features of the criminal law, and accordingly organized a subcommittee on the medical aspects of crime, of which Mrs. Ethel Roosevelt Derby is chairman. The principal subject so far undertaken for study by this committee is the extent to which psychiatry is employed in the criminal courts and in the penal and reformatory institutions of this country. A study of the subject on a countrywide scale has, so far as is known, never previously been attempted. The questionnaires which were sent out were intended merely as preliminary. Supplementary questionnaires have already been designed for the purpose of gaining more detailed information from those courts and institutions which already report themselves as making use of psychiatry. The shortcomings of questionnaires are well known, and it is hoped that at a later date the facts obtained by this method may be further supplemented, amplified, and clarified by personal visits. Much of the credit of this undertaking is due to Sheldon Glueck, instructor in criminology at Harvard University and an outstanding authority on the interrelations of psychiatry and the criminal law. The questionnaires were designed by Dr. Glueck, and the work in general was outlined by him. Unfortunately, pressure of his academic studies rendered it impossible for him to continue the details of the work. He has, however, continued his interest, and his advice to the author has been most helpful.

Psychiatry in the courts.—The aim in undertaking a study of the criminal courts was to send a questionnaire to each judge of such a court. For the purposes of the study juvenile courts were included in the same category as adult courts. Although this is contrary to the technical criteria of the juvenile court, it seemed fair in view of the very small number of courts devoted exclusively to juvenile delinquency. It was soon found that no comprehensive list of courts, either civil or criminal, could anywhere be found. After consulting various legal directories and a number of secretaries of state in vain, it seemed best to address the city clerks of cities of twenty thousand or more inhabitants, according to the 1920 census, in order to obtain a list of all courts with criminal jurisdiction located in those cities. Even after all these efforts no claim is made that the list of courts addressed is exhaustive. In all, questionnaires were sent to 2,194 judges. The number of courts thus reached is, of course, some-

what smaller, but the precise number cannot be stated. Several courts, for instance, have several divisions or departments, and a considerable number have more than one justice. Including duplicates and replies from non-criminal courts, 1,296 questionnaires were returned, or 59 per cent of the number sent out. Ninety of these were excluded as coming from courts possessed only of appellate or civil jurisdiction.

Replies were received from 1,168 courts of original criminal jurisdiction (including juvenile courts) located in all the states but one, New Mexico. Within this group are found, on the one hand, courts dealing only with violations of city or town ordinances, juvenile offenses, or with misdemeanors, and on the other hand, courts dealing almost exclusively with felonies. The various titles of the courts replying are mute evidence of the striking lack of uniformity among the laws and procedures of the several states.

No attempt has been made to differentiate the various types of criminal jurisdiction. In the majority of cases such distinction would have been practically impossible without further data. Those federal courts which returned questionnaires have been included in the totals for the respective states in which they sit. Answers from several justices of the same court were consolidated, only one court being counted as replying. In three instances, however, one of the judges gave favorable comment on the value of psychiatry while his colleague expressed an opposite opinion. In these cases one credit each for favorable and unfavorable comments was allowed.

The first question was as follows: Are psychiatrists (physicians expert in mental and nervous diseases) employed regularly in your court? (a) Full time? (b) Part time? A full time psychiatrist was reported by twenty-four courts, and one on part time basis by sixty-five. In addition, twenty-one courts reported themselves to be regularly served by public agencies not a part of the court organization, such as state hospitals or university clinics. The total of courts receiving regular services is 110, or 9.4 per cent of the 1,168 courts considered. This proportion, of course, is not large, but it is of interest to note that the courts are located in no less than thirty-one states and the District of Columbia. Certain states are conspicuous by reason of the large number of courts giving affirmative answers, notably New York (15), Ohio (11), Pennsylvania (10), Michigan (9), Massachusetts (7), and California (6).

Question 2 was couched in similar language and applied to psychologists rather than psychiatrists. Full time service was reported by sixteen courts, part time by forty-seven, and service by other public agencies by seven, a total of seventy, or 6 per cent, of the courts studied. Here again we find a wide distribution, with twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia represented. The outstanding states in this group are Ohio (10), New York (8), and Pennsylvania (7).

The next question read as follows: On what date did you first regularly

employ (a) a psychiatrist? (b) a psychologist? Only sixty-one courts returned information sufficiently definite to be considered, the earliest date reported being 1909. In only one case was the service reported as discontinued. There has evidently been a considerable increase in the use of court psychiatrists and psychologists in the past seven years. Since January, 1921, thirty-eight of the sixty-one court psychiatrists and nineteen of the thirty-five court psychologists have commenced their work. It seems not improbable that much of this increase during the present decade may be attributed to the demonstration of the practical value of psychiatry and psychology given in the army during the World War.

Question 4 read: Is it customary in your court to refer persons detained for trial to private physicians for mental examination before trial? Eleven hundred thirty-seven answered in such a way that credit for a reply could be given. Of this number, 473 courts (41.6 per cent) replied that it is their custom to refer defendants to private physicians. The custom of so referring persons is apparently widespread. The District of Columbia only failed to furnish any court giving an affirmative answer; the District, however, reports one court which is equipped with a court psychiatrist.

The fifth query was: Are trained social workers employed in addition to the regular probation officer? Of the 1,106 courts who answered this question, 228, or 20.6 per cent, reported such employment. Only eight states (Arizona, Delaware, Louisiana, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, South Dakota, Wyoming) and the District of Columbia had no court which answered affirmatively.

The judge was next asked: If not, do the probation officers render assistance to the physicians in collecting data for their examination? To this question only 895 answers were received, 441 (49.4 per cent) being affirmative. Only four of the states from which replies were received (Arizona, Idaho, South Dakota, and Wyoming) failed to report at least one court as furnishing the aid of probation officers to the examining physician.

A considerable space was left for any remarks which the judge might care to offer to heading No. 7: "We shall welcome an expression of your opinion in the space below as to the value of ascertaining the mental, nervous, and physical condition of persons accused or convicted of crime, as an aid to the courts in the disposition of cases." In cases where doubt was expressed as to the value of psychiatry, or where the opinion was frankly adverse, the comment was considered unfavorable. Almost exactly one-half of the replies failed to offer any relevant comment, and 587, therefore, are found entered in the "None" column. Of the 584 comments which could be interpreted as either favorable or unfavorable, 473 (81 per cent) were frankly favorable, only 111 being clearly or reservedly unfavorable. But one court from Arizona, South Carolina, and Wyoming offered comment, and in each case this was unfavor-

able. These are the only states in which no court went on record as being in favor of having information of this sort at its disposal.

The comment from those states such as California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, where psychiatry is used in the courts to a considerable extent, was overwhelmingly favorable. A decidedly favorable attitude was likewise expressed by the courts of certain states in which psychiatry is almost nonexistent as an aid to the court; for example, Georgia, Maine, Missouri, South Dakota, and Washington. Quotations from the comments offered would be of considerable interest, but space forbids. The favorable comments largely resolve themselves into expressions of the belief that the usual routine manner of dealing with offenders is unscientific and that knowledge on the part of the judge concerning the defendant's mental and physical condition is not only more humane to the defendant, but accomplishes better the desired ends of justice and the protection of society.

More varied are the grounds for disfavor as evidenced in the unfavorable comments. Defense of the *status quo*, of course, is found: the court is better able to identify mental cases, and when identified such cases may safely be left to the jury. Distrust of psychiatrists is freely voiced; they are readily purchasable and will testify for the side that pays the better; if given their way, they would release criminals to continue to prey upon society; their activities would reduce convictions and savor too strongly of "coddling"; and in any event, competent psychiatrists are very rare! Finally, the ever useful argument that psychiatric facilities would cost too much is advanced. This group of unfavorable comments represents only 19 per cent of those offered, and probably cannot be considered representative. Many of the statements exhibit startling misconceptions and the grossest ignorance of the fundamental aims of psychiatry as applied to the criminal law.

In summary, we may say that certain states, notably California, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, are particularly well equipped along psychiatric lines; those states which employ psychiatry the least are found chiefly in the South and the West and Southwest. The picture presented by a study of the questionnaires is one of a growing understanding on the part of criminal courts of the practical value to them of sound psychiatric advice, and a readiness on their part to provide themselves with the necessary facilities.

Psychiatry in the penal and reformatory institutions.—There are several respects in which the study of the correctional institutions was somewhat simpler than that of the courts. In the first place, the number of institutions is materially smaller; secondly, an established classification of these institutions exists; finally, information as to the names and locations of these institutions is readily obtainable through publications of the Bureau of the Census

and of the American Prison Association.¹ First of all, the state and national institutions were circularized. It was obvious, however, that the group of jails, houses of correction, and workhouses, receiving as it does about 90 per cent of the commitments to penal institutions, should also be included in any comprehensive inquiry. A list of the seventy-three cities having a population of one hundred thousand or more, as reported in the thirteenth census, was compiled, and a questionnaire was sent to the city or county institution located in each of these cities or in the county within whose boundaries the city was located. To institutions included in the groups before described, 401 questionnaires were sent. Each institution which failed to reply to the original request received a followup letter. In all, 259 of these institutions replied (64.6 per cent). The larger classes were juvenile institutions (108), state prisons (56), county jails (53), and reformatories (31).

Of the entire group of 259, twenty-nine institutions report a full time psychiatrist and sixty-four part time, the total thus being ninety-three, or 35.9 per cent. The proportions are almost identical for psychologists, a total of eighty-five or 32.8 per cent of the institutions being equipped with this service.

The date of first employment was obtained for sixty-seven psychiatrists and forty-five psychologists. Since January, 1917, fifty-three (79.1 per cent) of the former and forty (88.9 per cent) of the latter have been added to the institution staffs. This fact illustrates well the comparative novelty of these aids to prison management.

To the question as to the practice in referring to private physicians the cases of prisoners suspected of mental disease, 230 replies were received, of which 130 (56.5 per cent) were to the effect that such practice is in force. Every state gave at least one affirmative reply to either this question or to the ones relating to the employment of psychiatrists or psychologists.

Of the institutions, 138 offered comment on the value of psychiatry as an aid to the classification and disposition of prisoners. Only nine of the comments were adverse, 129 being frankly favorable.

As among the groups, the reformatories appear to employ psychiatry and psychology to the greatest extent. The juvenile institutions employ relatively few psychiatrists, but a considerable proportion (40.7 per cent) of them report psychologists. The state prison and county jail groups differ but little in their reports as to the use of psychiatry, except that more full time psychiatrists are reported by the prisons. An interpretation of the reports is not here attempted. All of the army disciplinary barracks report a full time psychiatrist. As to geography, the South and West seem to be the sections least well equipped along psychiatric lines in their correctional institutions.

A study of the detailed figures for the institution group leads one to feel

¹ See *Prisoners: 1923* (Bureau of Census, 1926). *State and National Penal and Correctional Institutions of the United States of America and Canada* (New York: American Prison Association, 1926).

strongly that prison administrators, like the courts, are growing in a realization of the usefulness to them of a scientific knowledge of the human material with which they have to deal.

Other indications of progress.—The unsatisfactory state of "expert testimony" has provoked criticism in many quarters and has received much consideration from lawyers and psychiatrists. Efforts to correct the defects of a system whereby physicians are arrayed as partisans, one against the other, however, have in nearly every instance failed to go to the heart of the matter. To complicate, for example, the method of entering a "plea of insanity," as was done in recent California legislation,² cures nothing, and merely serves to increase the possibility that an injustice will be done to some psychotic defendant. It remained for a prominent Massachusetts psychiatrist, Dr. L. Vernon Briggs, of Boston, to offer the solution. In 1921,³ Dr. Briggs conceived a plan which was enacted into law, and which not only has remedied the previously existing undesirable situation in Massachusetts, but has attracted favorable attention in other states. The practical operation of the statute has been described in detail elsewhere,⁴ and will only be touched upon here. Under the "Briggs Law" all persons indicted for a capital offense and certain other persons accused of a felony are referred to the state department of mental diseases for mental examination by two psychiatrists appointed by that department. Thus the examination is not only made by an impartial agency, but is routine, not being dependent upon the alleged recognition by a layman of the existence of mental disease in the defendant. If mental disease exists, it is reported; in such a case the district attorney has the defendant committed, thus avoiding the expense of a trial and the subjection of a sick man to this ordeal. If mental abnormality is not discovered, the defense is unlikely to attempt to overthrow the report of the impartial examiners by partisan testimony. This law has eliminated the "duels of experts" which in other states still do much to degrade the status of experts in general and psychiatrists in particular. At the same time justice has been done to the defendant, and society has in any event been protected.

Colorado⁵ has recently adopted a law which is intended likewise to remedy

² See chap. 677, Acts of 1927, California.

³ Passed as chap. 415, Acts of 1921, Massachusetts. Subsequently amended, and now found as chap. 59, Acts of 1927.

⁴ See Sheldon Glueck "Psychiatric Examination of Persons Accused of Crime," *Mental Hygiene*, XI, No. 2 (April, 1927), 287-305, and *Mental Disorder and the Criminal Law* (Boston, 1925), pp. 58-72. L. Vernon Briggs, "Conditions and Events Leading to the Passage of the Massachusetts Law, Commonly Called the 'Briggs Law,'" *Proceedings, National Conference on Reduction of Crime* (New York: National Crime Commission, 1927), pp. 170-73. W. Overholser, "Practical Operation of the Massachusetts Law Providing for the Psychiatric Examination of Certain Persons Accused of Crime," *ibid.*, pp. 175-85.

⁵ See chap. 90, Acts of 1927, Colorado.

the abuses of partisan expert testimony. One provision is that whenever a defense of insanity is set up, the defendant must be committed to a state hospital for a period of observation, thus assuring an impartial report on the mental condition of the accused.⁶

Along non-legislative lines we find that committees of the American Bar Association and the American Psychiatric Association have given much thought to possible ways of improving the existing legal machinery as it relates to psychiatry. As significant of the growing *rapprochement* between the two professions may be cited the fact that at the meeting of the American Bar Association last August the section on criminal law and the judicial section devoted an afternoon to a consideration of papers by prominent psychiatrists. A committee of the criminal law section was appointed at this time to collaborate with the American Psychiatric Association's committee on the legal aspects of psychiatry. Such an interchange of ideas must inevitably be productive of progress.

As an indication of the thought being given in non-medical and non-legal circles to the possibilities of psychiatry should be mentioned the recent proposal of Governor Smith of New York,⁷ that the disposition of convicted felons be taken from the judges and vested in a commission made up principally of sociologists and psychiatrists.

Such, then, in brief, is the present status of psychiatry in its relation to the courts and penal institutions. What may we conclude? Judges, legislators, prison administrators, and the public at large are coming to a realization of the inescapable truth that a system of dealing with offenders which ignores completely the mental constitution of the offender and makes no attempt to suit the treatment to his needs fails not only to do justice to him but likewise fails to furnish to society that maximum degree of protection which is the primary function of the criminal law, and indeed its very reason for existence. A consideration of the facts outlined in the foregoing paper compels the conclusion that the fogs of misunderstanding are being dispelled, and that psychiatry is making substantial progress toward recognition as a useful, indeed an essential, adjunct to the administration of criminal justice.

⁶ For a discussion of the status of medical expert testimony in civil cases, see Henry W. Taft, "Opinion Evidence of Medical Witnesses," *Virginia Law Review*, XIV, No. 2 (December, 1927), 81-99.

⁷ "Governor's Message to the Legislature," *New York Legislative Document No. 3* (1928), pp. 53-54.

III. HEALTH

THE MEDICAL ASPECT OF THE CHANGING STATUS OF THE CAUSES OF SICKNESS AND DEATH

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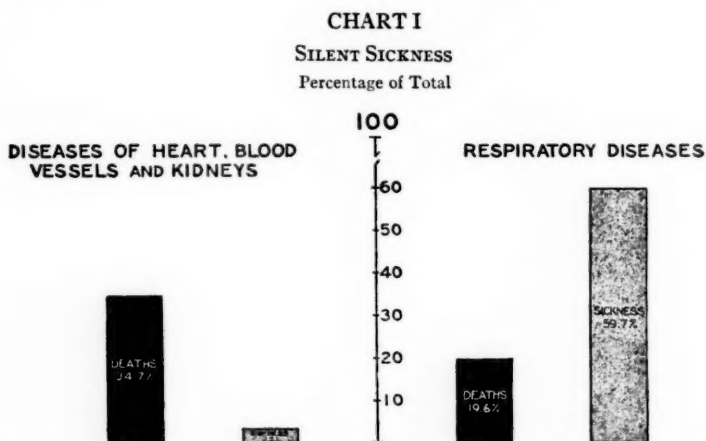
A study of the data derived from recent sickness surveys disclosed a situation of the utmost significance both to clinicians and workers in preventive medicine. Much emphasis has been laid upon the changing factors in the death rates and sickness rates, the most important being the high and increasing mortality from the so called degenerative diseases.

It is some years since adequate attention was directed to this medico-sociological phenomenon, and it may be fairly said that clinicians and health workers are properly aroused as to the gravity of this problem. However, sufficient attention has not been accorded to the rather startling figures derived from health surveys, particularly that at Hagerstown, Maryland, where a curiously paradoxical situation was revealed with regard to the relationship of the sickness rate to the death rate from various diseases. It was there shown that about 35 per cent of the deaths were contributed by these chronic maladies of the heart, blood vessels, and kidneys, whereas only 3 per cent of the sickness rate was contributed by these maladies. On the other hand, about 60 per cent of the sickness rate was contributed by diseases of the respiratory system, and only 20 per cent of the deaths were attributable to these respiratory conditions (see Chart I).

The enormous disparity between the sickness rate and the death rate from the degenerative diseases at once focuses attention on this problem of what I have termed "silent sickness." This term is employed to cover sickness that does not speak in terms of disability or obvious physical signs. It is, of course, not strictly true that silent sickness is limited to this group of degenerative diseases. Tuberculosis itself may be comparatively silent for quite a long period; but as a rule when tuberculosis is fairly well established there are evident physical signs and symptoms even though these may not be interpreted as early as we could wish, as suggesting tuberculosis. Cancer and diabetes also are silent in their early stages.

In the main it may be held that silent sickness is practically restricted to these chronic degenerative conditions affecting the vital organs of the body and not revealing their presence by signs and symptoms until the margin of safety of these organs has been exceeded and their reserve capacity exhausted. The magnitude of the problem is appreciated when we consider the types of diseases

that contribute the major part of the death rate. In the United States Registration Area there were reported in 1925—the latest available statistics—1,219,019 deaths. The following outstanding chronic diseases contributed nearly one-half of these deaths: heart and circulation, 217,567; tuberculosis, 89,268; cancer, 95,504; apoplexy, 86,319; kidney disease, 102,212; diabetes, 17,385; total, 608,255. Inasmuch as the Registration Area represents but 85 per cent of the population, the total number of deaths from these chronic troubles throughout the country annually is more than 700,000. Even a layman will appreciate



Based on sickness records of 7200 white persons, all ages, and mortality among total white population of Hagerstown, Md. over a period of 28 months

(RECORDS COMPILED BY THE U.S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE)

LIFE EXTENSION INSTITUTE, INC.

the fact that a heart or a kidney or a set of blood vessels may be fairly well advanced in pathology without causing any symptoms, because the function of the organ has not been sufficiently impaired to disorganize the workings of the body or result in the accumulation of waste products or toxins.

Unquestionably it is one of the heaviest obligations of modern medicine to detect the earliest signs of these organic maladies in order that such relief as science is able to afford may be applied as early as possible and these degenerative conditions at least arrested or retarded. Even more important than detection of the signs of organic change is the identification of the causative factors. The time has long since passed when we could regard Bright's disease or heart disease as a self initiated malady coming, as it were, out of a blue sky and without any definite antecedent cause.

Some people may object to the term "silent sickness" being applied to conditions that have not impaired the working capacity of the individual or

caused him pain or symptoms of any kind. However, the working capacity of an individual, like his mental efficiency, is a variable quantity. There is no uniform standard by which individuals can be measured. It may be confidently assumed that there are many people who work at 40 per cent below their standard because of the slow insidious development of these organic troubles and the operation of unidentified causative factors; and yet they do not, nor do those around them, appreciate this deficiency. When these bodily changes come gradually we are accustomed to include them under the general term of "ageing." When they become accelerated we dignify them by the term "disease." The terminal stage of these changes is death. Death not due to physical accident is always pathological. Old age is always a disease.

I have elsewhere called attention to the fact that the bodily changes, included under the terms "ageing," "disease," and "death," are necessarily due to certain specific causes, which may be grouped under definite categories, as follows: heredity, infection, poisons, food deficiency or excess, air deficiencies or defects, hormone deficiency or excess, physical trauma (or strain), physical apathy (or disuse), psychic trauma (or strain), psychic apathy (or disuse). The problem of these maladies, therefore, as a clinical responsibility and a responsibility in preventive medicine, is not concerned so much with the management of these diseases in their well developed form—although that is quite important—but rather with the early discovery of the initiating factors and their elimination from the life of the individual.

In dealing with malaria, with typhoid fever, with tuberculosis, we have definite bacterial organisms to combat, the methods of prevention are precise, and success depends merely upon adequate supply of funds and police power to do the work—plus, of course, proper scientific direction. In the case of these degenerative maladies, which, after all, are merely the accentuated expression of the ageing process, we have to deal with manifold possible causes; there is no direct line of attack. The very fact that we lack information, for example, with regard to the primary causes of so called "essential hypertension"—or high blood pressure not identified with some antecedent disease of the vital organs such as heart disease or kidney affection—imposes the obligation to study the lives and bodies of those to be protected from such maladies and institute a thoroughgoing campaign of prevention that will take into account all possible damaging factors.

I believe it to be the consensus of scientific opinion at the present time that essential hypertension is largely a hereditary manifestation. A certain neuro-vascular mechanism is inherited which is predisposed to this disorder. As in other cases where heredity is involved, it is not necessarily a foregone conclusion that the individual will develop this condition; but unless he is unusually well protected from those influences which adversely affect the circulation, he is more prone than the average man to develop this condition of high blood pressure.

In seeking to protect such groups we run our finger down these categories and consider whether under each category every possible adverse factor has been taken account of and the individual protected from it so far as may be. Chronic infection is accorded a high place as an initiating factor in all organic troubles: heart disease, kidney affections, and arterial change.

Complete statistical demonstration of these theses is not yet available, but there is a strong body of clinical information supporting them and there is some important statistical evidence. Clinical studies of these conditions are often baffling because they are not undertaken until the patient is far advanced in the trouble, and then the removal of what has been an important early cause is without much effect on the course of the disease; hence the disappointment that often attends the removal of tonsils or infected teeth or other foci of infection. After such causes have been operative over a period of twenty or thirty years it is a good deal to expect that their elimination will at once bring about a restoration of normal conditions. Quite frequently, however, rather spectacular changes are observed after the removal of foci of infection. Also, when high blood pressure is the final expression of a misspent life of thirty or forty years, even the complete hygienic regulation of that life may not be adequate to cure or even appreciably modify the progress of trouble that has been so long developing.

At whatever angle we approach this problem of organic disease we confront a warning finger pointing to the sign "Prevention rather than Cure."

It may be that this high and increasing mortality from these organic troubles is the price that we have to pay for a complex civilization characterized by an increasing number of nervous stimuli. The crowding into existence of a multiplicity of things, many of them of little importance so far as their cultural value is concerned, but nevertheless constituting a strain upon the organism, and the withdrawal of people from more primitive existence into occupations involving little or no physical activity, may be a balance to the gains made in the easement of living and the relief of many physical and mental burdens through the contributions of science.

So far as I know there is no complete answer to this problem of organic strain. I believe, however, that certain rational measures are indicated from the standpoint of social science and preventive medicine. I do not see how any great progress can be made in solving the problem if we direct our attention only to the treatment of these maladies when they have become well established. The futility of expecting to reconstitute the heart, blood vessels, and kidneys after they have been damaged to any serious extent must be apparent even to a layman. In such conditions competent scientific control may increase the lease of life of the patient, contribute to his comfort, and assist him to get around as one might assist a cripple through the application of ingenious apparatus; but the permanent damage is there and the life is crippled accordingly.

Also we may justly claim that practically no progress can be made in

identifying the original causes of organic trouble if the time honored system is observed of waiting for silent sickness to speak, to manifest its presence by signs and symptoms that prompt the patient to seek medical counsel. The periodic health examination is the fundamental measure of protection and will also prove to be the fundamental research measure in clearing the problem of the initiating causes of silent sickness. It is the only resource that we have to make silent sickness speak. However disappointing clinical records may be with regard to varying lines of treatment of high blood pressure, of kidney trouble, of arterial change, the fact remains that in large groups who have come under the influence of periodic health examinations and who have reasonably cooperated to profit by the information derived from such examinations, a definite reduction in the death rate has been attained. This strengthens the belief that even in the absence of any specific line of action guaranteeing a cure or an arrest of these troubles, the observance of what may be termed the consensus of scientific opinion as to methods of prevention and control will, in the mass, produce a very satisfying and encouraging reduction in the death rate from these troubles and a corresponding clearing up of physical impairments and increase in physical efficiency.

Silent sickness must be made to speak. It can only be made to speak in its early stages by intensive physical examinations bringing into play the full resources of science in testing the efficiency of our vital organs and searching for foci of infection in the body and in detecting similar foci of infection in—if I may use the term—the mind. The latter may be of equal importance in causing that functional derangement which is often the precursor of actual organic damage. This vast extent of silent sickness is an index, in a broad sense, of maladjustment to modern living conditions that far transcends in importance any other single social problem because it has to do with the ability of the people to live and to enjoy life. With such capacity limited or diminishing in power, all the institutions of our civilization become of little significance.

There is no reason to view the situation with pessimism, because the very extent of this neglected field of silent sickness is a measure of the opportunity as well as the obligation of modern social and medical science.

THE CHANGING STATUS OF CAUSES OF DEATH AND SICKNESS, FROM THE PUBLICITY STANDPOINT

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With the evolution of the public health campaign have developed measures to protect the public from the ravages of many diseases which formerly caused untold suffering and much needless sacrifice of human lives. One-third of the total burden of disease and death which rested upon many communities thirty years ago has been lifted.¹ Marked improvements have come in precisely those diseases which have been subjected to specific control measures and at the time when those measures, such as sanitation, quarantine, immunization, and the like, were put in force. There are still many problems to be solved. In the case of certain causes of death, as cancer and organic heart disease, for which effective control machinery has not been devised, the death rate has risen, and these are among the leading causes of death. The fact that respiratory diseases, particularly colds, are by far the most common causes of absenteeism in schools, and also are important causes of illness among certain industrial workers, is a matter which deserves very careful consideration.

Among primitive peoples the enforcement of health regulations was a simple matter, because what may be interpreted in the light of health regulations formed a part of a religious code. "Cleanliness was not only next to godliness: it was in certain respects at least a part of godliness, and the tribal taboo concerned itself with both alike" (Winslow). The quarantine of communicable diseases and even protection by inoculations, at least in the case of smallpox, has been enforced upon the public through legal enactment.

With the beginning of the present century, however, a profound change took place in the objectives and the methods of the public health campaign. It had become recognized by many health and social workers in dealing with tuberculosis that the two traditional measures of the older public health were of little avail. With the establishment of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis in 1904 attention was focused on efforts to build up the general vital resistance through the cultivation of habits of healthful living. This was a new objective which required a new social technique. To change the daily habits of the individual the public health reformer must generally resort to education rather than to police power. This tendency, first manifest in connection with tuberculosis, has permeated every phase of

¹ Smallpox has become a medical curiosity in well vaccinated areas, and typhoid fever is fast disappearing, while even the death rate from tuberculosis, formerly the greatest destroyer of them all, has decreased to half its former magnitude. In New Haven, where an active immunization campaign has been conducted, there were only 0.6 deaths from diphtheria per 100,000 population in 1927, as compared with 184 in 1877. The baby of today may expect to live some 19 years longer, on the average, than the baby born about the middle of the last century.

the community health program. It is through the education of mothers that spectacular results have been obtained in the reduction of infant mortality. The active health and publicity campaign of the United States Children's Bureau and of national, state, and city child hygiene associations and bureaus, directed against the high infant death rate of several years ago, has had a far reaching effect.

Organized education in the laws of personal hygiene is fundamental. It is also recognized that broadcasting of the fundamental principles of health, which are applicable to all, must be supplemented by very definite personal instruction adapted to the needs of the particular individual with his particular physical or mental weaknesses. Professor Sedgwick used to say, "The kingdom of God is within you and the kingdom of health is within you." Personal hygiene is a personal matter, and to secure its observance the public health nurse has come to play a most important rôle, to serve as the health teacher of the individual and to carry the gospel of Hygeia into the home where its precepts must be applied.

The physician is naturally a key person in this newly developed science of preventive medicine. Abnormal physical or mental conditions must be discovered early if maximum benefits are to be obtained. Many a man (and woman, too) still consults his physician only when he is sick, or thinks he is sick, without realizing that his physician can be of service to him in health as well as in sickness by determining how sound his health is and how it can be preserved and improved. The periodic health examination² is the fundamental protective measure in safeguarding against the diseases now claiming the heaviest death toll.

The principal objectives of the campaign of public health education may thus be briefly summarized: first, the avoidance of external conditions dangerous to life, as accidents and germ diseases; second, the development of the second line of defense which involves the creation of artificial immunity through the employment of sera and vaccines; third, the inculcation of the principles of personal hygiene; fourth, the development of the conception of preventive medicine, through the employment of physicians for the early diagnosis of incipient disease and for guidance in the application of the laws of healthful living to the individual human body with its specific defects and liabilities.

Publicity methods have gradually been developed to reach the people who should benefit from scientific discoveries and health activities. The term "publicity" is here interpreted to include popular health education.³ The media of

² Effective leaflets have been published by medical societies and public health organizations, explaining what a health examination is, why you should have one, why you should go to your family physician, and how often you should have a health examination.

³ There seems to be a lack of agreement as to the meaning of "publicity." To some it is a part of education; to some it signifies promotion and education; to others it is merely a channel for raising money.

publicity for medical and public health societies are numerous. Chief among them are the newspapers, magazines, radio, movies, exhibits, posters, and public addresses. The scope of health publicity is the greatest in history, and the methods are gradually being perfected to insure accuracy and effectiveness. Much is still written in the guise of health which deserves careful scrutiny. Much more is authentic and well prepared. Trained workers are in demand. Special techniques have been developed by specialists in different fields which deserve careful study. There is also need for continuing research in public health education if we are to justify our work. We are interested in maximum returns for energy and money available and expended. It is essential that a proper balance should be maintained.

Careful observation and analysis of the phenomena as we find them may reveal relations of cause and effect which are of the greatest significance in community action for the common welfare. Publicity methods in public health work should be based on information secured from the health officer, the physician, the nurse, the statistician, and the social worker. The New York Tuberculosis and Health Association is an example of an organization which is basing its education and publicity activities on a vital statistics survey of the city, covering the principal causes of morbidity and mortality by seasons, distributed according to sex and age groups and economic status.

Having in mind the chief purposes of the movement, it becomes necessary to attract attention, to secure intellectual acceptance of the facts, and then to produce a motivation which will insure action. It is obviously essential at the outset to have clearly in mind the persons or groups to be reached. In order to gain interest or excite curiosity it is necessary to write clearly, briefly, and readably from the angle of the prospective reader.

In preparing stories for health bulletins,⁴ for example, it is important to avoid unfamiliar scientific words and long sentences. Unless a bulletin is attractive and readable, it will not accomplish its purpose, regardless of how carefully the stories have been written. No publicity efforts are worth spending money on unless they are effective. Important steps toward the preparation of attractive literature are to secure enlightening subject matter and then give attention to matters of typography, with the aid of a good printer. Legibility, the length of line in relation to type, the space between lines, margins, the choice of type and paper, illustrations, and cover designs are all important factors. Publicity material should also be timely.⁵ Thus, circulars on the care of communicable disease left in the homes where such disease exists, and booklets on child care sent to the mother of a newborn infant, are likely to be carefully read.

⁴ At least 36 state and 52 city departments, in addition to hundreds of voluntary agencies, issue bulletins regularly, usually monthly, on health topics.

⁵ A health officer can secure publicity from his death and sickness rates if records are kept up to date. The press is particularly interested in diseases which have shown marked increases or decreases.

Popular health education in the social hygiene field offers opportunity for study because of the nature of the subjects involved and the attitude of many persons toward this question. The pamphlet *Conquering an Old Enemy*, written by Will Irwin, has gone through editions of many thousands of copies. This is a good example of what a popular writer can do when given data and arguments. Other pamphlets,⁶ as *Health for Men* and *The Great Imitator*, emphasize health rather than disease, prevention rather than salvage, and indicate the value of good stock, good typography and contents, with statements interestingly made and scientifically accurate.

Attention was recently directed to the cancer problem through a newspaper crusade which resulted in the giving of 33,852 column inches of newspaper space to the bulletins and their supporting news releases. It is recognized that many lives may be saved or prolonged if more of the gap which exists between the knowledge possessed by the foremost students of cancer and the general public can be closed. These newspaper articles called attention to the danger signals of cancer and stressed the facts that many cases can be cured if reported promptly; that the time to cure a cancer is when it is beginning; and that the family physician is the key man in the control of cancer.

Organization for prevention of heart disease is considered as necessary as for the control of tuberculosis. Reduction of infections and habits that lead to heart disease⁷ can be accomplished by education and public interest such as has been provided in other fields of preventive medicine.

Several insurance companies have recognized the tragedy of unnecessary sickness and premature death and have adopted a policy of "Insurance, not merely as a business proposition, but as a social program." The outstanding problem of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in 1909, according to the 1927 report of the welfare division, was the reduction in the tuberculosis death rate. Nearly twelve million copies have been issued of the first pamphlet published, entitled *A War on Consumption*. Several hundred million copies of health pamphlets on various topics have been carried by agents into the homes of policyholders of different companies. Hundreds of booklets dealing with preventable disease, child disease, personal hygiene, and community hygiene have been prepared. Special health exhibits and moving pictures have played important parts in these health education programs. The beneficial effects of these activities are difficult to evaluate in a tangible manner because of the

⁶ The great increase in heart disease deaths has occurred at ages 65 and over. Up to age 45, there has been a decrease at all age periods except at the neglected age group 15-25. It is noteworthy, however, that at the age period 10-14, 11 per cent of all deaths are from heart disease, the greatest cause of death except accidents in this age group. It is of paramount importance that physicians use uniform nomenclature. Eighty-nine per cent of all heart disease reported is entered as "other forms of heart disease." The American Heart Association has published a nomenclature for cardiac diagnosis prepared by eminent specialists in this field.

⁷ Published by or in cooperation with the American Social Hygiene Association.

many other forces at work at the same time, but no one can question that hundreds of thousands of persons have been taught the principles of personal hygiene through these channels. The publicity material of insurance companies has usually been carefully prepared, and there is a growing tendency on the part of these organizations to seek the guidance of trained public health workers in carrying out their welfare programs in order that they may be sound and properly correlated with the work of official and voluntary health agencies.⁸

May Day has become an instrument to focus the interest of a nation upon its children. The publicity which May Day has used as a means to rouse and stimulate the country has been commented on as evidence of the selfless cooperation which magazines and newspapers give to an idea which holds within it intrinsic appeal;⁹ for the publicity given to this campaign for American childhood in 1927 was second only, according to a writer in the *Chicago Journal of Commerce*, to that which the Lindbergh flight and the Dempsey-Tunney bout aroused, and the extent in 1928 is greater than that of last year. Because this publicity had back of it the soundness of science and the intelligent cooperation of great forces which are moving toward the betterment of the nation, it has achieved results almost beyond reckoning.

Articles on some phase of child health in general and miscellaneous magazines in 1927 reached circulations totaling 14,855,138; through religious publications with circulations totaling 766,707; through state board of health bulletins, a combined circulation of 1,165,122, an estimated total of 16,800,000. It is recognized that these figures are far below the actual ones. The Child's Bill of Rights, which is the official document of May Day, has reached a circulation in magazines, in the press, on the screen, in fliers, which cannot be accurately gauged. It has been used in school and community programs, made the subject of editorials, the text of sermons, and embodied into the aims of health boards.

Public health and welfare agencies believe that publicity methods bring results. *Social Hygiene News* (January 30, 1928) of the American Social Hygiene Association states that about three-eighths of the Association budget for the last two years was for educational measures. In considering publicity expenditures, consideration should be given as to whether the purpose of publicity is for money raising, extension of service and development of new services, or for both purposes. Whether the welfare organization is rendering a practical service or an educational service, and what part of the general publicity can properly be classed under educational service, should also be considered. One

⁸ For example, a committee of the State and Provincial Health Authorities of North America has cooperated with the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company in studying its life conservation program, while the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has an influenza-pneumonia commission and an advisory educational committee to aid in determining activities of cooperation with school authorities.

⁹ *Five Years of the American Child Health Association* (1927), p. 52.

prominent maternity association¹⁰ spends about 12 per cent of its budget on educational publicity aside from purely money raising publicity.

There is a growing recognition of the fact that the public must be educated in current health problems by the facts made clear to them in order that their cooperation in the modern health movement may be assured. At least ten years might be added to the average life span if existing knowledge of measures for health promotion and disease prevention were generally applied. Public health and social workers are therefore charged with the important responsibility of acquainting the public with the methods of reducing illness and of conserving life. A broad conception of our problem is necessary. In the words of Sir George Newman:

The vastly improved health of the people in our generation has no doubt been partly due to the fuller application of medicine and sanitation, but still more to the forces of education, sociology and biology. . . . If we reflect upon these considerations we shall discover that the preservation of human life, the enlargement of its capacity, and the increase of its productivity is not a mere doctor's stunt, but springs from deep human instincts and is established upon broad social and economic conditions. It is, in fact, social and medical in structure, though economic and moral in inspiration. It is, I submit, the primary need, as it is the chief asset of a nation.¹¹

IS THE LOW COST HOUSE A MYTH?

Henry Wright, Consulting Architect, New York City

We are accustomed to think of a house as primarily a place of shelter, a structure of so many rooms or of such a size. One of our ideals of the present day of small, congested apartments is to have plenty of elbow room such as there was in our home or our grandfather's house.

As a matter of fact there was probably never a time when as much house space could be built for relatively as low a cost as it can be built today. There are thousands of frame, five and six room houses being built annually in the New York region today, and many other tens of thousands in and about our large cities in which the building, without plumbing and heating, costs from \$1,500 to \$2,000, and in which the complete building with contractor's profit costs less than \$2,000. What we really mean by a low cost house must be something quite different from our casual impressions. What we are looking for is a low cost house, in a convenient neighborhood, with street improvements, some kind of sewerage, gas, water, garage probably, and one which can be purchased on convenient terms by a family which has a very small amount of savings to make the first payment. This is a horse—or, to be more particular, a house—of quite another color.

¹⁰ The human interest of this organization is to teach people the value of, and need for, adequate maternity care, what such care is, and what should be the standards for this care.

¹¹ "The Foundations of National Health," *British Med. Jour.* (March 24, 1928).

The present English standard of space is still three bedrooms for the average workman's home. We go to the opposite extreme: in some cities the no bedroom apartment requires double duty for all rooms day and night. Adequate comfort and safety depend on proper planning for light, sunshine, ventilation, and insulation against cold and heat. Safety requires either wide spacing of houses or fireproof material for construction. Since even our expensive dwellings often fail in desirable standards of light and sunshine it is not surprising that cheaper houses fall short on this point.

Visible evidences of sanitary plumbing and elaborate heating are selling features even in cheap houses. Tile work and trick "do dabs" often make up for a multitude of deficiencies in structural quality. The garage is demanding admittance as an essential, and is crowding out most of the space for lawn and garden.

Public services are usually provided to the extent of minimum necessity. There is unfortunate ignorance as to the final requirements and cost of complete public improvements. Their eventual installation brings embarrassing assessments and rise in land value, causing unpleasant changes in neighborhood character and use.

Environment is almost universally ignored. Newer suburbs are generally devoid of parks or playgrounds. School facilities, usually in arrears, are slow in arriving. A community with a large proportion of time payment purchases is seldom a healthy place to suggest the raising of adequate taxes.

We may safely say that low cost housing as a product of speculative investment is deplorably inadequate on many of the foregoing counts.

An intelligent answer to our question requires an understanding of certain complementary questions: first, what is a house? second, what are the costs of producing a house? third, what are the costs of using a house?

What is a house? Is it shelter? How adequate, comfortable, and safe? Must it have modern conveniences? How many and what quality? Should public services be provided? Utilities, pavements, sewers—how complete? Must it have proper environment? Parks, playgrounds, good schools, neighborhood qualities?

What are the costs of producing a house? Most low cost houses, if they can be so termed, are provided today by the speculative builder. A survey of a number of principal cities shows that in the selling price of the average small house so produced the honors are about equally divided between the building cost and other charges, such as land financing profits, etc., that is to say, only about 50 per cent of the price goes into tangibles (unless we include land, which is often of questionable value). In the low cost house sections of metropolitan New York less than 50 per cent goes into the complete building and its interior accessories. Philadelphia makes a better showing, with 65 per cent for building, due to the almost universal row house standard and small lot size.

The tangibles represent the values against which careful banks make first mortgage loans. The intangibles represent the risk money mortgages at high discounts, usually demanding rapid repayment. The difficulties of producing a low cost house of any kind have not only been multiplied by wasteful financing and selling (intangibles), but by our increasing demands for mechanical equipment, more plumbing, heating, and lighting (tangibles). In other words, it has come to a question of how much shelter, if any, we can afford in addition to the modern conveniences, which in themselves cost more than the whole house a generation ago. The apartment house is merely an answer to the problem of supplying the most modern convenience with the least building cost.

What are the costs of using a house? After all it is not so important just what the cost, or even the selling price, of a house may be, but what the cost of buying, owning, and maintaining it. The use cost of a house depends upon: first, the basis of financing and amortization of the loans; second, the upkeep and maintenance—repairs, fuel, taxes, etc.

The important factor of financing cost is the "risk money" involved, usually called the second mortgage. This money often costs the builder 20 per cent or more, which charge is passed on to the purchaser with requirements of rapid repayment or expensive renewals. "Risk money" represents the difference between what is paid in purchase cash and what the bank will loan in first mortgage. Too often it represents largely the "intangibles" of high selling costs and duplicated profits, but it must be paid by those who have small capital, whatever the form of the loans which they obtain. The factor of maintenance and repairs is in direct proportion to the cheapness of construction. Certainly a low cost house is not one which has been so skimmed that its purchase is only an admission fee to continuous expense and troubles forever after.

A frame house is seldom to be considered a low cost house. It is often not even a cheap first cost house, since, quite contrary to popular opinion, a more pleasing, comfortable (in most climates), and private house can be built in a well planned row of "party wall" houses than as a narrow, free standing house on a lot barely wide enough for intervening passageways. Where land value is a factor of any consequence such a party wall house in brick and permanent roof can be built almost as cheaply as a free standing frame house with shingle roof. In addition the row brick house will save 30-40 per cent in the annual coal bill. To show the relation between "tangibles" and "intangibles," contrast the distribution in costs of a speculative house selling at \$5,600 (to which \$400 has been added to equalize land value), and a house produced by an efficient limited profit organization (see Table I).

We thus see that the entire house cost comprises only from 44 per cent to 60 per cent of the total sales price of most houses. Much of the remaining cost represents the modern high cost of business.

But even this 44-60 per cent which is the building cost is made up largely of new factors. Table II shows the distribution of the costs in the better grade of dwellings of today.

In the case of Table I the \$6,000 and \$8,300 houses are well known examples upon which we have very definite facts. The cost of buying the \$6,000 is less than \$50 per month in monthly payments, but we are informed by owners that it amounts to about \$70 per month with all items of taxes, insurance,

TABLE I*

I	
B B B B B B B B B B	L L L L F F F F S S S S P P P
B B B B B B B B B B	L L L L F F F F S S S S P P P

II

B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B	L L L L L F S S P E
B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B B	L L L L L F S S P E

* I, Speculative \$6,000 house. II, Limited profit \$8,300 house. (Each letter represents 2 per cent of selling price.) B, Building cost. L, Land and public improvements. F S P, Financing, Selling, and Profit. E, Environment. Note 22 B's in I, 44 per cent; 30 B's in II, 60 per cent of total.

etc.; the \$8,300 house is bought for \$65 per month, including interest, insurance, taxes, water, community upkeep, and retirement of entire mortgage in 22 years. Theoretically the \$6,000 will be cheaper after the first five years, because of more rapid amortization. Actually we believe that the uncertain costs of refinancing every three or five years, the cost of putting in sewers and completing street improvements, and the repairs and painting due to frame

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF STRUCTURAL AND OTHER COSTS IN MODERN DWELLINGS*

10½ % Foundations	1	Heating and Lighting 8½ %
12 % Roof and Plastering	1	Floors and Fixtures 12 %
13½ % Lumber and Carpentry	1	Interior Finish Stairs 12½ %
15½ % Brick Walls and Chimney	1	Plumbing and Utility Cons. 15½ %

Total structural costs, 51½ %; 48½ % total finish and equipment.

* Except for part of the third item, the right-hand column (48½ %) represents costs almost unknown in the houses of last generation.

walls and roofs and cheap construction, will cause the \$6,000 house to be permanently more costly to own than the \$8,300 house. Of the difference of \$2,300, \$300 represents the cost of community features (E), absent in the \$6,000 house; \$2,000, or 33 per cent more original cost, purchases 89 per cent more valuable building on the basis of original cost and 20 per cent more valuable land. The \$8,300 therefore approaches more nearly to being a low cost house than does the apparently cheaper house.

Now to proceed to our question, "Is the low cost house a myth?" Does it exist? Is it feasible under any circumstances?

A low cost house need not necessarily be one which has been built cheaply or is even sold at a very low price. Its effective low cost depends upon how it can be purchased and when its cost must be paid. Its relative value will, of course, depend upon how large a proportion of its purchase price has gone into intangibles, high financing overhead and waste, and also upon how much surface show has been substituted for built-in quality.

I cannot in this short paper go into detail as to the best kinds of planning, financing, and building to produce a really low cost house. I am not sure that we would all agree on what should be considered as either low cost or opportune housing for the conditions with which each of us may be individually concerned. My purpose has been to draw up for you a series of test points which may be used in judging the merits of houses which may come within your observation.

(The rest of the paper consisted of illustrations of what the City Housing Corporations of New York, a limited profit company, has been able to do in providing a low cost home, which, although relatively high cost for building, is low cost in owning and gives the purchaser, not only a place of shelter, but a part in a complete, allround community, with parks, playgrounds, nursery school, and community interest for adults as well. Their first development at Sunnyside, Long Island City, is nearly completed, and these same principles are now about to be applied in a complete new town to be called Radburn, New Jersey, in the region of metropolitan New York.)

Such experiments, while they give a ray of hope, do not altogether answer the question. They strongly indicate, however, that our usual methods of building and the popular types of free standing non-durable houses of the new suburb do not qualify as low cost houses, and are considerably off the track of a satisfactory solution of our problem. We can safely conclude that the low cost house as a product of the speculative builder and as a highly remunerative adjunct to business and real estate investment is, as it always has been, a "myth."

IS THE LOW COST HOUSE A MYTH?

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Housing is reappearing on the program of the National Conference at one of those psychological moments of which we all like to speak. After a war and post war period of partial eclipse it is again receiving the attention its importance demands. Because of the post war housing shortage our attention is attracted by building projects. But the other phases of housing work are also

emerging and the construction phase is, too, definitely related to them, so dependent upon them that it cannot be discussed understandably without some reference to them.

The word "low" is, of course, comparative. In order to have a common starting point let us assume that a "low cost house" is one within the means of a family with a monthly income of \$100 to \$150, a house that will cost from \$25 to \$35 a month. In some cities this house, satisfactorily designed and constructed, has once more become a fact instead of a dream. In other cities it is still a dream, but with reality hoped for. In some communities even less costly houses have become possible. But by and large that is the house which we can now take as our standard. Our task is to reduce the cost of this house without sacrificing its quality, even increasing its quality, so that it may come within the means of lower income groups.

Of course there is a limit to reduction. Houses will always cost something. The American theory is that the occupants of a house should pay its economic value, not be pensioners on private or public subsidies. Otherwise they are below the line of self support, and consequently a social problem. As there is a limit to possible reduction in cost and as a considerable proportion of the population is financially unable to pay an economic rent for a proper dwelling, our task of reducing costs must be supplemented by the task of raising the earning capacity of occupants.

Both of these tasks, supplementing each other as effectively as they may, will still leave a considerable number of people unable to buy or rent proper dwellings. At the present time we may assume that families with less than \$100 a month must occupy: first, old dwellings which have fallen on evil days, which perhaps have been remodeled into makeshift tenements, or, second, sub-standard dwellings like the board shacks familiar in the Middle West.

Where there is no intervention by social agencies the tendency is for such housing conditions to spread. It is a line of least resistance, with the usual appeal of such a line to community, to family, to individual; the community provides; the family and individual accept. So the slum develops—to some extent created by its inhabitants, to some extent creating its inhabitants—an illustration of the vicious circle.

But into the slum and the slum dwelling come social workers: a visitor of the associated charities, a number of the visiting nurses. Realizing the demoralizing effect of the unfit dwelling she seeks to improve her chance of success by securing a better environment for her clients by moving them into a better dwelling. Usually this is a slow process, with a really satisfactory dwelling at the far end of a long succession of steps. Moreover, the vacated dwelling is likely to be occupied by another family. Still the process has possibilities, and a committee of the Washington Council of Social Agencies under the chairmanship of Miss Emily W. Dinwiddie has prepared a guide for social case workers which lists factors in bad housing in the order of their intolerableness. So, as opportunities offer, the worst dwellings may be vacated.

While case workers have sought to move their clients into better dwellings, housing workers have sought to improve housing generally by raising the standard below which no dwelling shall be permitted to fall, so eliminating the worst, and by encouraging the erection of better dwellings. This is the direct, frontal attack. It has been carried on consistently since the middle of the nineteenth century, except, in America, from 1918 until recently, when government war time prohibition of house building, except for war workers and the subsequent period of high prices due to the housing shortage, made it virtually impossible to build low cost dwellings and almost impossible to rehabilitate old buildings.

During this period housing workers were not idle, however. In a few cities where housing work was well organized—Philadelphia, Cincinnati, New York—the long campaign to secure improvement in the worst conditions continued despite discouragement. And at the same time nationwide flank attacks were made: first, against shoddy building which threatened to produce great slum areas as soon as the poorly built structures began to deteriorate; second, in support of zoning and city planning to improve the environment of dwellings. The fundamental element in bad housing is land overcrowding. While there is adequate space appurtenant to the dwelling, there is always hope, no matter how insanitary or dilapidated the building may be. But once the land is overcrowded it is practically impossible to secure good housing without demolishing and rebuilding at great financial loss. Zoning, which involves no construction costs but assures more open space, consequently lays a foundation for good housing. So housing workers aided in securing zoning legislation. The third attack made was by raising the standard of living. The most effective means was through restriction of immigration. The dense populations of our city slums were chiefly immigrants from the Old World, unskilled laborers, strangers in a strange land, whose low standard of living yet yielded a profit to those who exploited them. Restriction of immigration almost emptied many tenements in New York's lower East Side, and eased the pressure in all our industrial cities. Machinery more and more took the place of human muscle. Wages were raised until today, despite the higher cost of living, they have a greater purchasing power than before the war. With fewer employees working at higher wages our industries turn out a greater product. Here lies one of the chief reasons for the present unemployment, a temporary condition which will end with an assured higher standard of living.

So during the period when our frontal attack on bad housing was checked we prepared for a renewed attack by: first, continuing as effectively as we could to wipe out the worst; second, improving the environment by zoning regulations, which were not so much affected by high building costs; third, increasing earnings by forcing the substitution of machinery for human muscle, so bringing better housing within the means of a larger proportion of the population.

Now, however, the frontal attack is being renewed. The housing shortage having been met, prices and rents are coming down, a surplus of dwellings is

beginning to reappear. So we can again vacate unfit dwellings, and so force improvement; we can again build for the family of small means. But in this building we must figure carefully; there is no margin for waste; every economy that reduces cost brings the dwelling within the reach of a lower income group. Among the factors in the problem are: first, one-family house versus multi-family house; the plausible economic arguments in favor of the latter are advanced even by social workers; second, public improvements—what are necessary, what wasteful?—a roadway wider than necessary imposes a burden on the abutting dwelling; third, construction—the old question of initial cost versus upkeep; fourth, financing; it is estimated that 50 per cent of the cost is due to intangibles. How can this be reduced?

Experiments in low cost housing began with the beginning of housing interest. The Riverside Buildings in Brooklyn were erected in 1876. Jacob Schmidlapp built his Cincinnati houses before the war. The Bridgeport Housing Company was a product of pre-war boom days. The mill villages of New England go back to the early days of factory production. Since the war we have had Mariemont and Sunnyside, and now comes Radburn, a determined attempt to provide good housing at the lowest possible cost.

But again it must be remembered that with every possible economy dwellings cannot be built for nothing, that along with reduction in costs must go increased earning ability on the part of their occupants. The proposition is double barreled. Meanwhile those who are seeking to reduce cost have in mind: first, city or site planning and zoning (economy of layout and protection against exploitation); second, large scale production with its possible economies, though small scale production with no overhead also has its economies; third, management, mutual or copartnership companies; fourth, financing or securing money at less expense. There are proposals for government aid or credits and industrial aid or credits.

IS THE MOVEMENT FOR BETTER HOUSING MAKING PROGRESS IN AMERICA?

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Progress in social work is not shown by a statistical statement of accomplishments so much as by the growth and general acceptance of the principles fundamental to the particular social field being measured. It is conceivable that two municipalities can be compared as to housing progress. One may have a larger number of bad conditions than the other and yet show more progression and present a more optimistic promise for the future. It is the extent of the acceptance of an idea as a governing factor in conduct that shows the scope of progress made. If gains are due to the labor of a strong personality temporarily in power, they may be fleeting and add little to the permanent well

being of the community. But if a general understanding of the importance of the problem is developed which influences the shaping of public policies, greater future progress is insured. This is the speaker's philosophy. Therefore we are not concerned with any statistical exposition of the development of housing betterment. It is of slight concern that there are more housing organizations functioning in the field today than there were two decades ago. It is of almost as little concern whether there are now more housing laws or building codes than there were then. Nor is the present number of official housing bureaus, local, state, or national, significant if the importance of better housing is more generally acknowledged and the necessity to procure it an impelling factor in social life.

Of the general attitude there can be no doubt. The few lone voices crying in the wilderness several decades ago are no longer oddities; their messages are no longer startling disclosures. But a more conclusive demonstration appears in the expansion of the housing betterment program itself.

Better housing agitation at first was focused upon alleviatory measures and only vaguely sought a remedial program. Horrible examples of insanitation, dilapidation, and overcrowding inspired clean-up campaigns. Workers in this field conducted surveys to acquire a knowledge of how the low wage earners lived; they analyzed the power of municipalities to rectify defective conditions; and they then sought more adequate legislation and more efficient law enforcement. Such early emphasis was natural. This *modus operandi* is repeated today, and wisely so, when a community first becomes aware of its local slums. As an inheritance from this movement there is now voluminous pamphlet literature depicting the horrors of slum life. Similar surveys and reports continue to be made, but the imprint of the movement is now found in more pretentious publications from the pens of political economists, sociologists, and other writers in the field of social and economic problems. But who is so short sighted as to think that only by legislation and law enforcement can any great movement progress! Back of bad housing conditions are causes. Repressive measures are necessary, but the penalty of limiting a reform program to such measures, in the face of a growing population, urban and rural, is a constant increase in the machinery and cost of enforcement, with the attendant hazard of slackening interest and all that such portends.

The conditions at which such repressive legislation is aimed are symptoms, and symptoms suggest causes, which require preventive programs. The slum is not the fault of landlord or tenant so much as the consequence of fatal deficiencies in municipal engineering practices. There are economic causes involved; but even if these were removed and our local governments persisted in their present practices in public improvements, bad housing would persist. It is the recognition of this fact, together with the rapid growth of the programs for city planning, zoning, and regional planning, and the renewed interest in the construction of an adequate supply of dwellings, that portray progress

in the housing movement. Few American municipalities have developed according to any well thought out plan, with the result that open areas, sanitation, adequate light, and ventilation are not uniformly accessible to all dwellings, and hundreds of thousands of houses have been or are being marketed without adequate equipment for hygienic occupancy. It is not because funds at the disposal of these municipalities are limited that they are prevented from making satisfactory provisions for hygienic living as much as it is their wrong emphasis in, and unrelated programs for, public improvements. The absence, even in skeleton form, of a plan for physical development causes all growth to be attended by nightmares of ugly and depressed home areas. The housing movement, as it is almost automatically shaping itself, is stressing the importance of the city plan. The latest reports show that in about 300 municipalities official planning commissions of recent origin are now functioning. And the movement is as yet in its infancy. The net result of their activity will effect an elimination of many causes of bad housing.

Moreover, the promotion of city planning has brought out the interdependence of governmental units in territories contiguous to large cities. Political boundaries are artificial dividing lines which do not change the sanitary needs of the population residing on either side. Satellite areas present problems in safe and potable water supply, sewage removal and disposal, parks and playgrounds, traffic and transit facilities, and sanitary occupancy of dwellings. To safeguard urban areas, adjacent suburban territory necessarily must be scientifically planned and controlled. This regional consciousness is being grasped in the housing field, with the result that the movement of city planning is expanding into a movement for regional planning. Qualified leaders in the field of regional planning in America constantly stress the point that the essential value of this movement is its promise of improved living conditions. They see an opportunity for housing betterment through improving the environment in which dwellings are erected, on the one hand, and the renovation of deteriorated central areas through the opening of more traffic ways and the provision of more open spaces, on the other hand.

Akin to these advances has been the extraordinary progress in the field of zoning. In 1916 there was practically only one city in the United States that had studied its areas of deterioration as a basis for corrective and preventive measures. Out of this came the program now termed zoning. Shady canyons in cities, traffic congestion, land overcrowding, and similar phenomena characteristic of business centers and tenement districts, all developing in conflict with the scientific laws of light and ventilation, were blighting large areas. Use of dwellings for objectionable stores, industries, and other business purposes was causing residential districts to degenerate into slums. New housing districts needed some protection thrown about them to fend off such a fate. Zoning regulations were proposed to control the height, use, and area of a lot to be covered, according to the suitability of areas for industrial, com-

mercial, or residential development. This remedy for certain housing evils was added to the program. In less than twelve years it has been accepted by forty-six states and the District of Columbia, and has been adopted in 583 municipalities of approximately 31,000,000 persons. The impetus to its adoption is still strong and has the sanction of the Supreme Court of the United States as to its constitutionality.

It must not be thought that the impetus to better housing is confined to large cities. Rural bad housing, of which there is a vast amount in the United States, is a serious menace to the health and welfare of the nation, but there has been an encouraging amount of program-making to better conditions, attended with successful execution in this field. Engaged in this work are the federal departments of interior and agriculture, state departments of agriculture and other official bodies, women's organizations of national scope, county health units, county agents, and home demonstration departments of educational institutions.

These latter groups have extended their activities to over 1,200 counties in the United States. Interesting experiments in agricultural centers have been and are being promoted. The most successful experiment is that of the state Land Settlement Board of California, at Delhi and Durham, where, in addition to the platting of the holdings into subdivisions of 20-40 acres each, a building and financing program has been evolved which enables the allotment owners to erect dwellings on a small down payment and to pay off their indebtedness on a long term amortization basis. At a recent meeting of the Southern Reclamation Conference, promoted by the Reclamation Bureau of the Department of Interior, plans were put under way for a cooperative effort on the part of the federal and state governments jointly to promote a rural county building plan, the idea being to assist land workers to become farm and home owners in organized farm communities where every essential to comfortable and hygienic living will be provided. In order to encourage the occupancy of more suitable types of farm housing, the federal government has designed dwellings which may be built on the unit plan at low cost and adapted to the needs of the farmer's family. These building plans likewise have included cottages for unmarried farm laborers, while the California Board has not only adopted compulsory sanitary standards for temporary labor camps, but has designed the necessary structures for temporary tent villages for housing seasonal workers. In all of these programs attention has been given, not only to the detailed dwelling plan, but also to the social needs as advanced by town planning practices.

It is apparent that the housing movement in America is progressing today beyond any period in the history of the country. The source of stimulation is immaterial as long as there is an appreciation of the needs for betterment programs and a determination to see that such programs are adopted. Of course, progress would be more rapid if the country were adequately organized

to promote housing betterment. It is the speaker's belief that the most hopeful sign of democratic government today is this widespread interest in planning and zoning practices, as well as in the growing appreciation of the value of architectural design and standard building regulations.

Equally encouraging is the large amount of dwelling construction during the past half decade. The shortage of houses, with all the subnormal consequences created during the war period, has made the construction field America's sphere of greatest industrial activity. Hundreds of thousands of buildings have been and are being erected and absorbed. It is true that the sales prices have been fixed at a figure beyond the reach of the family of average income; but the fact that these houses have been absorbed demonstrates the need that existed. The fact that the vacancy rate in most cities is increasing while rental rates are tending toward lower levels further illustrates a beneficial social result from such construction, even though the sales prices are beyond the economic reach of the small wage earner. Such high prices are not necessarily discouraging since the sales resistance for the disposal of the higher priced houses has forced a large percentage of such construction to be in a steadily falling price range.

Moreover, the handicap of high labor and material costs, which has interfered with the erection of low priced dwellings by commercial builders, has stimulated the organization of limited dividend companies to build lower renting properties. In Pennsylvania alone about twenty of these companies have built workmen's homes. Other typical limited dividend housing projects include the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the City Housing Corporation of New York City, the Rockefeller Apartments, those of the Garment Workers' Union, the Lavenburgh Foundation, the Heckscher gesture, the Marshall Field clearance project, and Mariemont, Ohio. When to this group are added those operations of industrial corporations, the total number of projects aimed to provide low cost housing, demonstrates an interest and a sense of responsibility felt by more people for housing betterment than has heretofore prevailed. Also indicative of this awakened interest is the phenomenal development of the Better Homes in America movement, financed by one of the nation's largest foundations and operated from Washington under the inspiration of Secretary Hoover, of the Department of Commerce. Largely concerned with Better Homes Week demonstrations, the number of local committees cooperating in this movement has more than doubled in the last three years and now totals approximately 4,000 groups.

Manifestly, this analysis of the subject is incomplete. The limitations of space imposes upon the speaker the necessity of only a cursory survey of the situation, but it is apparent that in the United States a new emphasis has been placed on the importance of providing hygienic living conditions and sanitary environment for both the urban and rural population.

NEGRO HEALTH IN THE LIGHT OF VITAL STATISTICS

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William Travis Howard's figures for Baltimore, one of the few cities with consistent statistics over a long period, indicated that in 1862 the white death rate per 1,000 was 23.42, and the Negro rate, 20.38, a pronounced inversion of the current disparities. The white rate after the Civil War fluctuated slightly, and after 1885 began definitely to decline; the Negro rate after the war began to rise rapidly, and in 1883 was 40.78 as compared with 23.40 for the whites. In 1924 the Baltimore Negro rate was 28.84 and the white rate 14.93. In Charleston, South Carolina, from 1841 to 1848 the Negro rate for consumption was 266, and the white rate, 268; and from 1865 to 1894 the Negro rate averaged 576 while the white was 213. These figures correspond closely with the experience of other cities over the same period and constitute a significant segment of the health history of Negroes.

The present period is marked by greater interest in Negro health and more careful attention to the statistics indicating the problem. The length of this paper will not permit more than a bare statement of certain of the outstanding aspects of Negro health as revealed by the best figures available.

The Negro death rate in the United States in 1925, the last year for which figures are available on the entire registration area, was 18.2; in 1924 it was 17.6, and in 1923 it was 17.7. It was 48 per cent higher than the white rate in 1924, and 62.5 per cent higher in 1925. The Negro death rate, urban and rural, in the North is higher than in the South. Their average death rate per 1,000 for nine southern states was 16.9, and for ten northern states was 22.4. The Negro death rate is higher for cities than for rural sections. It was 23.5 for urban and 15.2 for rural sections. The disparity between white and Negro death rates is greater in urban than in rural sections, the Negro rate being 94 per cent greater for the first and 50 per cent greater for the second. The Negro death rate is greater for southern than for northern cities. In 1925 it averaged 25.7 per 1,000 in the cities of nine southern states and 22.1 per 1,000 in the cities of ten northern states. The Negro rural death rate is greater in the North than in the South. For the North it was 23.4; for the South it was 14.8.

The disparity between Negro rural and urban rates is over two and a half times greater than the disparity between white urban and rural deaths. The urban mortality rate decreases for whites and Negroes alike the farther North the area, and the rural rates increase. That is to say, the highest urban rates are in the lower South, the next highest in the upper South, and the lowest in the northern states; the lowest rural rates, on the other hand, are in the lower South, and the highest in the North. Mortality from all causes adjusted for age shows smaller rates for rural Negroes than for urban whites in Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina.

The expectation of life for Negroes increased 8 years for Negro males and 7.3 years for Negro females between 1900 and 1920; for white males it increased about 5.9 years, and for white females, 5.3.

The most serious disease among Negroes has been tuberculosis. In 1920 the rate was 202 per 100,000 as compared with 85.7 for whites. Pneumonia, lobar and broncho combined, came second with 145.9, as compared with 97.1 for whites. Organic heart diseases came third, with 126.4 for Negroes and 93.1 for whites, while acute nephritis and Bright's disease came fourth, with 104.3 for Negroes and 28.0 for whites. In 1925 the most serious disease for Negroes was not tuberculosis but organic diseases of the heart, which were responsible for 19,379 deaths. Following these in numerical order of seriousness were tuberculosis of the respiratory system, nephritis (13,533), external causes (excluding suicide and homicide) 8,528, congenital malformations and diseases of early infancy (8,462), cerebral hemorrhage and softening (8,195), and cancer (5,346). These eight diseases were responsible for over 58 per cent of Negro deaths.

In the Negro city population the order was as follows: organic diseases of the heart, pneumonia, tuberculosis of the respiratory system, nephritis, congenital debility and diseases of early infancy, cerebral hemorrhage, cancer, and external causes. In rural sections tuberculosis led, followed by heart diseases, nephritis, pneumonia, external causes, congenital malformations, cerebral hemorrhage, diarrhea, and cancer.

The diseases which, authorities agree, are due largely to unfavorable sanitary conditions and low economic status show the greatest disparity between Negro and white rates. These are pulmonary tuberculosis, typhoid, malaria, pellagra, and puerperal conditions.

Mortality from tuberculosis among Negroes has its heaviest incidence at younger age periods than for white. It is greatly in excess of the white rates between the ages 20 and 45, and reaches the highest point of disparity at age 25. Mortality from tuberculosis has declined rapidly during the past 15 years. It was 463 per 100,000 in 1910, and 239 in 1921. In New York City it declined from 617 in 1910 to 299 in 1921, while the white rate dropped from 202 to 97. According to Dr. Dublin, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which insures about 2,500,000 Negroes, there has been a 44 per cent decline in the disease between 1911 and 1926, from 418 to 235 per 100,000. Among Negro children the decrease was 54.5. It is yet six times as high among Negro boys and girls as white. Control of tuberculosis alone, it is estimated, would increase the Negro life span by five years.

High mortality prevails in chronic degenerative diseases and, according to the experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, cerebral hemorrhage, organic diseases of the heart, chronic nephritis, cancer, and diabetes, which constitute 36.3 of all Negro deaths, have increased since 1911. Negro mortality from all causes has increased about 59 per cent per 100,000 since

1923, and this increase has been distributed over all except the infectious diseases.

The principal cause of infant deaths for whites and Negroes is premature birth; for Negroes, the second cause is respiratory diseases, and for whites gastro-intestinal diseases. Measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, injuries at birth are more serious for whites than Negroes; while the reverse is true of whooping cough, convulsions, syphilis, and congenital debility. In 1925 the infant mortality rate was 110.8 per 1,000 births for Negroes and 68.3 for whites. In 1910 the rate was 261 for Negroes and 129.7 for whites. The mortality is greater in cities (125.0) than in the country (100.5). The Negro infant mortality rate, however, is lower than that of Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Italy, Rumania, Hungary and Spain.

The Negro migration from South to North involving about a million Negroes, was in progress during the 1920 enumeration, heightening the probability of a serious undercount; it separated thousands of families for long periods, introducing a new factor in the normal population increase; by reducing the actual number in the South below the census estimates of normal growth and increasing the numbers in the North far above the census estimate of normal growth, it tends to distort these rates. For example, the death rate for New York State (1925) is based on an estimated total urban population of 200,000, when New York City alone, by the most careful estimates which take into account the migration, has a Negro population which is closer to 230,000. If the rate is based on 240,000 for the cities of the state, the Negro death rate would show a material reduction.

There is more careful registration of deaths and births in the North, where the cities are larger and there is closer health supervision, and the results may be confused with actual mortality trends. More careful diagnosis of Negro diseases will probably bring important changes in these actual trends. It will be noted that the group of ill defined causes of death for Negroes is ten times that of the white. It is probable that some of the apparent increase in Negro mortality is due to the effect of the last admissions to the registration area, which were for the most part southern states with large Negro populations.

Finally, although there is a consistent disparity between white and Negro deaths when taken geographically, with parallel trends upward and downward, the actual difference varies greatly from a bare four points in North Carolina and Florida to fourteen points in Illinois and eighteen points in Michigan. The differences among Negroes are frequently greater than the differences between Negroes and whites. This suggests that the same influences are operating upon whites and Negroes, but upon the Negroes with greater intensity. It also suggests that these influences are largely environmental, and thus controllable.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL FACTORS IN REGARD TO THE HEALTH OF THE NEGRO

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The first fundamental factor concerning the Negroes' physical condition is that the race is a naturally healthy people. That is, no evidence has been successfully presented to indicate that the Negro as a race is weaker than any other race. The race multiplied in Africa prior to the transportation of slaves to America, and since Emancipation it has increased in America from four millions to eleven millions. Late in the nineties it was predicted by such persons as Frederick L. Hoffman that the race would eventually die out in America and that tuberculosis would seal its fate. Early in the present century Alfred Holt Stone and Walter F. Willcox predicted a gradual decrease in the rate of increase of the race and an eventual actual decrease in numbers due to loss of hope on the part of Negroes following economic embarrassment and industrial competition with the whites.

It has been generally assumed during the life of the Negro in America as a freed man that he could not survive life in the North, especially since his life here has been mainly in cities where there was industrial competition with whites, and city life in America has not been conducive to increase in the human species. Tuberculosis and venereal diseases have been the causes of the largest toll of Negro life. Both of these diseases were unknown to the Negro prior to his coming into contact with the white man. In the case of tuberculosis it seems that the greatest reductions have occurred among those peoples who have been city dwellers and who have become immunized to the disease through recovery on the part of individual members of the group from the disease in its incipient state. The Negro—the most recent city dweller of our population—through improved habits of life, in addition to the early care of tuberculosis, will learn how to live in the city. Evidence of this fact is seen in the following:

First, the only available figures of Negro death rate in southern cities prior to the Civil War point to the fact that the Negroes had a lower death rate than the whites in these cities, due evidently to the care that they received when they were considered as animals and valuable only for the work they did. It paid their masters to take care of them. The great increase in the Negro death rate during the last half of the nineteenth century has been followed by a great decrease during the early part of this century in the Negro death rate and, strange to say, the lowering of the Negro death rate in northern cities to a point where now it is lower than the Negro death rate in southern cities.

The second important fundamental factor in a discussion of the Negroes' health is that the Negro group is capable of indefinite improvement along health lines. The experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with

its two and a half million Negro policyholders indicates that greater reductions are to be expected. Within a period of eleven years there was an actual reduction in the Negro death rate of 25 per cent. The importance of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's figures can be understood when one realizes that at the time of this record there were more Negroes holding policies in this company than there were Negroes in the whole Registration Area of the United States, and that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's figures are more reliable than those of the government or of any of the states. Experiments in baby saving among the Negroes have proved the validity of this fundamental fact that the Negro is capable of great health improvement. I have known of a reduction of as much as fifty points in infant mortality within a period of three years in a district where a specific baby saving program was in progress, and as much as 50 per cent reduction in general Negro infant mortality within a city during a period of five years.

The Negro death rate today is far below that of the whites during 1896, when Hoffman wrote his *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* and predicted the extermination of the Negro as a group in this country. In fact, the general figures would indicate that the Negro mortality figure is today just about where the white mortality figure was in this country from fifteen to eighteen years ago.

The third fundamental factor in connection with Negro health is that the Negro is capable of developing within his own group the main forces that will make for improved life. The increase in the number of Negro physicians and nurses, the expansion of hospital facilities, the development of health programs through organization of community forces, resulting in national health campaigns and continuous local health campaigns are important factors in this connection. In such communities as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Washington one never hears now of any inherent weakness within the Negro medical profession. Improvement in intern facilities for Negro doctors in our largest cities, improvement in our medical schools providing for better medical training, will create within the Negro group more confidence in Negro medical men, and thus give them an opportunity to develop the necessary skill and professional standards requisite to scientific upbuilding of the race's physical stamina as would enable it to resist disease.

To summarize: First, the Negro group in America is fundamentally a healthy, virile people, with no natural racial physical weakness, its environment determining its relative physical status, any apparent weaknesses being due to historical rather than racial elements. Second, improvement in the race's health status is possible through the well known forces making for better health, namely, health education, improved housing, better industrial conditions admitting of increased wages and more favorable working conditions and hours, better recreational facilities, improved and extended hospitalization, including provision for proper convalescence. Third, the race is capable of de-

veloping within the race most of the forces making for good health, forces which are necessary to the maintenance of high health standards in the Negro group. Under our present biracial society the best results can be obtained only through the creation of an efficient interlocking cooperating system of health preserving and health restoring agencies within the race, cooperating with public health agencies.

HOSPITALS AND PUBLIC HEALTH FACILITIES FOR NEGROES

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There is no disposition to minimize the fact that ill health and death among Negroes are far in excess of what they should be; but the question naturally arises, "What is being done about it?" In other words, since hospitals and other public health facilities are the principal means of relieving this unhappy and undesirable situation, what of these agencies as they apply to the Negro?

For convenience in discussion I shall reverse the order of the topics and speak first of public health facilities.

As applied to the Negro, public health facilities, except those administered as a part of the hospital activities, are a part of the general program and are not easily considered separately. Where the program deals with matters of general welfare, Negroes benefit in proportion to their sanitary surroundings and their ability to appreciate and appropriate factors in the general program. We suggest these modifications because it is notorious that in rural health work Negro people are scarcely considered at all, and in the cities their sanitary surroundings are such that the greater good which might accrue to them is counterbalanced in large measure by poor sanitation which favors the propagation and spread of certain types of disease.

Another factor which minimizes the benefits of the usual public health activities among Negroes is that those administering them, because of racial and social differences, do not enter readily into their life problems. Racial instincts are inborn and not subject to eradication by altruistic inclination. True, they mean well and try in a way to reach them; but because of ignorance and prejudice on both sides of the racial line the benefits derived are far below ideal.

The Negro is more and more coming to use the public clinic, especially for a certain class of diseases; but here, too, the effect is far from what it might be, because the clinics only attempt to give relief to the afflicted, and the greater good which might come through physical education is lost. In many of our cities Negro nurses are employed to serve Negro people, a practice that should and does improve the service educationally; but greater good could come from using colored physicians in the operation of the clinics.

In the matter of hospitals for Negroes the problem is no less acute. Be-

cause of poor homes and well nigh universal ignorance of the care of the sick, the Negro race stands in greater need of hospitalization than does any other group in the country. In view of this need it would be the expected policy to provide for him at least an approach to an equal opportunity along this line. Vital statistics show that the Negro is dying almost twice as fast as his white neighbor from diseases in which proper food and nursing, such as can be supplied only in a well equipped institution, can prevent. In the light of these facts it is interesting to note the relative proportion of hospital facilities at his command.

Statistics furnished by the *Journal of the American Medical Association* show that there are in the United States 6,807 hospitals of all kinds with bed space of 853,318 and an average of 671,830 patients daily. This gives one bed for each 139 of the population. How do these figures apply to the Negro people? There are available to them 210 hospitals of all kinds, with a total bed space of 6,780 or an average of one bed for each 1,941 persons. To bring these figures down to the individual, each white citizen of the United States has fourteen times as good a chance at proper hospital care as has the Negro. In the matter of tuberculosis, a disease to which Negroes especially fall prey, the conditions are still worse. A Negro tubercular patient has only one twenty-fifth the opportunity for sanitarium care that a white one has. In the face of these facts we are forced to wonder why our death rate from certain diseases is not fourteen to one instead of two to one, as statistics show.

But you ask with all fairness, What is the Negro doing to relieve this unhappy situation? Not all that he should do, I grant, nor all that he could. But in considering our efforts along this line of work, judge us, not by the standards of Caucasian wealth and intelligence, but by the handicaps under which we labor. Judged in this way our accomplishments justify plaudits instead of criticism. Of the 210 hospitals welcoming and caring for our sick, 186 had their origin in Negro brain and are being operated and maintained by Negro skill and financed almost exclusively by Negroes' funds. Some of them are small, it is true; many of them lack proper equipment for the best scientific care; but they are our answer to the challenge, "What will the Negro do for himself?"

Many cities, especially in the South, provide wards, usually in the basement of their city hospitals, for Negro patients. A few northern cities admit Negro patients to their free wards along with their white paupers. These institutions invariably exclude Negro physicians. Here the Negro patients (North and South) are used largely as clinical material for training internes of another race, a practice employed in no other civilized country in the world. Of course they are trying to better the health conditions of the Negro, and in a measure do help; but here again the policy of excluding Negro physicians and nurses greatly reduces the benefits to be had by the Negroes. Segregation has taught the Negro to depend on his own. To have him come for treatment

where his own physicians are excluded is effective only in the case of the most ignorant and depraved who cannot carry to their people the important truth of better health facilities and practice.

A few cities, like St. Louis, Kansas City, New York, and Washington, have sensed the error of such practices and have provided for their Negro citizens standard Class A hospitals where Negro personnel give service and instruction to the ill of their own race and where young men as internes, and young women as nurses, are trained to become leaders in the important work of preparing others to carry on the work of public health and hospitals.

It is not my purpose to impugn the motives of any man who attempts to lend a hand in helping my people to live; but I do believe that the people of this country are overlooking opportunities for really helping them. And, what is no less important, they are failing to protect others by allowing the spread of preventable diseases through them. You may segregate Negroes in the less favorable sections of cities, or even in the basement of hospitals, if you please, but disease germs are not subject to the laws of segregation. Health is a community matter, and no community is safe that neglects the life of any part of its citizens.

SOME FACTS CONCERNING THE MEDICAL EDUCATION OF THE NEGRO

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Before the Civil War there were a few Negroes in the United States who had won distinction in the practice of medicine. It was very natural that directly after its close many others would be attracted in that direction. To meet this demand Howard University included medicine as one of its departments in 1868. Its graduates since then number, in medicine, 1,367; in dentistry, 730; in pharmacy, 435. The average number of graduates for each of the past five years are: in medicine, 46; in dentistry, 42; in pharmacy, 19. The students now in medicine are 230; in dentistry, 74; and in pharmacy, 56.

Meharry Medical College of Nashville was established in 1876. It has graduated, in medicine, 2,018; in dentistry, 917; in pharmacy, 457; and in nurses' training, 118. The average number of graduates per year for the past five years has been: in medicine, 48; in dentistry, 71; in pharmacy, 23; in nurses' training, 6. There are now in training: in medicine, 211; in dentistry, 102; in pharmacy, 85; in nurses' training, 44.

Shaw University of Raleigh added medicine to its curriculum in 1888. It did splendid work for years, graduating many capable men. It is very regrettable that it had to close in 1915 because of inability to meet the standards of the American Medical Association. It graduated 448 in medicine and 126 in pharmacy.

Other institutions giving medical training were Knoxville Medical College, medical department of the University of West Tennessee, Memphis, Louisville National Medical College, Flint Medical College of New Orleans, Chattanooga National Medical College, all of which were closed between 1906 and 1908.

While it is true that many Negro physicians have graduated from several of the large northern universities, the two schools, since the closing of Shaw, which furnish the bulk of Negro physicians are Howard and Meharry. These have done and are doing incalculable good in providing professional men and women to care for the needs of the race. Year by year they are rising in influence and importance. Both enjoy a Class A rating and are making strenuous efforts to equal the best schools of the country.

Finding themselves very largely excluded from the existing councils of medicine, and recognizing the necessity for concerted action, "the men and women of African descent who are legally and honorably engaged in the practice of the cognate professions of medicine, surgery, pharmacy, and dentistry organized in 1895 the National Medical Association. It held its thirty-first annual session in Detroit last year, when two of the leading hospitals were opened to the association for operative and medical clinics and a number of our surgeons and physicians departed themselves with credit. This association is doing a splendid work in the way of helpfulness and uplift for the colored medical profession. It reaches every state in the union. Of no less importance than the association itself is the *Journal of the National Medical Association*, its official printed organ. It was founded in 1908 and has not missed a single issue. As an evidence of the recognition which it has received, its editor has been invited and accepted to membership in the American Medical Editors' Association.

Today we have about 3,500 colored physicians. The great majority of these are men and women of character and ability. Some enjoy a degree of eminence that is enviable.

One of the great handicaps to the Negro physician has been the prejudice of his own people. It was difficult to convince them that the colored physician was capable and trustworthy. While much progress has been made in clearing up this impediment, it is not yet entirely removed. Another handicap was the inability of the colored medical man to meet his white colleagues upon a footing of equality in medical meetings. This is a sad commentary upon the altruism of the great medical profession, for real science knows no class, no creed, no color. In an editorial from *Southern Medicine and Surgery* the author makes an appeal for closer interracial relations, in part as follows: "We believe that the health interests of both races demand that some arrangement shall be made by our county medical societies . . . by which the colored doctors shall be made to feel free to attend and participate in the deliberations." Another serious handicap has been and is the lack of hospitals. Modern medicine and surgery require for their greatest development the facilities

offered by hospitals. Just why in the North and in the South Negro physicians, many of them of superior training, intelligence, and ability, are not permitted to practice their profession in the municipal and other public hospitals has always been a mystery to me. In this connection I wish to add that by excluding Negro physicians from boards of health our municipal officials are neglecting one of their best weapons in fighting disease. Germs do not respect the color line.

The question is frequently asked, "What has the Negro done in medicine to justify his recognition as a capable scientist and practitioner?" For collective work I would point to the Freedmen's Hospital, Washington, the John A. Andrew Hospital, Tuskegee, the Douglas and Mercy hospitals, Philadelphia, the Hubbard Hospital, Nashville, and to those in Memphis, Kansas City, St. Louis, and many others. For individual accomplishments in surgery I point to Williams, Carson, Curtis, Warfield, Murray, Dailey, Hunter, Hale, Perry, Gamble, Frederick, Wright, Roberts, Giles, and Eve; Garvin and Vincent have gained recognition in urology; Warfield, Ward, Mossell, and Minton stand well as hospital administrators; in pathology, I mention Julian Lewis, Quinland, Hinton, Humbert, and Callis; in neurology and psychiatry, I point to Fuller and Whitby; Allen and Terry are coming to the front in internal medicine; public health has a fine exemplar in A. B. Jackson; McNeill and McMillan are recognized gynecologists; in ophthalmology, I point to Dowling, Collins, Smith, and Carey; in Roentgenology Powell has made a splendid place for himself; in dermatology Alexander is a good representative; in Physiotherapy there are Willis and Dismond; as pioneer editor and medical philosopher, I point to the inimitable Roman; as organizer, investigator, and author, the indefatigable Green takes high rank. These answers should satisfy the most skeptical. Among the needs of the Negro medical profession are, first, to further develop Howard and Meharry and to put them on an absolutely solid foundation. The medical student should be able to emerge from these institutions as fully equipped as from any other institution of their kind. These should be enlarged, or there should be one other school located in New Orleans or Atlanta. There should be sufficient funds at their command to furnish them all necessary clinical and laboratory equipment. Also, there should be a full quota of full time instructors. Most of our young men and women seeking medical training have the necessary preparation. They need only the opportunity. I would make a most earnest plea that, regardless of the proficiency of the colored schools mentioned, the doors of the great institutions be kept open for Negro students, that instructors may be recruited from them. Inbreeding is as detrimental here as elsewhere.

Second, there should be suitable and abundant hospital facilities. The great majority of the states correctly require internship in a Class A hospital as part of the medical equipment for a certificate to practice. At present we have hospital facilities for 66 of the 140 or 150 yearly graduates. With the

reins drawing more tightly year by year, unless there are more accredited hospitals, how can these men practice? The accepted ratio of physicians to population is 1 to every 816. Among the colored population we have 1 to every 3,428. There is a great need for more Negro physicians and dentists, particularly in the small towns and rural districts. The Negro nurse is a valuable asset to the medical profession and to society. We cannot consider the adequate practice of modern medicine without the hospital and the trained nurse. Through the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses and the National Hospital Association, commendable efforts are being made to elevate the standards of the colored graduate nurse. Among our most pressing needs are well equipped hospitals for the care of our patients and the suitable training of our doctors and nurses.

Third, the Negro physician should have opportunity for training in public health and preventive medicine.

Fourth, better opportunities should be provided for colored practitioners to come into contact with medical leaders of the opposite race.

Fifth, a fair and equal opportunity should exist for the Negro physician to demonstrate his fitness and ability and to be judged by his merits.

NURSING EDUCATION AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE COLORED NURSE

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Opportunities for education.—When I came to secure information in regard to opportunities for education in nursing and for employment as a nurse, open to the colored woman, I found very little in the way of definite information to be had. The American Nurses' Association publishes, from time to time, a list of accredited schools of nursing. This directory lists some 1,800 schools, but does not indicate the number which admit colored students. At the present time the only information available is to be found in a report published in 1924 by the Hospital and Service Bureau of the American Conference on Hospital Service.

According to this report there are in the United States only 58 accredited schools that admit colored students, most of which are located in colored hospitals or in departments for the care of colored patients in municipal hospitals. Information was obtained from 17 additional schools not accredited by the state boards of examiners, 16 of which are in the South. Twenty-eight states were found to offer no opportunity for education in nursing to the colored girl. Of the 58 accredited schools (and they are the only ones worthy of consideration), 39, or 77 per cent, were located in the South. This distribution closely parallels the distribution of the colored population, 80 per cent of which is to

be found in the southern states. The number of students enrolled in these schools is not known. However, recent studies show that there are one-third fewer students, in proportion to population, to be found in nursing schools in the South than in other sections. This fact is probably due to the exceedingly small number of colored students in proportion to the colored population.

Opportunities for postgraduate study are also extremely limited. The colored nurse is eligible for admission to the courses offered by the departments of nursing education of the North, East, and West. She may secure preparation for public health nursing in Boston, Cleveland, New York, Philadelphia, and in the state universities of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Washington, and California. She may obtain preparation for teaching, supervision, and administration of hospital training schools at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Although 70 per cent of all the accredited schools of nursing are located in the southern states, as far as the writer has been able to learn there is no opportunity open to the colored nurse for graduate work in nursing in any university or college in the South. This fact would seem to point very definitely to the need for the establishment of a graduate department in nursing education in some one of the colored universities.

Opportunities for employment.—At the present time there is a good deal of confusion about the whole question of the supply of, and the demand for, nursing service, both white and colored. Some still maintain that there is a scarcity of nurses, while evidence in certain sections of the country seems to point to a rather serious oversupply. Studies now being made by the grading committee should answer this question for the white nurse, although it will probably give very little additional information in regard to the demand for colored nursing service. All the evidence obtainable, however, points to a limited opportunity for her employment. The Secretary for Public Health Nursing of the Joint Vocational Service states that the opportunities for employment of colored nurses are not increasing; in fact, with the larger number of graduates in the field, conditions on the whole seem precarious. Many colored nurses are forced to go into other occupations to earn a livelihood. There is a small turnover in public health and institutional positions for colored nurses.

Nursing is divided into three fields: private duty, institutional, and public health work. About one-half of all white nurses are engaged in private duty nursing. This field offers but little opportunity to the colored nurse. Of necessity she would be employed in colored homes, and for the most part the colored family falls within the income group for which a private duty nurse is an unobtainable luxury, however great the need. The only opportunity for institutional work is to be found in the comparatively small number of colored hospitals, as the supervision of colored wards in municipal hospitals is intrusted, for the most part, to white nurses. Public health nursing is a more promising field. According to the census of public health nurses made

in 1926 there were 365 colored nurses in the United States; 206 were employed in the North and only 59 in the South. The two states with the highest percentage of Negro population, Mississippi and South Carolina, in 1926 did not employ a single colored public health nurse.

Conclusion.—Although there seems to be evidence that there is an insufficient number of colored student nurses in training, one would hesitate to urge a larger enrolment unless these students were assured of employment after graduation. The present outlook for the colored nurse is not bright. However, this situation may soon be changed. With 80 per cent of the colored population to be found in the South, the greatest opportunity for employment should be there. With improvement in economic conditions, with the raising of standards of nursing schools, and with certain changes which seem inevitable in the organization of nursing service, new opportunities may be made available to her. The grading of schools can be expected to raise the standards of education in all schools. In order to obtain satisfactory rating, colored schools will undoubtedly provide more and better prepared supervisors and teachers, thus creating an opportunity in the field of institutional work which does not now exist.

Two new types of nursing are coming into favor: hourly nursing in the home, and group nursing in the hospital, services which will make the nurse available to those of moderate incomes. These services, as they develop, should increase the demand for colored nursing service. There is undoubtedly a need for more colored public health nurses. The development of this field in the South in recent years has been largely through the establishment of county health units, which, at the present time, for the most part employ but one nurse, and this nurse is of necessity a white nurse who can serve in white and colored homes and in colored and white schools. As larger appropriations make additional nurses possible the colored nurse will doubtless be employed for public health service for her people.

There is another field which holds infinite possibilities for the colored nurse: that is the field of the nurse midwife. There are in the southern states approximately 23,000 colored midwives, ignorant and wholly unprepared by training for the work they are doing. If this group could be replaced by the well equipped, intelligent nurse who could combine midwifery with public health nursing, one of the outstanding needs of the colored people of the South would be met.

It would appear, therefore, that the wider use of the colored nurse may depend only upon certain changes in the organization of nursing service, including the extension of hourly and group nursing, and by providing for her an opportunity to secure preparation for teaching, for administration in hospitals and schools of nursing, and for public health work. All of these positions call for special training, without which the colored nurse cannot compete with the white nurse even in service to her own people.

PUBLIC HEALTH EDUCATION IN THE NEGRO GROUP

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The main problem in the education of the Negro in public health is to reach a larger number of Negro people. Of especial importance in this connection is the promotion of interracial cooperation in the interest of health education, the development of health education work in Negro schools and colleges, and the improvement of the Negro family.

Interracial attitudes have an effect on Negro morbidity and mortality rates, for they influence the Negro's economic situation, his educational opportunities, and his hospital and clinical accommodations. They also frequently complicate the application of health education programs. This is often the case where the Negro population is most concentrated. It is a trite but true saying that disease is no respecter of race or color. A diseased Negro is as much a menace to white people as he is to Negroes, since he comes in contact with them in his daily activities. It is essential, therefore, that health education emphasize the mutual dependence of individuals and races in the matter of health. Interracial cooperation in communities would be greatly helped by closer relations between white and Negro medical, dental, pharmaceutical, and nursing professions. Negro doctors frequently treat white patients; Negro pharmacists fill the prescriptions of white people; Negro nurses care for a large number of white patients. Closer cooperation would no doubt do much to meet such difficult problems as the control of midwifery, child health, and maternal welfare. There would be better organization against quackery, self treatment, and unethical practices. There would also be more attention given to the improvement of opportunities for health educational training of Negroes desiring to become health workers. This is much needed in the South where facilities for this training are still limited.

There exist many examples of interracial cooperation in the promotion of health educational programs that demonstrate the capacity for, and advantages of, white and colored people working together. Among these are the activities of the Division of Venereal Diseases of the United States Public Health Service, which has reached large numbers of Negroes with the essential facts regarding the venereal diseases. In this work trained Negro health workers are used. This division includes in its program considerable attention to bringing about an appreciation on the part of both races of their mutual responsibilities in the control of venereal diseases. Several national health agencies are also finding it of value to give attention to the problem of interracial relations as they affect health. The American Social Hygiene Association, the American Child Health Association, and other volunteer agencies owe much of their success in promoting their particular health programs in the Negro group to the fact that they are giving attention to interracial cooperation. The state of North Carolina is now conducting a child health project under the guidance

of the American Child Health Association. Much of the success of this project is due to interracial activity. Among state volunteer agencies the tuberculosis associations of Arkansas and Texas present encouraging interracial programs and bring into consultation members of the Negro professional and lay groups. The activities in these states have resulted in greater attention to Negro child health, and the beginning of hygiene instruction in the public schools. In Arkansas the interest of the state legislature has been attracted to the need of more adequate care of Negro tuberculous patients. An outstanding example of national interracial cooperation is the annual Negro Health Week sponsored by the Tuskegee Institute with the cooperation of the United States Public Health Service, the National Medical Association, and the National Health Council, and others. Thousands of Negroes are reached each year in this program. These examples are offered as evidences of the soundness in working out plans for bringing the races together in the promotion of health educational programs. These projects also offer valuable sources of information for governmental and volunteer agencies planning to increase their work among Negro people.

Indications are that there is considerable need for more attention to administrative hygiene and graded health education in Negro schools and colleges. It is reasonable to expect that a large number of school children and college students who have the advantage of health instruction and practice in hygiene habits will in their later life support and cooperate in community health educational efforts. The best approach to the problem in the elementary schools seems to be in the training of Negro student teachers to meet the health educational needs of children as a regular part of their school work. Attention has been called to the child health project of North Carolina. This is being conducted by the State Board of Education at the Winston-Salem Teachers' College for Negroes. It is a demonstration in health education to equip future Negro teachers in the appreciation of health and in methods of health education for children. The practice school, which has a large enrolment of Negro children, is being used for the practical application by the student teacher of the methods which she is learning. The American Social Hygiene Association and other national health agencies are cooperating with the American Child Health Association which is acting as an advisor to the state of North Carolina in this project. The demonstration is to last three years. It marks a significant effort for meeting the Negro child health problem. The project is worthy of the attention of other states and agencies interested in student teacher training in health education.

A recent survey of important Negro colleges reveals that with few notable exceptions these institutions have not yet developed administrative hygiene programs and are not giving the attention to health education that it deserves as a part of student training. A proper knowledge and appreciation of physical and mental health, community responsibility, and sound family life on the part

of Negro college students cannot be overestimated in value for extending the scope of health education in the Negro group. More and more Negro college graduates are taking places of influence among their people, and white leaders, interested in community welfare, are turning increasingly to the trained Negro for cooperation. This problem of improving health administration and education in the Negro college deserves the best thought and activity of those connected with these institutions, as well as of educators in general.

The Negro is making progress in the building of sound family life; Negro home ownership is increasing, and with this increase in living facilities more attention is being paid by Negroes to the care and nurture of their children. This development will go on as environmental conditions continue to improve.

Another factor recognized by public health workers is that a sound family life has an important place in personal and community health. The progress being made in the promotion of social hygiene among the Negro people shows that information concerning the significance of sex and reproduction in human life, the importance of mate selection, the place of the home in the physical and mental welfare of the child is welcomed by Negro people. It is encouraging to observe in relation to Negro family life the interest being shown by Negro educators in working out school programs to include proper attention to sound ethics in relation to sexual behavior, and in bringing the essential facts to students regarding their future family life.

There are, of course, large numbers of Negroes who are not yet exposed to health information having to do with the family. Many of these provide difficult problems of instruction because of illiteracy. But it is well to remember that illiteracy is not synonymous with an absence of intelligence. It is suggested that considerable assistance could be given in this particular by the rural schools, the Negro churches, and fraternal organizations. They offer avenues through which this population may be reached with information graded to meet their limitations in literacy.

All in all, this problem of health education for the Negro is one wherein the great progress already made assures us that no insuperable barriers stand in the way of its successful solution.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FAMILY SOCIAL WORKER IN THE PREVENTIVE HEALTH PROGRAM

OBJECTIVES AND METHODS FOR THE SOCIAL WORKER IN THE PREVENTIVE HEALTH PROGRAM

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In the promotion of the so called preventive health program, the family social worker has opportunities and obligations—responsibilities, in other words—that are exceeded by those of no group in the country today. She has a wide contact with thousands of families. She has access to the home and sees a great variety of hygienic and morbid conditions. She visits at times of need, when the members of the family are, in many instances, more likely to be receptive to suggestions and persuasion. She has a marvelous opportunity to serve as a messenger and teacher of health.

Given this opportunity, and the will and desire to use it for hygienic ends, what are the chief objectives to be recognized? This is, of course, in a sense equivalent to asking what are the objectives of the program for disease prevention and health promotion. Let us recall that it is convenient, under many circumstances, to think of this program as divided into two principal parts: first, that concerned with public health and general sanitation; and second, that involving considerations of more strictly personal hygiene.

Public health and general sanitation are, frequently, relatively remote considerations in reasonably well sanitated communities, not only for indigent families, but indeed for economically normal individuals as well. Ordinarily we do not look upon it as the responsibility of the individual citizen, in our highly developed urban communities, to provide himself with a satisfactory water and milk supply, an adequate sewage disposal system, a proper method of vital statistics recording, etc.

On the other hand there are still many communities in the country, particularly in southern territories, where the observation of the rules of sanitation is still, to some extent, dependent upon the information and initiative of the individual. In these communities, at least, advice and instruction for him by means of personal suggestions, literature, and other devices may be peculiarly pertinent. Consequently, in visiting homes of this kind, any representative of a community or social agency, whether it be health inspector, social worker, or public health nurse, should be familiar with and have in mind certain essentials fundamental to the attainment of reasonable objectives in the public health program. A few of these may be cited as follows: first, the dangers that arise from the ingestion of surface waters or water from shallow wells or polluted streams; second, the importance of safe and adequate excreta disposal, the value of sanitary privies, where information may be obtained as to their construction, the relationship of hookworm to soil pollution, and related prob-

lems; third, the dangers associated with house flies, and how the breeding of these insects may be controlled by hygienic methods for the disposal of human excreta, stable manure, etc.; fourth, the importance of home refrigeration for the protection of perishable food products, such as milk; fifth, the significance of birth registration and the importance of vital statistics in general community record keeping and in the maintenance of the state in the birth registration area. In communities where these objects are being adequately attained, and where sanitary environment is being established, very material reductions of illness may be anticipated, which in turn necessarily will lessen the extent and degree of poverty with which the social worker will have to be concerned.

When we come to personal hygiene we enter into a larger, more important, and more universal field where it is convenient to think of our objectives as falling into two principal classes: those designed for disease prevention or control, and those for personal health promotion.

On the side of disease prevention or control there are no doubt many considerations which will come readily to the mind of any experienced social worker and will be paramount in the view of a sanitarian concerned with personal hygiene. The more important of these may be touched upon as follows:

First, medical guidance. It becomes more and more apparent that people of all classes, including those who are indigent or likely to become so, are to an increasing extent seeking advice and guidance as to how to avoid quackery and fraud in medical service and as to how to find competent and legitimate medical treatment. Families in all walks of life tend to flounder seriously in this regard, to shop around from doctor to doctor, to fall into the hands of charlatans, to resort to expensive and ineffective advertised cures, and seriously to waste both the family's resources as well as the margin of opportunity for timely treatment and cure. Presumably the social worker cannot usually recommend an individual physician. She can, however, be familiar with the community's resources, the free or moderately priced clinic services both of a preventive and therapeutic character. She may even in some instances be able to establish a working relationship with an authoritative medical group through whose advice and with whose backing she may be able to give constructive personal medical guidance as to individual medical service. In any event here lies a very important field for the effective limitation of preventable illness and for the reduction of the inroads which illness makes in the family exchequer. In this connection it is the social worker who will have, under proper coordinated direction, a unique opportunity, as time goes on, to throw light upon a more or less hidden factor at the present time, namely, the cost of illness. How much does the average family on the borderline of indigency now expend for medical service, hospital costs, clinic service, medicines, patent and otherwise? This cost is variously estimated from \$50 to \$150 per year, which wide range indicates that the information is decidedly inexact. It is anticipated that studies along this line may shortly be launched on an extensive scale, and un-

doubtedly those responsible for the inquiries will find the social worker a fruitful source of information.

Second, nursing service. It is obvious from the experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and other agencies that the visiting nurse service now provided in practically all communities of any size is by no means as yet used to its full capacity. This bedside service is not only intended to care for those who are acutely ill, but is aimed at the hygienic instruction of the sick and well members of the family as well. The social worker who is aware of these facilities, who knows what the objects of the nursing service are, who knows under what conditions and circumstances certain groups of individuals are eligible for this service, can do a great deal to encourage its more extensive and effective application.

Third, personal health education against disease. Still in the field of disease prevention, but having more to do with prevention than treatment, is the education that can and should be carried on in the home by all who enter its doors, on the fundamentals of personal hygiene. It is true that in many homes the equipment for hygienic living is lacking. Yet in the same homes, and indeed in many that are well equipped, the practice of personal hygiene is frequently more deficient than the equipment. It must be remembered that one would wager less on the longevity prospects of a human pig in a palace than on those of a careful individual in a hovel. The social worker and the nurse, in carrying these personal hygienic objectives into the home, will have in mind the importance of isolation of the ill, the desirability of avoiding unnecessary contacts, the hazards of bad respiratory hygiene, the importance of hand washing, the significance of careful disposal of sputum and body wastes, etc.

Fourth, vaccination. I am uncertain whether or not there are any relief agencies in the country that make vaccination, or the evidence of a recent vaccination scar, a prerequisite to the acceptance of relief, but this would seem to be a not unreasonable consideration. Smallpox is by no means a negligible factor as a cause of sickness and death.

Fifth, diphtheria immunization. As everyone knows, practically every state and community throughout the United States is carrying on a diphtheria immunization campaign. Here is a disease which, for practical purposes, we know a great deal about. We know how it is caused, how it is spread, how it may be cured, and how it may be prevented. The toxin-antitoxin message needs to be carried into every home by any and everyone who has an opportunity to deliver the message.

Sixth, venereal disease. The social worker is of course familiar with the venereal disease problem, and has to meet it under distressing circumstances almost daily. The importance of being acquainted with available diagnostic and treatment facilities, and with the time and other limitations which must be placed upon the accomplishment of a successful therapeutic régime with reference to these diseases, must be obvious to all who realize that one of these

diseases alone, syphilis, is responsible for certainly a majority of the hundreds of thousands of individuals burdening the state as inmates of institutions for the insane, or handicapping families through an infliction of their mental defects and abnormalities upon the home.

On the positive side of health promotion there are many considerations of material importance. Some of these are less pertinent in character and perhaps less easy of accomplishment than the disease preventive measures previously commented upon. They are phases of constructive personal hygiene, or so called positive health. Sickness is a luxury for most of us, and one which a family in poverty can certainly ill afford. Prevention, particularly where the means are simple and obvious, is so much less costly as to render its negligence economically criminal. At the same time, though perhaps the argument is not quite so conclusive, the conservation of health by known positive means would seem to be, on the whole, vital and necessary to the family in hazardous economic circumstances. Consequently the social worker has a tremendous opportunity in the promotion of creative health activities if she is familiar with the few fundamental principles involved and if she is ingenious at their local application—an objective to be accomplished largely through education, demonstration, example, the use of literature, and similar devices. On the side of health promotion we would like to take time to mention a few general considerations:

First, periodic health examinations. As practically all social and health workers have now recognized, this is a fundamental consideration in personal hygiene, and is, indeed, the keystone of the personal health program for individuals in all social and economic groups. Its value has been demonstrated in many different ways. The problem is how to provide the service for all types of families, especially for those who are financially under par, where the use of the private practitioner is impracticable. There are, however, being established an increasing number of health examination clinics and services where this procedure is offered for very modest fees.

Second, positive health practices of personal and home environmental importance. Here there might be discussed a great many matters of varying importance, most of which cost little or nothing and certainly involve an outlay considerably less than the price of ignorance. Fresh air in most homes, except under extremely severe weather conditions, is practicable. A maximum indoor temperature of 70° during the cooler seasons is a consideration which social workers can under many circumstances urge upon their families. The value of outdoor exercise and of outdoor play for children can certainly be kept in mind, even though there are circumstances where their encouragement may be inappropriate. Except in dark room tenements, the windows of sleeping rooms can still be opened. Adequate rest for adults and children is a fundamental principle of hygiene from the benefits of which very few need be deprived. The dietitians tell us that a balanced dietary is frequently less costly than the

unwise food habits of many American families, rich or poor. The economic and hygienic value of milk as an element in the diet constitutes a factor for wider dissemination through educational channels. It costs nothing for children and adults to have a regular bowel movement, to sit, stand, and walk erect. Sunshine and cod liver oil do cost something, but they are probably worth the investment as antirachitic measures. On the whole, it costs less to live according to a few of the important rules of personal hygiene, even if this includes the cost of a periodic health examination, than it does to pay doctors' bills for preventable illness.

Third, mental health and right thinking. There is undoubtedly a great deal also that the social worker can do to affect the state of mental health on the part of the members of the family with whom she comes in contact. Of course the health of the brain is affected by the physical conditions previously referred to. Disease germs and poisons destroy brain cells just as they do other body tissues. But it would seem to be important to remember that our brains are injured, not only by poisons, but by handicapped and defective methods of thinking as well. How important in indigency are the hysterias, neurasthenias, nervous prostrations, nervous indigestions, and other functional defects that are in turn, in part at least, the result of bad mental habits. Is there anything that the social worker as guide and teacher can do to affect these irritating if not etiological factors of indigency? We can at least remember that good habits are as pleasant as bad habits; that bad mental habits use our energy in getting us where we don't want to go; that all the energy that we spend in worry, fear, shame, and make-believe uses up our working capital. If we are instructing a family about a quart of milk a day for the children, let us remember that angry food does not digest, and that shame is constipating. Let us endeavor to keep in mind for ourselves, as well as for those we are attempting to influence, the importance of such healthy mental habits as the expectation of accomplishing the thing attempted, the ability for deciding what to do and then attempting to do it, the habit of "sticking to it," and the habit of being interested in all ideas and experiences, and fearful of none.

These would seem to be some of the objectives for the attainment of which the social worker has unusual opportunities, objectives which, if attained, would materially lessen the severity and volume of her problem. We have said little, though have perhaps implied much, as to methods of attainment. Every social worker is, of course, aware of the extent to which social agencies in his or her community, such as health departments, clinics, hospitals, schools, and other organizations, provide facilities for attaining these ends. Every social worker should be familiar with these provisions as well as with the special campaigns which are initiated from time to time, the success of which depend in large measure upon her cooperation. If she knows and uses her resources—health department facilities, clinics, sanatoria, health stations, physicians, nursing services, literature—she will be employing the disease pre-

ventive and health promotive armamentarium of the social worker. She will be serving as the most valuable channel for the interpretation and application of these facilities to the home and the individual. The program for health promotion among all groups of the population is very apt to prove abortive without this practical translation of community and individual health ideals into a concrete body of instruction, guidance, and service.

We should all, of course, keep in mind the larger objects of the program. It is, I believe, true that sickness is the single greatest cause of poverty and economic failure. As Mr. Burritt, of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, stated before this organization several years ago, "If these factors [the preventable diseases] were removed, most poverty would be eliminated." Undoubtedly sickness, and the tragic unnecessary deaths, cause most of the sorrow and destitution in the world. Yet we should remember that health alone will not make a good life. Health is not all we need. Health is not just the absence of sickness. Health is the vigorous, beautiful, smooth running efficient operation of the mind and body, of the instincts and the will, in a harmony of purpose and accomplishment.

We should, perhaps, also remember that while it is important for the social worker, in attaining this broader objective, to teach sanitation, to facilitate disease prevention, and to promote personal hygiene, yet perhaps she is doing her biggest job when, through these and other creative and remedial means, she restores the family to a sound economic status, balances the budget, adjusts the occupational factors, and thus lays a permanent social and economic basis for health. The relation between individual and family income and health is inevitable. Good wages and good health are repetitive steps in the ascending stairway to economic and hygienic stability. Inadequate incomes and illness are recurrent and cumulative factors in the reverse, descending spiral into the regions of destitution and disease. This consideration is basic and probably overshadows all else in family welfare work.

In the degree to which the social worker recognizes and uses all of these interlocking hygienic and economic factors, to that extent does she serve as a vital instrument in laying a physical foundation for the elimination of poverty and illness, and for the furnishing of a physical basis for social and economic growth and stability.

TUBERCULOSIS: A FAMILY PROBLEM

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Tuberculosis is not a hereditary disease. That the tendency to acquire tuberculosis may be passed on from parent to child is a theory which has not been substantiated. The older observers were correct, however, in believing that tuberculosis tends to "run in families."

The social and family implications of tuberculosis cannot be appreciated without at least an elementary understanding of the natural history of the disease. Our present conception of tuberculosis, incomplete as it is, may be very sketchily presented somewhat like this: The tubercle bacillus invades the body, usually by being swallowed or inhaled. The first infection takes place, as a rule, very early in childhood. To this first invasion of the bacillus the body cells respond by surrounding the bacilli, imprisoning them, as it were, in a fibrous capsule or tubercle. As a result of this first skirmish with the enemy the body becomes "sensitized" so that, when subsequently other tubercle bacilli invade the body, the cells respond more quickly. Thus, in the course of time and as the result of repeated small invasions, the body gradually develops the power of resisting even relatively large doses of tubercle bacilli. The details of the mechanism need not concern us; it is enough to speak of the process as an "acquired resistance."

A majority of adults harbor tubercle bacilli in their bodies. They are infected, but relatively few of them suffer with the disease, tuberculosis. Only when the tubercle bacilli gain the upper hand and spread to other parts of the body more quickly than the acquired resistance can cope with them does the disease, tuberculosis, develop. A distinction is, therefore, drawn between infection and disease. This distinction is not always clear cut, but, generally speaking, infection means merely that the bacilli have gained access to the body, while disease implies that the body has temporarily lost the battle and that the bacilli are succeeding in destroying body tissue.

Another significant fact to remember is that tuberculosis is a chronic disease, and usually of uneven progress. It may lie dormant and without symptoms for years, or it may develop so slowly as to excite no alarm. There is, indeed, ample justification for the use of the term "latent tuberculosis," for the infection, though present, may not be discoverable or manifest by ordinary physical examination. Tuberculosis is generally thought of as an adult disease, probably because it most frequently becomes manifest during adult life and also because most deaths from it occur in the age group 20-40. From the standpoint of prevention it should be regarded as a disease of childhood, for in childhood it most frequently has its beginning. We are here concerned not so much with the harvest as with the seed time.

In picturesque language, tuberculosis is often likened to a continuously fought war with pitched, open battles, in which the bacillary hordes on the one side pit themselves relentlessly against bodily resistance. Such a picture is misleading. Rather the struggle should be compared to an insidious invasion of a highly organized community (the human body) by barbarian forces. The complicated mechanism we call resistance constitutes the constabulary or police forces. So long as the invaders are securely segregated into small groups (imprisoned in tubercles), peace and prosperity prevail. But if the constabulary forces are not superior in strength, or if the enemies already interred are re-

peatedly reinforced by large numbers of new invaders, the imperial state gradually weakens, deteriorates, crumbles, and finally falls.

If that is the situation, why not, asks the idealist, nip this anarchy in the bud by preventing the germ from entering the body? That endeavor was, indeed, the keynote of the tuberculosis movement during its early history. But the tubercle bacillus is so universally prevalent that the absolute prevention of infection seems to some a futile dream, and yet the faint hearted are vigorously reminded by a number of tuberculosis experts that tuberculous infection among children is actually declining. Be that as it may, the fact is that the present day tuberculosis program aims not so much to prevent infection per se as it does to prevent the infection from becoming activated into disease. The practical question which concerns us is, What are the factors which determine the issue of the fight; that is to say, what influences are responsible for keeping the infection of tuberculosis from becoming activated into the disease, tuberculosis?

Recent studies establish the fact that one of the most important factors which determines whether or not a tuberculous infection will be activated into actual disease is the number of bacilli which invade the body and the frequency of such invasions. Small doses of bacilli received by accidental contact in daily life seem to stimulate bodily defense but are not generally sufficient to cause the disease. But exposure to massive doses of bacilli or repeated exposure to fairly large doses does the damage. Under what circumstances is the child with inadequately developed resistance most likely to be so exposed? When it lives its young life in the family where there is a consumptive who discharges tubercle bacilli in his sputum. If the patient is a careless one, sputum heavily laden with bacilli is likely to be smeared over chairs, doorknobs, and dishes. Expecterated matter soils the floor. The child is kissed, sometimes sprayed with sputum droplets. Only a miracle could guard the child in such a home from picking up quantities of bacilli and passing them to its mouth. Even in a well regulated home in which the patient is conscientious and fully instructed, danger lurks, for it is instinctive for a mother to kiss and caress her baby, to feed it and to handle its little toys and belongings. What more could we expect than that tuberculosis, under such circumstances, should "run in families."

The theory that tuberculosis is most likely to be acquired in the home is backed up by careful observation. Eugene L. Opie studied two groups of thirty-four families each. One group consisted of contact families, i.e., families in which some member had tuberculosis, with tubercle bacilli in the sputum. The other group comprised non-contact families, i.e., those in which no case of manifest tuberculosis existed. He found that the frequency of infection in children of contact families increases gradually from infancy to adult life, whereas children of non-contact families acquire tuberculosis infection very quickly, 80 per cent of them being infected by the time they are five years old. By using the tuberculin test and the X-ray, he found further that among chil-

dren of contact families more than half showed evidence of early tuberculous lesions (actual disease), while among children of non-contact families less than 20 per cent showed such early lesions. Of the contact children, 5 per cent had manifest pulmonary tuberculosis, while none of the non-contact children were so afflicted. He stated that "when latent tuberculosis (that which is unaccompanied by symptoms or physical signs and is not recognized) is taken into consideration, tuberculosis exhibits the characters of a contagious disease and affects all the children of households within which some member suffering with tuberculosis scatters tubercle bacilli."

Walter L. Rathbun, who has examined thousands of school children in Chautauqua County, New York, calculates that the opportunity for acquiring tuberculosis is about nine times as great among children of contact families as it is among children of non-contact families. While we should remember that all tuberculosis is not acquired in the family, it does seem evident that the majority of cases are. Doctors of an older school who taught that tuberculosis is a hereditary disease are at least to be credited for their keen observation that the disease "runs in families."

If tuberculosis is a contagious disease acquired largely in the family, certain medical and social problems present themselves for solution. Time prohibits discussion of the medical riddles, though it will cheer the doctors' fellow workers in the social field to know that medical men are successfully working them out. The social worker is interested especially in maintaining the integrity and unity of the family, in the prevention of poverty, and in the relief of social distress. The first measure to be applied when a case of tuberculosis has been discovered in the family is to break the contact so that well members of the family may be protected. Home treatment, which includes careful education of the patient, is valuable, but the only sure way of breaking the contact is to separate the tuberculous person from the family. Whether this is done by removing the patient to a sanatorium, by placing the baby in another family, or by sending the young children to a preventorium, family disintegration, in some measure, is inevitable. If a father of an economically hard pressed family is removed to a sanatorium, the social worker falls heir to the difficult task of seeing that the family does not suffer from want. If the mother is so removed, a yet more difficult problem cries to her for solution. Whether or not it may be wise to remove a newborn baby from a tuberculous mother, which is logical enough from a medical standpoint, can be determined only by one who understands all the social implications of such a radical procedure. If the school child of a contact family shall be safeguarded by sending it to a preventorium where it will not be exposed and where it will be shielded from undue strain, the social worker acquires the responsibility of making adjustments and smoothing away obstacles.

In the care of the tuberculous patient rest is now recognized as the pillar of successful treatment, while fresh air, good food, and other therapeutic meas-

ures are regarded as supplementary supports. The doctor who prescribes rest for a patient who must be treated at home is usually at his wits' end when asked how his patient may achieve rest. Next in importance to rest and freedom from worry is good nutrition. A tuberculous patient must be well fed; but how is this to be guaranteed in a family where the wage earner is suddenly withdrawn from his work? Poverty, as everyone knows, is the great ally of tuberculosis, because poverty makes it impossible to procure the necessities and comforts without which rest, peace of mind, and good nutrition cannot be maintained. Bad housing is a definite factor favoring tuberculosis, not because, as was once believed, a poorly constructed or unfavorably situated house of itself has a peculiar, miasmatic influence, but because bad housing implies insufficient sunshine and air, squalor, and, most important of all, overcrowding. Close proximity of children to one who has tuberculosis is the real factor. If there were no infection there would be no tuberculosis, no matter how crowded the inhabitants of a house might be.

The social problems of a family harassed by tuberculosis do not end when the patient has recovered. After months of tedious "curing," the tendency of the patient is to hurry home and resume his accustomed mode of living. There are debts, perhaps, and he would rid himself as quickly as possible from the sting of "charity." Unless restrained, he is likely, therefore, to rush back to the old job. In most instances nothing could be worse, for tragedy after tragedy has taught us that the recovered consumptive may not safely return to his old way of living full steam ahead. He must find employment which is light, of short hours, and in a good environment. Such employment does not pay good wages, and one of the requirements of eventual recovery is economic independence and freedom from financial worry. As a compromise, he learns a new trade and puts up with a meager salary. Gradually he comes to face the grim fact that for the rest of his life he will be a potential invalid and a poor asset as a wage earner.

The story of tuberculosis cannot be standardized; innumerable variations might be pictured; but always the plot involves endless family and social problems which can be efficiently dealt with only by the social worker who understands the disease, tuberculosis. But let this fact be emphasized: After all, the important objective is to prevent the further progress of tuberculosis. Children in tuberculous families stand in a peculiar danger. Whatever the family problem may be, the most productive service the worker can render is that which will shield the children from repeating the tragedies of their parents. Prevention has to do with the future, and the children in tuberculous families of today are the stuff of which the problems of disease and poverty of tomorrow are made.

In the history of the epidemic, tuberculosis, one fact stands out like a beacon. As economic, social, and health conditions are improved, the tuberculosis death rate declines. Statisticians speak of the biological defense against

tuberculosis, by which they imply that the human race is gradually acquiring a stronger resistance against tuberculosis, and of the cultural defense, which results from better economic and social conditions. The health worker adds to this the educational defense, which, though it has been somewhat discredited by scoffers, is unquestionably an important factor.

Tuberculosis cannot be isolated and attacked like an animal at bay; it yields ground as disease generally, poverty, and ignorance are driven back. Final victory will be achieved by a union of the great army of health workers (including the sharpshooters, the specialists who concentrate their energies on tuberculosis) and social workers, aided and abetted by favorable economic and biologic forces.

FAMILY LIMITATION AND FAMILY HEALTH

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The subject of family limitation is bound up with so much sentiment and emotion that I approach it with a full realization of the intrinsic difficulties involved in its presentation. There is an honest divergence of opinion regarding the needs and ethics of family limitation, and the best way to deal with the problem, it seems to me, is to discuss it openly and freely, in a dispassionate and scientific manner, without bias and without prejudice. Whatever our personal attitude may be, it will generally be agreed that family limitation is today an important factor in any attempt to mitigate some of the difficulties of modern family life, that it is a vital problem in all social work, and it is an indication of the sincerity and far visioned outlook of this Conference to have placed this topic on its program for discussion.

As physicians and social workers we are primarily concerned with the health and welfare of the individual and of the individual family, and it is from this angle that we must approach here the problem of family limitation. The wider and perhaps more controversial aspects of the subject, the effects of family limitation upon world population, upon international relations, upon racial qualities, and so on lie beyond the scope of our present discussion. Our main interest here centers in the health and well being of the parents and the children; and the phase of the subject which is of immediate concern to us is the relation of family limitation to family health.

That the size of the family has a direct bearing upon its health is quite obvious. Certainly the health of the mother is greatly influenced by the number of pregnancies she has been through, and it is the opinion of many competent observers that the health and well being of the children in a family bear a definite relation to the number of children there are in it. At times it may be to the benefit of the parents and of the family as a whole to increase, and the

physician has often the occasion to advise a mother to undertake a pregnancy for the sake of her own physical or mental welfare or that of the other members of the family. More often, perhaps, under present conditions, and particularly in the type of family with which the social worker generally comes in contact, it appears to be distinctly to the benefit of the parents and of the children that the size of the family be restricted. That family limitation is an important factor in conserving the health of a family is now being recognized by many social agencies, and those whose duty it is to care for the health and welfare of the family are coming to consider this factor as a valuable aid in their social treatment of family case work.

There are a number of indications for family limitation. Some of these are quite generally recognized and need only be mentioned briefly; others are subject to more controversy and difference of opinion and require perhaps a fuller discussion.

It is well known that certain ailments and physical defects of a woman make childbearing and childbirth distinctly dangerous to her. Among such conditions are, for instance, tuberculosis, diseases of the heart, of the kidneys, pelvic tumors and inflammations, pelvic abnormalities, diabetes, hyperthyroidism, certain psychoses, and so on. Pregnancies in women suffering from such conditions often result disastrously or else leave the mother an invalid for many years. That women under such circumstances should be warned against pregnancies and should be instructed in the best means of limiting their families is quite generally admitted. This phase of the subject belongs distinctly to the field of preventive medicine, and its importance in conserving the health of the mother and the well being of the family has long been recognized. Even in those states of the union where there are statutes prohibiting the dissemination of any information in reference to family limitation, exceptions are generally made for those cases where the advice is given for "the prevention or cure of disease." A physician exercising this function can hardly be found guilty of any offense, whether legal, moral, or ethical, and a large number of such patients have been referred during the last few years to our clinical research department by physicians, clinics, and hospitals.

Now, while ill health on the part of the woman is admitted as a valid indication for limiting the size of the family, it is more rarely recognized that ill health on the part of the man is frequently just as strong an indication for restricting the number of offspring in the family. The disease may be familial, and family limitation is advisable from a genetic and eugenic standpoint. The husband may be afflicted with syphilis, epilepsy, or some other transmissible disease. Or he may be suffering from some disability which renders him incapable of supporting even a small family with any degree of success. Disabilities of this type may be due to any chronic incapacitating ailment, to permanent injuries, and particularly to chronic alcoholism, drug addiction, or delinquency. Some of the life histories of such families are extremely pathetic and are a

most convincing argument for the urgent need of family limitation from the standpoint of the health and welfare of the family. The following two cases from the clinical research department in New York will illustrate this type of family problem: Case No. 5959, referred by a social service organization. Patient is 31 years old and has been married ten years; during this period she gave birth to eleven children (once to triplets); eight children are living, the oldest being ten years and the youngest ten months old; social worker states that the husband is lazy, unreliable, unfaithful, a heavy drinker, without a steady income, and wife has to depend almost entirely on charity for the support of the family. Case No. 6748, referred by a psychiatric clinic. Patient has been married thirteen years and had five pregnancies; four living children, the youngest being 7 months old; of all her children only one is normal, the others being serious mental defectives; husband is a laborer earning \$22 a week. Wife states that she would rather commit suicide than bring forth another defective child. Any number of such cases could be cited from our records, but every family social worker is acquainted with this type of case, and further examples are unnecessary. Many social agencies have for some time realized the need of judicious family restriction in such cases, and frequently send such mothers for advice to the physician or to the special clinics.

So much, then, as to the condition of the parents as an indication for family limitation. But family overpopulation and overcrowding has a distinct effect upon the physical and mental status of the children as well. The morbidity and mortality in families with a large number of children, particularly when these are born without a sufficiently long interval, is much higher than in those with fewer. There is a large class of women in whom pregnancies follow too closely upon each other, to their own detriment and to the detriment of their offspring. It is quite generally accepted that with our present mode of living there should be a definite period of rest between pregnancies. The mother should have time to recuperate between successive childbearings, and the number of her offspring should not depend merely upon the extent of her fertility. Lack of proper spacing of births also has a deleterious effect upon the children themselves. According to one observer, children born at intervals of less than two years show a notable deficiency in height, weight, and intelligence as compared with children born after a longer interval. Furthermore, Dr. Woodbury,¹ of the United States Children's Bureau, published some very interesting data wherein he clearly shows that too short an interval between childbirths affects markedly the infant death rate. Where the interval between births is three years, the infant death rate is 86.5 (per 1,000 births); when the interval is two years, the rate is 98.6; and when it is only one year, the infant mortality goes up to 146.7. Family overcrowding and poverty are also important factors in infant mortality, as shown by Dr. Woodbury's findings. In homes, for instance, where the average number of persons per room is less than one, the in-

¹ Robert Morse Woodbury, *Infant Mortality and Its Causes* (Baltimore, 1926).

fant death rate is 52.1; where it is two or more per room, the death rate is 135.7. Furthermore, in families where the per capita income from the father's earnings was less than \$50, the infant mortality rate was 215.9, as compared with a rate of only 60.5 where the per capita amount averaged \$400 or over. These figures clearly and strikingly indicate the influence of family overcrowding upon family well being.

During my work in a pediatric department of a large maternity hospital in New York I have had mothers tell me time and again that with the coming of the new baby they would be forced to deprive the other children of some of the actual dietary essentials. Many of them found it very difficult, for instance, to buy sufficient milk for more than one or two children, and some of them actually went so far as to continue nursing the baby for many months beyond the necessary time in order to avoid the necessity of having to purchase bottle milk for the infant. These are actual cases, and not at all rare in the larger cities. Many of these families finally apply to charitable organizations for aid; others do not, and the children remain chronically underfed and undernourished.

It is undoubtedly the earnest belief of all socially minded individuals that some day our social system will be reorganized on a basis where every family will be provided with at least the essentials for life and health. For the present, however, it would appear only reasonable that in conditions of marked economic distress and poverty the size of the family should be kept somewhat within the bounds of the means of subsistence, and that judicious advice for family limitation under such circumstances is distinctly indicated as a health measure both for the parents and for the children.

Another point to be considered in connection with family limitation from a medical viewpoint is the reduction in maternal morbidity from abortions and its sequelae when scientific means of family limitation becomes a part of our public health program. That the number of induced abortions in the United States is very high is common knowledge. No definite figures are, of course, obtainable. In a study of 3,000 cases referred to the clinical research department for contraceptive advice the number of such operations admitted in the histories given by the patients totaled 2,298, many women having had as many as four, five and even ten. This, perhaps, even underestimates the actual number, for women are generally reluctant to admit the occurrence of induced abortions.

In ancient times the size of a population was often controlled by the practice of infanticide. Today in civilized countries infanticide is a very rare occurrence, but abortions have become common and very numerous. We are fast approaching, however, a more progressive and more humane stage of population control, when the brutal practices of old will be supplanted by the use of scientific and harmless means of family limitation.

Whatever our individual opinion may be regarding the need of birth re-

striction as a national, international, or racial policy, it is only rational to agree that in very many cases family restriction is indicated from the individual family viewpoint, and that family limitation is often an important aid in the conservation of family health.

MATERNITY AND CHILD HYGIENE

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF A WELL CONSIDERED PROGRAM

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Before one may properly undertake a discussion of the elements of a maternal and child hygiene program there are needed a few fundamental data to bring out the problem in cross section, and one or two generalities so that the subject may be viewed in perspective. Thus it is known that for every 1,000 children born alive, 6.6 maternal deaths occur; that annually 73.2 infants die for every 1,000 live births; that the highest death rate from communicable diseases is to be found in children under five years of age; and that child health has not attained a level comparable with what it should be. Of course, more analysis and research are needed, and certainly there will remain always an irreducible minimum of unavoidable morbidity and mortality; but experience has shown that health may be safeguarded and lives saved by the application of public health measures based upon our present knowledge. As to perspective, we can visualize a maternal and child hygiene program only as a part of the general program for community health, and, though a vitally important part, not important enough to justify its complete absorption of the community's health interest and responsibilities. This seems to us so essential for balance that at the risk of appearing didactic we venture to restate the axiom that no part is greater than the whole, and that the doctor and nurse cannot successfully combat infant mortality unless the sanitarian assures a safe water and milk supply, nor care for the health of the child without considering the tuberculous mother.

Having sketched a cross section and perspective, the problem demands a program of attack; and in approaching this program it is essential that one be sane, unprejudiced, and elastic minded. The sentiment and emotion responsible for the educational material which describes the baby as the "babe" fit in but poorly with problems of anatomy and physiology and sanitation. Nor do we see any advantage to the program in calling in the type of individual endowed with a fixity of opinion as dogmatic as the guides on the many parallel paths to heaven. Such an attitude is personified in the old physician, who, after listening to a report of research work done by a young colleague, delivered himself as follows: "Sir, your premises are sound; your facts are incon-

trovertible; but before the Lord, it's impossible!" This old gentleman had swapped an elastic mind for an ability to defend prejudices.

Probably no one formal program for maternal and child health will be applicable in all circumstances. Because a program may have served admirably in one community is not a guaranty that it will be suited to the needs of another. Superimposed and transplanted programs have a tendency to wither because of unsuitable soil; successful programs differ in detail and procedure in relation to the facilities and community psychologies of the various places in which they are in operation. At the same time, however, analysis of well considered programs for maternal and child hygiene separates out certain essential elements—fundamentals upon which constructive procedure must be built. Basically, the well balanced program operates through clinics, conferences, field work, and health education; and these activities are carried on by doctors, dentists, nurses, social workers and school teachers, and the community at large. It may not be necessary to go through all of these avenues of procedure for each phase of the program, but a background of community organization for health, coordinated activity of all agencies concerned, and specific team work in details seems essential. The strategy of attack on the problem is to divide it into its component parts and attempt to solve each subproblem separately. Thus we undertake maternal hygiene, which further separates itself into prenatal, obstetrical, and *post partum* phases. After birth, the measures applied to the mother and of benefit to the child in his period of development are no longer sufficient, and we undertake to solve the problem of infant hygiene. Again, the hazards of infancy are not the same in the first week as in the second; nor in the second week as in the second month; nor in July as in December. Because of this, neo-natal work—procedures to safeguard the health of the newborn—is given special consideration in the general problem of infant health. With the child safely carried through the period of infancy to the stage where a certain amount of locomotive independence is established, we find on our hands a youngster with a tendency to pick up things: spiders and pins and scarlet fever; and we reluctantly admit that we are faced with the problems of the preschool child. Then he enters school, where, from a biologic standpoint, he is subjected to an environment not entirely natural, and where, for various reasons, he is potentially a candidate for eye strain and malnutrition and the communicable diseases. Thus we find the well thought out program to be organized under subheads of procedure applicable to the various age groups concerned, but each merging with and contributing to the others.

The objective of the maternal program is to throw around the expectant mother such safeguards and to give her such advice that she may go through the period of pregnancy with the least discomfort and danger; that she may normally give birth to a healthy infant; and that the transition from pregnancy to nursing motherhood be such that she is able to nurse the infant without strain upon herself or starvation of him: a healthy mother prepared to give in-

telligent care to a healthy child. The things that interfere with the full accomplishment of these purposes are ignorance, poverty, and disease. Then, logically, education, in the home, in conferences, or in clinics, is a first essential. Set this as a goal. Violate all preconceived plans of procedure; teach in the home, but not in conference; teach in conference, but not in clinic; in clinic, but nowhere else; but be sure that the teaching is done. Whether this is by a nurse or a doctor or by printed instructions, the education of the mother is the essential thing, more important than the method by which it is imparted. However, it must not be assumed that method is not important. It is. Frequently it determines the difference between success and failure; it guards against confusion and omissions; it drives relentlessly toward objectives by efficient routines. But situations vary so much that it is not wise to decide on method and then attempt to fit the community to a previously determined plan of action.

As to the measures for overcoming the poverty barrier to maternal health, I can say little. The well trained social worker performs smoothly and almost mysteriously in meeting such problems. Certainly the expectant mother needs decent housing and food and reasonable freedom from exhausting work. Efforts along other lines may be vitiated by starvation rations and back breaking tasks; and the balanced maternal hygiene program shows the maximum use of the community's available social facilities.

Regarding the content of a program for medical and nursing observation of the maternal case, it will be possible to mention only fundamentals. In the prenatal stage measures are undertaken to discover abnormalities in the mother and to guard against the development of disease. Good care prescribes an early examination for pelvic capacity and continued checking against toxemia by urinalysis and blood pressure reading. It is in this phase of the program that highly detailed technical skill and ripe judgment are needed. A routine designed to insure early and regular contact of patient and physician is fundamental. Such periodic observations are supplemented by systematic visits to the patient by the public health nurse, the nurse in turn acquainting the doctor with all of her findings. But the physician or clinic must be the center of the nurse's orbit. The physician, and only the physician, is prepared to make certain types of examination; it is he who must be responsible for taking blood for Wassermann, for determining the presence of an emergency, and instituting proper treatment. And so the woman comes to term. What provision does the program make for delivery? Here, it must be confessed, is a weak link in the protective chain. Very few communities may boast programs adequately caring for all women at delivery. Many provide hospital care for emergency and abnormal cases; some provide hospital care for certain normal cases; and some have no hospital to offer care to either rich or poor. Public health agencies have not, on the whole, advanced to that stage where nursing service at confinement is given in the home; and it is exceptional that the public health nurse can render the amount of after care needed by the *post partum* mother

and the newborn child. I am aware that such care is given under certain highly specialized programs, but these programs are usually quite limited and the number of cases served is so small a percentage of the vast number unserved that the activity can influence the general problem but little. At the minimum, however, the well organized nursing service arranges, previous to delivery, for at least temporary cleanliness in the home and sees that the mother is provided with those things that will be needed at delivery, including a layette.

We shall not have time in this paper to follow the mother much longer; the child is demanding the program's attention. We must assume that every precaution has been taken against sepsis; that the mother stays in bed a reasonable length of time, that the flow of milk has been established, and that the baby is nursing regularly. But before discharging the mother she should be looked over very thoroughly by the physician. Such an examination is to determine what birth injuries, if any, are in need of repair. To go back to the infant now, we find that rational programs stress the importance of maximum care during the early weeks. This is entirely logical, for the death hazard of the infant under three months is almost in inverse proportion to his age: over 50 per cent of infant deaths occur under one month, and nearly 70 per cent under three months of age. With this in mind it may be said that to test the soundness of an infant program one should study the distribution of visits during the first year of the infant's life.

Fundamentally, the machinery and procedures in infant hygiene are the same as for maternal hygiene. Education done by the doctor in his private capacity or in the clinic or conference and by the nurse in the field is a first essential. The better the program, the more sound the teaching. Personal demonstrations to the mother stand out as most effective. She learns better from example than she does from precept. The content of this knowledge that she gains is as to her baby's nourishment, his weight, his sleep, his fresh air and sunshine, his clothes, his bathing, his habits, his hazards, and his regular examination by the physician. And his physician, in turn, strips him bare and examines him every two weeks or every month, and he guards against underfeeding and overfeeding and rickets and entercolitis and respiratory infections; he vaccinates him against smallpox and diphtheria; he uses a minimum of medicines; and he attempts to counteract the advice of the young mother's mother-in-law. The program for infant health, in addition to providing for technical details, should assure a perfect mosaic of the many units of activity and modes of procedure. The infant, or the older child, or, as a matter of fact, any individual, is not to be visualized as a case problem in social work or as a nursing service or clinic item, but primarily as an individual, secondly as a member of a given family, and thirdly as a unit of the community. He must not be administratively dissected, nor should he be regarded as dissociated from his immediate or remote environment.

The part of the program dealing with the health of the preschool child

must be passed over rather quickly. Where his problems are most successfully solved the programs show that considerable thought and time has been given to arousing community consciousness of his needs; that the youngster's mother becomes thoughtful to the point of action only when the current of other mothers is flowing toward the doctor's office or to the clinic. Thus, aside from these technical details of child hygiene applied to the individual, there must be a keen appreciation of community psychology and considerable indirect work to guide the thinking of the county, town, or city along channels leading to the child between infancy and school age. In other words, community organization for health.

In contrast to the difficulty of reaching the preschool child, the child in school is easily available for health work. Not only is he easy to reach, but the work is so well established over the country as a whole that every health program gives a large part of itself to his problems. The fundamentals in other procedures are the basis in this program: physical examinations, correction of defects, protective inoculations, and health education. Perhaps it is in the latter that the distinctive program contrasts most sharply with the mediocre; and in spite of the fact that sometimes health education has been tinged with baby talk and tinted with pale pink, it is a factor of especial value in school health work. Essentially its aim is so thoroughly to teach health principles to the child that he incorporates these principles into his daily life. He regards hygiene, not as something remote, but as something applicable to himself. In physiology, the tooth whose structure he studies is not the other fellow's tooth, but his very own, and to be guarded by good food, a tooth brush, and regular visits to the dentist. Sound health education may or may not teach theory; that depends on the grade and the teacher; but practice is the bed rock. Physical examinations are an essential to further progress. A well built program utilizes them partly for their educational value, but mainly as a starting point for correction of defects. In this connection the level headed public health administrator does not gloat over the mere number of such examinations made; he watches for the use made of examination data by parents and nurses and family physicians. Or, to put it another way, a hundred examinations with 50 per cent corrections is better than two hundred examinations with 10 per cent corrections. The making of examinations is not so important as getting defects corrected. In addition to obtaining the maximum health level through personal hygiene and habits of health, the school health program aims at bringing about protection against the communicable diseases. At present smallpox, typhoid fever, and diphtheria are the usual ones for which vaccines are administered.

How to get parents and school children interested in attaining the desired ends is an ever present problem which the program must attempt to solve. Theoretically, any reasonable being should be willing to go to some trouble in order to maintain health and prevent disease, and thorough teaching should be followed by correction of defects. Practically, however, we find that the physician

himself is not in the least careful of his health; and to stimulate the schoolboy, something more than the inducements of an abstract health level is usually necessary. As a rule he is more interested if he has a definite goal to reach, if he knows exactly what he must do to be a winner, if he has the stimulus of competition, and if the attainment of his goal is signalized by some mark of distinction which carries with it the congratulations of parents and teachers and the envy of friends. And then glasses are fitted, teeth are filled, tonsils are removed, and weight comes up. The marked difference in results between the abstract and concrete method makes one wonder as to the soundness of the inspiring utterance that the goal is not the thing, but the game. It is pretty hard to get up a game unless the winner can know when he has won.

In summary, it may be said that the first requisite of a maternal and child hygiene program is that it fit the community's needs. The building and shaping of the program should be done by one entirely oriented as to the general health situation and in possession of specific information as to numbers and causes of maternal and infant deaths. He should have measured the ordinary level of child health and have in his possession the knowledge requisite to raise that level. With the special program formulated it should constitute an integral part of a complete program for health, the latter being supported by community health organization. As the program goes into effect it should be subjected to frequent or current appraisals, lest the noise of activity be mistaken for the sound of progress. It is believed that these things are fundamentals to be observed, and the observation of fundamentals has ever been the first step in accomplishment.

APPLYING A MATERNITY AND INFANCY PROGRAM TO RURAL SECTIONS

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In considering the application of a maternity and infancy program to rural sections there are three points that we must keep in mind. First, this is a combined social and public health problem. Second, there exists a need for such programs. There are whole counties in our country without a single physician, and many more with but one. Often these counties have no trained nurses, or only one or two at most. While our high maternal death rate in the United States is a national disgrace, the rate for rural sections exceeds that of urban sections in many localities. Third, we are not entering on an entirely uncharted sea. We may point with pride to the substantial foundations which have been laid for this work in rural sections throughout the country.

This paper is based upon personal observations by members of the staff of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund. During the past year we have visited the work in rural sections of widely scattered states.

Sir George Newman, chief medical officer of the Ministry of Health in England, during a recent visit to the United States, in speaking of our high maternal death rate, accused us of seeking by effort and enormous expenditure of wealth to diminish the effects, but of doing little to remove its cause.

What are the fundamental causes for the high maternal and infant mortality rate which places the United States in such a low position among the nations of the world? They are lack of prenatal care, many times due to the lack of preparation on the part of physicians to give such care, the great scarcity of both medical and nursing service in rural sections, the employment of untrained midwives, lack of hospital facilities and clinics in country districts, low incomes, artificial feeding of infants, and, among the most important of all, the need for education of the public at large as to the general laws of hygiene and the particular laws applicable to pregnancy and childbirth, the lying-in period, and infancy.

In all of the present effort to apply maternity and infancy programs to rural sections these causes have been a basic consideration. In drafting programs for rural sections the public health workers benefited by the experience of programs which had proved powerful agents against maternal and infant mortality in cities. The first attempts, therefore, to apply a maternity and infancy program to rural sections consisted of an adaptation of some of the best known city practices. For instance, prenatal clinics and child health conferences have been a part of the rural program in every state. Many states have made use of itinerant clinics manned either by physicians and nurses from the state department of health or by local physicians. Healthmobiles, or clinics on wheels, have proved efficient means of covering isolated sections. Oftentimes the itinerant clinic is the only opportunity which women in remote rural regions have had to get professional advice. The educational value of these conferences cannot be measured. Mothers are instructed as to diet and other factors in their own and the child's schedule.

We are all familiar with the present terrible economic situation in farming communities. The value of these conferences is inestimable for women who feel that they cannot possibly go to physicians except in case of extreme necessity. Examinations at the conferences sometimes reveal this extreme necessity. Treatments are not given, the patient always being referred to her own physician; or, in case she is not able to afford a physician, she is urged to go to the nearest available clinic if there is such. It is always the plan to establish permanent health centers as rapidly as possible.

In England, where the maternal death rate is much lower than ours, infant welfare and maternity centers have long played an important rôle in their program, and reports show that they are continuing to open new centers in rural districts each month.

Two features, the value of which had been well demonstrated in cities and

which were early incorporated into rural programs, are the visiting nurse and mothers' or women's classes.

Compared with ten years ago there are now a large number of rural public health nurses. However, a great need still exists for more nurses going into farm homes urging the mothers to see their doctors early in pregnancy and to have their young children looked over in order that defects may be discovered and corrected early. Nurses report to the family physician any condition that seems to require his attention. Thus the rural practitioner keeps in closer touch with his patients than he otherwise could. It is important that nurses chosen for this work have special training in public health work. They must be good case workers as well as good nurses. In some counties where it has not been possible to establish public health nurses the state department of health has assigned a nurse to cover several counties in an itinerant fashion. Occasionally the state department lends a specially trained maternity and infancy nurse to a county for one year as a demonstration. She works through the physicians, following out their directions, and she also works through all organized groups of women.

The women's classes usually include from five to eight lectures by a physician, with demonstrations by a nurse. In carrying out this item of the program, as well as all activities with the women themselves, the state department works through existent organized groups, as parent-teacher associations, farm bureaus, and groups organized for extension work by agents from the agricultural college.

The nations with lower maternal and infant death rates than ours require special courses in training before a midwife may practice. Furthermore, these nations have midwives under careful state supervision. It was logical, therefore, for those of our states having a high percentage of births attended by midwives to arrange educational programs for midwives and to require certain minimum standards as a means of cutting down maternal and infant death rates. Many states have conducted surveys to discover as nearly as possible the number and kind of persons practicing midwifery. Upon finding that they must meet certain requirements, many of the poorer ones eliminated themselves. Educational programs for those remaining differ in states according to local conditions. An effective program in a southern state with fully 52 per cent of births attended by midwives requires all midwives to attend a local study club once a month and to come at least annually to a county meeting. Here the state supervisor meets with them to instruct them, to quiz them, and to inspect their bags. They are urged to try to get their cases to go at least once during pregnancy to a physician, or a clinic if there is one, for medical examination. A Wassermann is taken for every midwife, and unless each positive case brings a physician's statement that she is receiving treatment, her permit is revoked.

In analyzing the needs of rural communities it was immediately discov-

ered that many general practitioners were giving no prenatal care and that many of the more recent practices in both obstetrics and pediatrics were not known to men who had been out for some time. Many physicians believe that if every woman had continuous prenatal supervision our maternal mortality rate would immediately be cut in half. We are all aware of the spectacular decrease in maternal mortality among the attendants at prenatal clinics in cities over the rate for the city as a whole.

A popular educational measure, therefore, common to many states is the holding of postgraduate courses in obstetrics and pediatrics, usually by county medical societies. The best available men are brought into the district and give courses of lectures and demonstrations before local physicians.

Another service to aid country practitioners is the offer of state departments of health, or of county departments where there is a county health unit, to do laboratory work if physicians will send in specimens.

Child hygiene classes, usually in the schools, are common in the state maternity and infancy programs. Often these are taught by the county nurses. Sometimes specially trained nurses from the state department go into a county for a period of eight weeks, holding about four classes a day in different schools, thus covering approximately twenty schools with eight lessons each. Girls from the fifth grade and up are included in the classes, and great interest is shown. They are taught the physical care and feeding of young children, and some demonstrations are given. They are also given the underlying principles of general home hygiene and sanitation.

Without exception the states are stressing birth registration in connection with their maternity and infancy programs. Full reporting of births and deaths is absolutely necessary as a basis for any study of this subject.

One other very important item of the programs in several states, and one which will, no doubt, extend to others as they have the money and personnel to carry it out, is a careful study of every maternal death occurring in the state. Florence Nightingale once said that every such death should be the subject of an inquest. These studies are bringing to light many conditions and practices which should be known and are bound to be of tremendous benefit in correcting some of the evils which contribute to our high maternal death rate.

Hastily we have sketched the main activities being conducted in our states in the application of a maternity and infancy program to rural sections. Much of this has been made possible by the enactment in 1921 of the Sheppard-Towner Bill into a law. It is very generally the opinion of people who have followed the carrying out of this law that no money has ever been expended for a national program which has resulted in wider benefits for the welfare of the people. Unfortunately the whole matter of the principle of federal aid is under attack by many politicians just at a critical time in the development of this great rural program. The present act will expire on June 30, 1929, after a seven year trial. The states and communities having successful work under

way do not wish it to slump. Some states will be able to get increased state appropriation to keep up to something approaching the present standard. Very few will be able to expand as they should. Many states tell us that they will be forced to practically discontinue the activities if federal aid is discontinued. Almost every state says that it will mean a serious loss if they have to continue individually rather than as a part of a national program.

Other agencies have made possible fine programs here and there. Each child health demonstration financed by the Commonwealth Fund includes maternity and infancy work designed to meet conditions in their localities. The Kentucky Committee for Mothers and Babies has chosen a county in the mountain fastnesses of that state in which they are developing a program for maternity and infancy work which they hope to make ideal for their particular needs and for the needs of similar localities. Tioga County, New York, was chosen for a special maternity and infancy three year demonstration by the New York Maternity Center. Although that demonstration was partly financed by Sheppard-Towner funds, the county has now raised money to continue the activities independently. The details of these programs are quite similar to the activities which have been outlined. Those in Leslie County, Kentucky, and in Tioga County, New York, differ in that they give bedside nursing care. The Kentucky demonstration is staffed largely by nurse midwives who, in addition to being registered nurses, have taken the course in midwifery in England required of all midwives in that country before they may practice. Leslie County had not a single physician when the demonstration was started. The whole problem is so complex, due to varying local conditions, that it is not possible to outline a definite program which may be applied to every locality.

We have, however, asked many public health workers from widely separated parts of the country what they consider necessary to establish an ideal maternity and infancy program in rural sections. It is most interesting that the fundamentals are practically the same in all sections. Their specifications include: physicians and nurses available in every community prepared to give *adequate* prenatal supervision; education through women's classes or otherwise so that mothers may realize the importance of placing themselves under medical supervision early and of demanding certain minimum prenatal care; provision of hospital facilities in rural sections—small community maternity hospitals at least; permanent health centers which would provide necessary clinics; complete birth registration; careful study into the cause of every maternal death; education of young people for parenthood.

Every worker interviewed feels that the ideal application of a maternity and infancy program could best be made through a full time county health unit with enough nurses on its staff so that maternity and infancy would receive equal consideration with such things as school work and tuberculosis, thus making maternity and infancy an undifferentiated part of the general public health program.

It is significant that in comparing the projects which have been undertaken in various places with the rural health appraisal form prepared by the American Public Health Association, all of the points on which rural communities are scored under the section on maternity and infancy are already included in programs under way.

Progress has been made. The challenge to social workers and public health agents lies in furthering the development of this most important social and public health project. Continued activities must center in better infant care, to be accomplished through the instruction of mothers; better care for mothers, to be accomplished through wider instruction in the importance of skilled supervision throughout pregnancy and the lying-in period; the stimulation of medical, nursing, and hospital facilities in order that adequate maternity and infancy supervision may be available to a greater proportion of the rural population than at present.

CHILD HEALTH VERSUS THE POCKETBOOK

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How much does child health cost, how shall it be paid for, and who shall pay for it? Health departments and voluntary health agencies have established certain standards or requirements in their child health programs. These standards include care for the mother and care at delivery by a physician skilled in obstetrics, and during the baby's first year, periodical examination and advice to the mother by a physician especially trained in the diseases of children, aided by a public health nurse. In the preschool and school years it is accepted as desirable that children receive systematic medical supervision by qualified physicians and follow up by nurses. Immunization at as early an age as possible against certain diseases, especially smallpox and diphtheria, is part of the child health standard, and also systematic examination, cleansing, and necessary care of the teeth during the preschool and school period. These health services are provided by the community for a certain number of children, and for some additional children by their own parents.

Opinion as to the proportion of children for whom health service should be furnished by public or private agencies varies among health workers and among practicing physicians. We find those who appear to assume that child health programs might well be extended by the community to all children; and there are those on the other hand who would limit them strictly to the children of the truly poor. The abstract question of public policy is a matter of argument. The concrete questions of the expense of child health work is a matter of fact. Suppose we were to take those standards and methods of child health service which have become fairly accepted parts of public health practice and

inquire as to their applicability to private health practice—that is, ask how much the services according to such standards would cost if secured by each family for its own children.

I have estimated these costs as follows: The expense of prenatal and obstetrical care, including professional fees, hospital care, or home service, baby clothes, and incidentals has been taken as \$150. I do not imply that good care is not secured in some communities for less than this; I do estimate that the standards of care generally set by health agencies for their clients would usually call for at least this expense.

TABLE I
EXPENSE OF HEALTH SERVICE TO A CHILD FROM BIRTH THROUGH
THE FOURTEENTH YEAR

Kind of Service	Items in Service	Expense of Service at Minimum Rate (Dollars)	Expense for Whole Period of 14 Years (Dollars)	Average per Year (Dollars)
Prenatal and obstetrical..	Prenatal examination and supervision; confinement and <i>post partum</i> care	150	150	10.71
Pediatric.....	Systematic periodical su- pervision by pediatri- cian, with necessary tests and immunizations	{ 1st yr. 35 2-5 yrs. 15 6-14 yrs. 10 }	185	13.21
Dental.....	Two prophylactic cleans- ings a year from 5th to 14th years	6	60	4.29
Total....	395	28.21

During the baby's first year I assume at least four consultations with a pediatrician at \$5 a visit, and immunizations against smallpox and diphtheria, at a total cost of \$35. From the second to the fifth years, inclusive, I assume less frequent consultations at an annual expense of \$15, and from the sixth to the fourteenth years an annual expense of \$10 for this health service. No public health nursing is included. Then there is so-called preventive dentistry to be considered, including two prophylactic cleansings a year, at a cost of at least \$3 apiece in private dental offices, making \$6 annually from the fifth to the fourteenth years. In Table I all these items are presented.

In substance, we find that the health service required for a child, including care from and during the prenatal period to the end of the fourteenth year, may be expected to cost, if bought at minimum private rates, nearly \$400, or an average of over \$28 a year. If the large item for prenatal and obstetrical care, which occurs only once, be excluded, the figures are reduced to \$245, or

an average per year per child of \$17.50. If we express these figures in terms of a family budget with a family having three children under fifteen years, we find in round numbers that, including obstetrics, the average annual expenditure for health service to the children, excluding the care of sickness, will be over \$84 per year, or, without counting prenatal and obstetrical care, about \$52 per year.

Is child health service worth \$84 or \$52 a year to a family of two parents with three young children? How much will it save in the way of sickness and suffering for the children? How much better off will they be in health and strength when they grow up? How many more years are they likely to live as a result of thorough health work during their early years? Can we answer these questions? I doubt if we can do so with any statistical assurance, but parents are not prone to consider their children in statistical terms. The practical basis upon which father and mother decide what they will do for their own little folk is the consideration whether this or that service is likely to benefit their children. Can we prove that it will do so? That would be desirable, but it is not necessary. Will it give the children a better chance? That is the parents' point. If child health service will give their children a better chance, parents will seek to secure it whether or not they can measure that chance statistically.

Hence we can say with a good deal of assurance that the experience of America with child health work, and the opinions held by pediatricians, health officers, and others regarded as competent to judge, is sufficient to induce the great majority of parents, who are both conscientious and loving so far as their own children are concerned, to seek these services for their children. The question then settles down in terms of the expense of child health as compared with family income or financial resources, or, as suggested in the title of this paper, child health versus the family pocketbook. Fifty dollars is fifty dollars; but what is it in terms of family budgets?

It is hardly necessary to add that if we were considering families who patronize child specialists charging \$10 a visit, and obstetricians who charge \$250 to \$500, the expense figures that I have given would be greatly increased. But the families, or nearly all of them, who patronize these specialists are among the comparatively well to do, with incomes of more than \$5,000 per year. The statistics of income in the United States make clear that families of this economic level constitute less than 5 per cent of American families.

The families with whom this discussion deals are those with incomes of \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year, constituting the majority of our people. What do they, or what would they, spend out of their own budgets for health work for their own children? The question what *would* they spend leads us to guess work. However, upon the question, What *do* families spend? there are some facts. We find that these facts relate almost exclusively to expenditure for the care of sickness, or at least that neither in the questionnaires nor in the re-

sponses has the expenditure been divided between preventive and curative service. The extensive studies of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the smaller but more intensive studies conducted by several voluntary organizations, and in rural communities by the United States Department of Agriculture or state agricultural agencies, can be summarized by stating that the total expenditure for the care of sickness among families of five with incomes of \$2,100-\$2,500 per year is on the average about \$80 per annum. The average expenditure for a child is not over \$20. The very numerous families with incomes of \$1,800-\$2,100 show lower amounts. Such average figures, of course, by no means express the burden of sickness, for nothing is more familiar than the fact that while sickness falls heavily upon a certain proportion of individuals each year, it descends lightly upon a much larger number, and passes by entirely a certain proportion. Hence the average figures are highly misleading as an expression of the burden of sickness against which any particular family would need to provide in its own planning; but the averages are useful as a means of estimating the total expenditure for sickness on the part of a large group.

Thus one thousand such families would expend approximately \$80,000 in a year for sickness. About \$50,000 of this would go for caring for sickness among the children. If these families were to pay for preventive work for their children according to the standards and costs stated in the preceding pages, they would have to spend \$52,000 for this preventive service alone. In other words, the expenditure which would be required of these families for child health work would be as much as they have been accustomed to spend for the care of sickness among their children (most of which would still occur) and over half of the total present sickness budget for the whole family, taking children and adults together.

Certain exceptions must be made to this statement. It is probably not true—and it does not matter whether it is true—among the wealthy. It is not true among a certain type of family of moderate means who possess high health standards, and who, out of an income of \$2,500-\$4,000 a year, are willing to spend and do spend at private rates a substantial sum for preventive service for its children. But families of this type are statistically almost as exceptional as are the wealthy.

To what does this discussion lead? Clearly to the conclusion that whatever the benefits of child health work may be, radical changes in most family budgets would be necessary before child health work will be paid for, at present rates in private medical practice, by any but families of considerable means, or of exceptionally high standards concerning health.

How, then, shall child health services be secured for all children?

First, can the cost of private medical practice be reduced in some fashion by technical measures? The general introduction of dental hygienists, for instance, would reduce the dental element in child health service considerably.

But what other reductions can be expected unless child specialists and public health workers set themselves together to finding such, as a responsible task? Are the standards in vogue for the clients of health agencies higher than is necessary? Could the same results be secured by less expensive means?

Second, can the willingness to pay for child health be increased among a large part of the population so that they will be ready and glad to spend a larger proportion of their family budgets for health, and for child health in particular? Is it not possible that through education and a consequently higher appraisal of the value of health, sums will be transferred from expenditures for cigars, candy, cosmetics, autos, or radios to preventive health services? Something has been accomplished in enhancing health expenditures already, and the publicity of official and voluntary agencies ought to be able to achieve much more if it is directed so as to focus on family budgets as well as on the boosting of community expenditures.

Or, third, must we abandon the idea that systematic child health service shall be paid for by individual families to individual physicians, dentists, and others? Shall it be carried on under some plan of organized medicine by public or private funds to which individuals contribute directly or indirectly through taxation or through some form of insurance payment?

I am not answering these questions. I do not know how to answer them. The answer, or rather the answers, will have to be studied out and worked out. I am presenting the issues in the hope that laymen and physicians will unite in wrestling with the economic, as well as the professional, facts, and will parallel studies of babies with studies of budgets. The financial elements of the situation are by no means the only determinants, but are nevertheless influential at every point. The economic facts of the present cost of child health service, of present family expenditure, and of family spending habits in relation to the care of sickness make it clear that it is futile to expect more than a small proportion of families to pay for systematic child health work through private physicians unless either the cost of child health service can be substantially reduced in proportion to the benefits likely to be derived from it, or the willingness to spend for health service can be multiplied in the average man's mind. It is well that we review our child health standards, our policies, and their cost before we commit our minds to any policy whereby competent child health work is to be made available, as it should be, for all children. But let us not ultimately be afraid to go wherever facts and candid experimentation may lead us, for, after all, service to the child is the supreme obligation.

IV. THE FAMILY

FINANCIAL DEPENDENCY AND RELIEF GIVING: ITS EFFECTS

THE EFFECTS OF FINANCIAL DEPENDENCY AND RELIEF GIVING UPON SOCIAL ATTITUDES

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We are interested in the effects of financial dependency and relief giving upon social attitudes because in so many cases the worker is frustrated in the attainment of her objectives, not by the tangible problems with which her clients are confronted, but by the clients themselves. She meets every primary financial need, uses every available resource, exerts every case work effort to rescue certain clients from their remediable difficulties only to discover that something within the clients resists rescue and effectively prevents its accomplishment. If the worker met this curious, sly defeat only in cases where her initial entrance was greeted by conscious opposition from one or other of the clients she might attribute the partial or total miscarriage of her plans to frank antagonisms; but frequently she is similarly rewarded for her expenditure of relief and service in cases where previously self respecting, self reliant clients are overtaken by circumstances beyond their control. She is rewarded, not by their recovery of the former independence, within whatever limits their material handicaps set, but by a subtle deterioration that seems to originate from the very assistance she renders them. What unruly element is operating in her cases that she should be thwarted in the aim she values above all others, the preservation and strengthening of the clients' personal integrity? Is there something incalculably destructive in the initial experience of financial dependence, or is there a fundamental, ironical incompatibility between relief and her case work purposes?

We might first consider the effects of financial dependency on those clients whose economic difficulties have been precipitated by death, illness, involuntary unemployment, etc. Sometimes in cases of this sort we assume that because the clients have hitherto been self directing, self sufficient persons and because their financial predicament was not of their own making, any symptoms of chronic dependency they subsequently show may logically be attributed to the insidious influence of relief. The trouble with this explanation is that it excludes any of a number of natural psychological contingencies which may be intimately related to the development of that passivity and resistance in clients so familiar to us as chronic dependency.

In the first place the clients' sustaining faith in their capacity to meet the realities of life has been bruised. Moreover, they have lost their independent status, with all that it connoted of personal adequacy, equality with others, and the right to manage their own affairs. They have fallen into the limbo of the dependent and are exposed to the social stigma which even professional case workers still attach to dependency, the stigma of suspected inferiorities, mental, moral, and physical. They have lost more than that financial security which obviates anxiety about the rent, the corner grocer, the gas bill, and the children's need of new shoes. They have lost a familiar way of life. The death of the breadwinner, the experience of chronic or incapacitating disease, the hardships of adjustment to unemployment, smaller wages, less skilled, less congenial, jobs, or whatever problem contributed to their plight have changed the face of things and now demand adaptation to an uncertain dreary future wherein there is no assurance of their finding equivalents for the few, peculiar satisfactions they formerly enjoyed. It is the element of unsettled doubt, the weight of new handicaps, the disappearance of personal and material assets which they previously, ungratefully, took for granted, the threat to their very sense of their own identity, the fear of further submergence, the feeling that the best they can now achieve may hardly be worth the effort required to achieve it; it is the secret undertow of these distintegrating emotions that may gradually convert independence into dependence and play havoc with the best laid plans. Usually these underlying fears, humiliations, and discouragements remain unexpressed until the client can no longer fight them. Then they appear as an aura of anxiety, querulousness, dissatisfaction, suspicion, and resistance about those more concrete problems which the case worker finds it so difficult to reduce to their real dimensions. They resemble a low grade infection that has invaded the clients' mental life, depleting his emotional vitality and disturbing his functioning. Technically they are baffling to the worker because they obscure the distinction she needs to draw between the uncontrollable "real" factors of disease, incapacity and unemployment, and the presumably controllable factors of inertia, self indulgence, and irresponsibility.

The same factors operate in cases where the clients' own personality and behavior difficulties played a part in creating the financial dependency. Although in these instances we are less likely to believe that relief is entirely accountable for the thwarting of our plans, we may not realize that the present personality maladjustments spring from the same fundamental sources as that chronic dependency we wish to avert, and that whether or not they have interfered in the past with regular earnings, family support, the meeting of primary needs, and the payment of bills, they are warning signs of underlying difficulties which under the stresses of financial dependency may culminate in the demoralization of chronic dependency. For instance, the irritable, complaining housewife may feel that marriage is an imposition on the woman; that she, like her mother, has always had to bear the brunt of any hardships; that all men

are alike, and that her only son is a sorry combination of traits inherited from her irresponsible, domineering father and her weak, sullen husband. The husband may compare his mother's indulgence and willing self sacrifice with the exactions and disparagements of his wife, may be jealous of the latter's absorption in her favorite daughter, may ally himself with his son against the feminine faction, and when their nagging becomes intolerable may go on an occasional spree partly to escape into a world where he is a dominant, successful personage and partly to punish his oppressors by an assertion of his independence. The boy may quarrel incessantly with the favored sister, feel inferior because his mother prefers her and because he is stigmatized with a hereditary brand that makes his very rôle in life repellent. When a family group of this sort is overtaken by the man's illness and a consequent financial need, the dependency which ordinarily we attribute to the pernicious influence of relief is already intrinsic in the situation, in the wife's resentment of burdens thrust upon her; in the husband's conviction that unless he defends himself his physical welfare will be subordinated to the prime consideration of support for a woman who depreciates him; in the boy's sense of profound inadequacy and his evasion of any authority since his chief experience of it has made him feel that it emanates from dislike and mistrust. In many cases where the initial maladjustments are perhaps no more evident than in this, apparent at first merely in the sulky expression of the father, the complaining, critical tone of the mother, and the invidious comparisons of one child to the other, not only may relief be a relatively superficial factor, but even the financial dependency and all the losses it involves may be simply complications, perhaps serious or fatal in themselves, to fundamental difficulties that may crystallize into chronic dependency.

That indefinable dependency which cannot be entirely explained in terms of environmental or physical handicaps is essentially an emotional dependency. External circumstances may make complete financial independence impossible: we are thinking here of that extension of material dependency which prevents some clients from availing themselves of the opportunities that still exist for personal initiative, effort, and responsibility within the often harsh limitations set by death, disease, industrial conditions, etc. This is emotional dependency. Few of us in any walk of life are not to some degree emotionally dependent, even at the height of our adult achievement. A complete and constant independence is an attribute of perfect maturity and perfect adjustment, and these of course belong to the absolute, abstract realm of the unattainable ideal. Even in the behavior of the apparently adjusted are fugitive signs of dependency, and in most of us there are both latent and active dependencies subtly affecting our relationships with the outside world. These spring from all that was destructive in our experience and are traceable to underlying desires for a love that is protective and non-critical, for an approval that overlooks weakness, passivity, and failure, for maximum rewards for minimum effort, for satisfac-

tion of our wants without labor or the conquest of obstacles, and for recognition of fine qualities without demonstration of their existence. Because these desires were not satisfied in the past and cannot be satisfied in the present, we are laden with inferiority feelings of various sorts, lack of confidence in our own inherent worth, fear of the derogatory judgments of others, resentment of demands we may not be able to meet, hostility toward those who have apparently failed us, and guilt because we cannot overcome this hostility against those whom we conventionally wish to love and respect. Most of us manage to survive our losses and frustrations because other circumstances favored us and provided us with enough of the basic satisfactions to permit of our forming fairly successful relationships, developing certain abilities, and meeting major responsibilities sufficiently well to earn a living and establish our status with ourselves and others. However, immaturities of varying degree exist in all of us; it is they which make us peculiarly vulnerable to personality and behavior upsets when we are confronted with situations at all similar to those overtaking our clients. With us, as with them, the prospects for recovery depend on the nature of our previous adjustment and the chance of our regaining former satisfaction or discovering substitutes for them. If the loss is irremediable, and no equivalents can be found for assets that have vanished, and no relief obtained from the irritations, conflicts, and humiliations that have always lowered our immunity, we lose our adult foothold and relapse into the passivity, discouragement, and resistance which make it necessary for others to take care of us.

In short, any adjustment may be considered sufficiently precarious to admit of the coexistence of underlying dependencies. If the individual is then exposed to a series of reverses his prospects for recovery are determined just as much by what his previous experience has done to him, and by his reactions to that experience, as they are determined by the seriousness and extent of his present difficulties and what the case worker is able to contribute toward their solution. Chronic dependency is a potential in every case, but the emotional dependency from which it derives does not begin with financial dependency, nor does it originate in relief. They play significant parts in the drama; but if unnecessarily unhappy endings are to be averted, the parts played by financial dependency and relief must not be exaggerated, nor must their connection with that past from which the present problem has evolved be overlooked.

The immediate, pertinent question for the case worker is what she can do to prevent emotional dependency from progressing or to assist the client to emerge from it when it has already created marital conflicts, symptoms of personality and behavior disorder, and disturbances in economic functioning. One serious handicap arises from the fact that the techniques for the study and treatment of personality and behavior difficulties have not yet been fully adapted to case work uses or generally assimilated into case work theory and practice. However, there is a strong affinity between those psychiatric concepts

which have evolved out of study of family relationships and those concepts of family case work which have emphasized the importance of the family as the natural environment of the individual. The possibilities for a closer integration of the two are obvious. When we see the personality of each client as the product of early family relationships and follow the adventures of his personal growth through the widening circles of school, neighborhood, work, and marriage, we acquire the conviction that he is what he is because influences beyond his conscious control operated to make him so. We get a clearer notion of his emotional assets and liabilities, of the conditions necessary for the preservation of the assets and the overcoming of the liabilities, and of the possibility of our achieving one or the other under present restricting circumstances. This saves us from overrating the potentialities of the sympathetic client and overlooking those of the inferior and unattractive. It helps to prevent us from embarking on inappropriate plans that encourage dependency because they subject the client to demands he cannot meet, to consequent failure, and to loss of self confidence. Moreover, it strengthens in our case work more constructive concepts of influence, influence that is individually adapted to the client's inner life rather than generally used in an effort to obtain his outward conformity to plans that may be intellectually plausible but emotionally unsuitable. We can more readily find compelling motivations to activity that will realize dormant ambitions and relinquished aims, that will reawaken that respect and affection in others which he has lost and inwardly craves, that will give him a sense of accomplishment because the things accomplished satisfy his own needs. We can attempt to create more potent incentives for hard work and difficult adjustments by straightening out those present family relationships which have made work a thankless task and successful effort something beyond his imagination or the belief of those who have come to scorn and resent him. We all know that responsibilities are best sustained by self respect, the interest and faith of others, and the lure of small private gains. None of us do our duty well unless we want to do it. We do it best when we elect to do it because we realize that we can do it and that once it is done we shall be freed of oppressive anxieties and released for the hopeful pursuit of our own ends. In brief, as case workers we more fully admit the necessity for working from the inside out, as well as from the outside in, if we are to achieve a harmonious reconciliation between the inner life of the client and that external life which presents such complex, shifting problems.

There is, however, another facet to the case worker's many sided problem of handling dependency. This is the problem of her relationship to the clients. What is the nature of her relationship to them? And what bearing on this relationship has her administration of relief? Obviously she provides the same sort of practical wisdom, the same sort of disinterested guidance, the same sort of understanding and tolerance which competent, trustworthy parents provide for the child. If anything were needed to make the analogy complete it is her

relief function. Certainly what is typically abnormal about the situation of the dependent family is its reversion from adult self sufficiency to the situational dependence that distinguishes childhood. It is this element in the relationship which may produce in turn those increased symptoms of emotional dependency that are so embarrassing to the case worker. Actually if she is to achieve maximum results within the real limitations of the individual case work situation she must do so by recognizing her parental position and deliberately using its possibilities for correction of some of the difficulties created in the clients by their previous experience. Her relationship with them must be satisfying where the earlier relationships were unsatisfying; it must become constructive where they were destructive. Naturally it can be neither unless she knows fairly well what the old family relationships actually were and how they are affecting the present. She is put to the test of establishing and maintaining through thick and thin a positive contact that is built on progressive common understanding and participation. She makes the basis of influence her power to help, not to command; her sustained interest and friendliness; her ability to relieve irritations, discouragement, and shame, and her capacity for stimulating self respect, initiative, and confidence in clients whose acquaintance with such pleasant emotions has been meager and episodic.

The practical complication here is often that of relief. The case worker must consider relief, first because past experience has proved that it may nourish rather than cure dependency, and secondly because budget conditions demand that it be carefully expended. In actual practice relief is a pervasive problem to which are attributed destructive influences that really emanate from other sources. The examination of case material shows that it is often made the scapegoat for the development of dependencies that existed in the makeup of the clients long before relief became a factor in their lives. It is also frequently blamed for the appearance of that passivity and resistance into which the presumably independent clients lapse when they are exposed to the disrupting effects of financial dependency. In short, it is held responsible for those discrepancies between expectations and results which are really attributable to inaccuracies in evaluation of assets and liabilities in the initial situation and to failures in detecting or measuring subsequent changes in these assets and liabilities. Its effects are also confused with those of inadequate case work, quite naturally, since, whenever case work falls short of conscious control in its own handling of personality problems, relief is likely to become a storm center both in the client's and the case worker's mind. The need of relief, whether it seems prolonged beyond the period of obvious necessity or whether it be merely greater than the case worker feels justified, is one of the warning signs of chronic dependency to which she is oversensitized; and because it is concrete while other evidence is subtle and elusive, she is of course haunted by the fear that relief itself has generated the dependency.

We may say, of course, that relief cultivates inertia and a false assurance

of survival in clients who are only too ready to give up the struggle. But isn't this a superficial explanation? Is not the reliance on relief merely another symptom of that emotional dependency which is present in every client and in which he threatens to be engulfed unless case work can come to the rescue? Is not the fundamental question in some of these cases a question as to whether there is anything left to rescue in clients reduced to abject emotional dependency by their previous experience? We are inevitably reminded that case work evolved as a safeguard against pauperization by almsgiving. Much of our present difficulty arises from the fact that we have not developed the positive implications of that early concept of the function of case work while we have retained the early negative concept of the function of relief. This has created a nervousness about relief which has interfered with case work in various ways. The individual case worker is likely, for instance, to be influenced in her evaluation of clients by their attitudes toward relief and toward issues immediately related to relief rather than by the more significant evidence of underlying dependencies. She is also apt to attempt to discourage dependency in its recurrent manifestations by reducing or withholding relief. She may also in the early period of contact try to subordinate relief to case work by making the giving of relief subject to compliance with the processes of investigation, with clinical examinations, etc. Now all of this, grounded as it is on a reasonable premise, actually undermines her contact, exaggerates relief as a consideration affecting her decisions, and reduces her most valuable services to conditions to which the client reluctantly submits, not for their intrinsic value to him, but because he must submit in order to obtain the relief. Moreover, the use of relief as a discipline increases that destructive sense of helplessness in the client which is one of the roots of dependency, and transfers the center of influence from case work to money. If relief encourages dependency it is because nervous fears of its disintegrating effects result in practices robbing case work of influence and primary importance in the eyes of the client.

The positive values of relief may of course be observed and lost through overemphasis on the negative. Essentially relief is the *modus operandi* of the family case worker until she establishes contact as the basis for influence. Even then it is essential to the maintenance of contact as long as there are primary material needs that can be met in no other way. Relief gives the case worker a reason for being on the case work scene and is the first crude symbol of that assistance and understanding which later she wants the clients to accept in more subtle guises. Relief also provides that assurance of survival which releases energies previously consumed in a frightened struggle for self preservation; it furnishes ground on which the clients may stand while they become acquainted with the underlying problems which have overwhelmed them, recover from remediable handicaps, find substitutes for the irreparable cost assets, and develop latent or abandoned resources. It carries them through that uncomfortable transitional period wherein they must adjust to new liabilities

and vanished satisfactions; it sustains them by a case work process that reinstates them in their self respect, that transforms each small obstacle into one of a series of victories, and relieves them gradually of some of the irritation, pain, and reproach which arose from conflicts in family relationships. Relief does not create assets, but it makes them accessible for exploitation if they exist. It is to case work, then, that we must look for the further development of techniques which will better equip us to measure the fixed limitations of environmental conditions, of physical and intellectual handicaps, and of emotional dependencies that may or may not be susceptible to treatment. It is to case work also that we must turn for greater skill in realizing the personality assets and offsetting the emotional liabilities which we often see too vaguely even to attain that measure of success to which the impersonal forces in the environment limit us. We cannot discern all the riddles of human nature, nor solve all those we discern, but if we recognize the necessity for bringing into the sphere of case work influence some of those unknowns that have operated to our discomfort we may find that both dependence and independence are somewhat more predictable, and we may therefore exercise a more conscious control in avoiding the first and achieving the second.

THE EFFECTS OF FINANCIAL DEPENDENCY AND RELIEF GIVING ON PERSONALITY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

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It seems to me that it cannot be conceded that financial dependency is a thing in itself, but that, on the other hand, it is just a part of that more inclusive concept, dependency. I shall not be able in the time allowed me to cite in detail case histories supporting my views; neither shall I have time adequately to assign the relative positions of many environmental situations, such as the effect of our present industrial policies in the final causation of financial dependency. However, I am hoping that from the light of your own experiences you will see how these factors do act in bringing about a secondary elaboration of symptoms, and have value only as such, and are not primary causative factors. I wish, therefore, to discuss dependency in so far as it relates to the development of personality, hoping in this way to throw some light on the topic under discussion.

In the first place the child cannot be understood except in the light of the history of his parentage. No doubt there is here as elsewhere a tendency for the individual child to develop qualities similar to those of his parents. If there be in the direct ancestry a lack of initiative, mastery, and self confidence, a weakened tendency, drive, or impulse of self assertion, so also in all probability will there be in the child, both as a result of this inherited tendency and particularly as a result of example and therefore of imitation. Here we must

recall that the child tends to identify himself with his parents and thus to pattern his ideals after them. This to me is much more frequently the case than the converse, namely, that the lack of the before mentioned qualities of self assertion cause the child to fall back upon his own resources and decisions and thus develop strong character qualities of mastery and leadership. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that too domineering and self assertive parents may bring about a constant state of submission and therefore dependency on the part of the child.

This child will be our future adult. The attitudes and tendencies engendered in the family relationship will be transferred to individuals, groups, and institutions as he grows in years. In school and shop he will be non aggressive and lack all qualities of leadership. He falls a ready victim to modern socialistic thought, ready indeed at all times to renounce his obligations and responsibilities to himself, his home, and his children.

In times of unemployment he transfers quite readily this attitude of dependence, originally adopted in relation to parents and their surrogates, onto the agency that now steps in to aid him and his family. If financial aid or any form of material relief be necessary to tide him over the period of unemployment it but makes him the more dependent on the agency and thus calls forth to a greater degree the emotional relationship that existed between himself and his parents. The greater the material relief, the greater the dependency. The converse, however, is not necessarily true. For if underbudgeted he may make the best of it, or else apply to church or other parental substitute institution, or resort to frank begging. Any one of the latter methods results in community complaint, and thus pressure on the relief agency. In this way a vicious circle frequently is set up in these cases.

The greater the degree of dependency the greater the lack in those character qualities which make for a high degree of individuality and of social and economic responsibility. Combine with this type of personality a certain degree of mental retardation, of intellectual as well as emotional childishness, as is true in so many of our clients, and the situation is indeed a serious one. For under present economic conditions the more certain it is that the individual so handicapped will become a client of an agency on which he then becomes completely dependent. This is the type of individual who, under the conditions before depicted, is so easily pauperized. The following, free of all detail, may aid you in calling to mind specific cases which show this type of personality.

A widow who all her life has been protected, especially if from a family where woman's place was considered to be within the home, is very likely to become dependent. This is particularly true in those families where a paternal autocratic discipline is exercised, as for instance in Italian homes. Here the girls are sheltered and protected from the world. Their education ends at the attainment of the age of fourteen or sixteen, depending on the school law. Work outside of the home is frowned upon by the parents. Such a girl marries

because that is the thing to do. In some instances the marriage is arranged by the parents, so that even in this important phase of her life history she is not entirely free to choose for herself. After her marriage her husband exercises the same authority over her as did the parents. At the death of the husband it is no wonder that she finds it hard to adjust. Her parents feel she should be taken care of by others than themselves. She is helpless to care for herself. The agency is the crutch she comes to lean upon. Often the worker has a feeling of marked sympathy for the sorrow laden widow and her family and tends to give material relief, hoping that as the poignancy of her grief subsides she will tend to assume increasing responsibility for herself and family. In the interval, however, the widow has come to a constantly increasing degree of rely upon the agency and to transfer to it her former dependence on parents and husband.

Then there is the case of the man who as a child was greatly overprotected, perchance the baby of the family. Maybe, too, the family pinned their hopes on him. He was the one whom the older siblings helped through high school or even into college. From them or his parents he got his spending money. While still in such a state of dependence he marries. The responsibilities of marriage and of a family are too great for him. He deserts at the time of the birth of each child. He shifts for himself, or more likely goes back to the parental roof, or calls upon brother or sister, aunt or uncle, who are still under the illusion of what they had hoped to make of him and now blame the wife and aid him financially. In the meantime the wife and children are dependent on a social agency. Then, after a few months' absence, usually ending when his family or friends feel they cannot longer take care of him, he returns home only to find his family none the worse off. This but makes it easier for him to leave the next time, knowing his family will be looked after. Hence the prick of conscience from deserting his family is greatly eased. The financial aid or material relief given his family has but increased the ease with which he shifts his responsibility onto society.

Let us consider such a family a bit further. He may have married a woman of good standards. His shiftlessness and lack of responsibility and the rapidly increasing family cause them to move constantly into poorer and poorer quarters and centers of the city. Burdened by the care of her children as well as by housework, and worried over husband and debts, the wife's standards deteriorate, and finally, hopeless about it all, she becomes quite willing—yes, anxious—to have others look after her and her family. Underbudgeting by the agency is no more a cure than would be overbudgeting. A relief approach alone will but aid in the pauperization process.

Occasionally one finds a family that has been upon financial rocks for a long time, yet too proud to ask for aid. The family may be referred by neighbors. Investigation finds the larder empty and the family in dire need. At the time of the first call the wife may tell the case worker that the husband will be

angry when he hears the visitor from the charities came to call on them. Relief may be given by the worker, she feeling that under the circumstances there is no danger of pauperization. Yet, much to her surprise and chagrin, in a very short time the family is begging for more aid and relief. The pride that kept this family from the agency and actually drove them to starvation's door was a false pride, a serious character defect, for when once overcome all the poor character traits of which this false pride was but one come into open expression, and just as the pride carried them to starvation, now covetousness and rapacity show themselves as equally strong motives in their desire to obtain aid.

A variant of this theme is the grown up son-aged mother drama. Here the son's desire to support his mother is but an expression of his need of her, his dependence upon her. Should he fail to be able to adequately care for her, and relief be necessary, the mother may at first refuse to accept for fear her son would under no condition permit such action. She may be quite ignorant of how dependent he is upon her and may in fact feel he is a most dutiful son. But when he learns that relief by an agency would not rob him of his mother he betrays his dependence by rapidly shifting his former responsibility onto the agency, and in many instances not only the care of his mother, but he too becomes dependent for his own needs.

In these cases the need is for more adequate early history of the client in order that the degree of dependency may be properly evaluated. In treatment the worker must be constantly on guard to prevent any increase in the state of dependency. Emphasis must be placed on the desirability and necessity of self help on the part of the individual and his family. This latter cannot be too greatly stressed. If our premise be correct, we must do all in our power to assist the children in the families of these clients to develop initiative. Every effort should be made to have them assume certain definite responsibilities in keeping with their years and education. This attempt on the part of the worker will require much ingenuity. She must be constantly on her guard not to antagonize the adult members of the family and thus spoil her rapport with both them and the children. The children's ideal, however, must be patterned after others than the parents. Proper attention to school placement, group adjustment, and somewhat later to trade training and job adjustment will demand considerable of her time. And finally society must beware lest the paternalistic inroads of state and city control, as well as private charity, prevent the full development of independence and initiative possible only through a high degree of emancipation from the primitive attitude of dependence on the parents.

The most difficult part of the foregoing problem is the determination of the degree of dependency. For just as normal and abnormal are not two separate and distinct entities, but shade into one another, so also do dependency and independency. The very fact that in personality growth the individual must pass from a state of complete dependence to a greater or lesser degree of

emancipation and independence occasions opportunity for regression as well as arrest in development.

At times one finds cases of dependency that at first are hard to explain. Yet a close analysis of the entire life history tends to give the solution. Let us take as an example a family such as the following sketch reveals. After many years of married life, husband and wife, both Catholic, quarrel over the wife's interest in a much younger man than she. Finally she divorces her husband and marries the man who in years could be her son. By him she has a child. Very frequently by that time the husband has found he doesn't want a mother to dominate him, as this woman now his wife tends to do. He deserts her, and she, resentful and yet remorseful, obtains a divorce. Now there is no one but the child who remains with her. She would like to return to the first husband, but he refuses to be reconciled unless she places her last born, who by him is considered an illegitimate child. She refuses to part with the child. She, too, has a great sense of guilt over her second affair, and as a result tends to over-protect this child. But even this care of the child may not be sufficient to quell the qualms of conscience, and she suffers a psychoneurosis, often of a conversion type. In this way she punishes herself and yet hopes to evoke sympathy for herself from the first husband. As a result, however, of her state of health she becomes unable to make her own living, and so a dependent on the agency for financial assistance. Though her symptoms may be expressed in the physical realm, yet her condition is due to mental conflicts. Financial aid merely makes it easier for the conflict to be intensified in its outward expression, as the aid given is soon used to explain her condition, even to herself, as being due to physical illness of such severity that work is out of the question, and hence relief is necessary.

This group of individuals, then, whom we have described are emotionally but grown up children of varying age. They get along fairly well until a crisis arises. They then find the realities of life too hard for them, and so shrink from their tasks. As a result they fall back upon others to carry them along or develop a neurosis which excuses them from facing their responsibilities. This is psychological regression. In this group are to be found those who are constantly complaining of physical ailments and who demand aid because of their state of health. These neurotics, like all neurotics, desire their symptoms and their illnesses, for through them they evade their responsibilities. Relief giving in this group convinces them that they are justified in their ailments and tends to cause them to more deeply bury any conscious thought they may have entertained regarding the cause of their illness.

Such a client cannot be cured by telling him to "be a man" and forget his ailment, as so frequently happens in outpatient dispensaries; nor is it of any advantage to either the client or the agency to label him a constitutional psychopathic inferior. The advice to "be a man" fails in that the individual is lacking in those qualities that make for virility, and such advice does naught

else than to enhance the individual's conflict between his adult self, which needs to meet his responsibilities, and the emotional child that he is, which shrinks from facing those adult responsibilities. The end result of such treatment is failure, and pauperization is the ultimate outcome. Labeled C.P.I., the worker ceases trying to aid him to overcome his difficulties and proceeds to a relief plan which makes it the easier for the individual to shift the burden of his as well as his family's responsibility onto society.

So far in the discussion I have been considering only those who showed either an arrest or a regression in the development of independence. This failure is the end result of a suppression or starvation chiefly of the self regarding tendencies. There is, however, a second group who when materially aided come to rely on such aid to a too great degree. This is the group who have rebelled against authority, but who in that rebellion have not succeeded in establishing their own financial independence, and now when in want come to demand material relief as their just due and as an expression of hostility against the ruling order.

Such an individual's failure in adjustment also goes back in most, if not in all, instances to his family relationships. The child of the autocratic parent may come to revolt against the treatment meted out to him. Particularly so in this country where the autocratic paternal rule comes into direct conflict with our more maternalistic attitudes. This child sees himself treated differently from others. Perchance the school upholds the parents. Under such conditions attitudes are set up which make it extremely difficult for the individual to adjust to the shop foreman when he enters industry. He becomes the troublemaker in the factory. It isn't long until his services are not wanted in any factory, or at least he is the first to be laid off in slack times. He bitterly complains of not having been accorded a square deal in industry. He comes to seek revenge.

Such an individual does not come to the agency asking for relief; he comes demanding it as his right. For such as he, he insists, the agency functions. He expects the best of everything. He resents any directed inquiry into his life history. He doesn't want relatives or former employers interviewed. He is going to deal directly with the agency, and here at last he is the boss, the one to do the dictating. His criticisms of the agency tend to bring community pressure upon it so as to grant him considerable financial aid.

In this group, too, definitely neurotic cases may be found, as in the following sketch of a family in which both husband and wife were social climbers. For years each increase in salary finds expression in moving to a higher rent district and more lavish display. Suddenly the husband suffers a cerebral hemorrhage and a resulting paralysis of such degree that no hope for complete restoration of function is held out. Neither husband nor wife, however, will face the facts. They live up their meager savings and finally are reported to the agency for relief. They do not wish relatives to know the dismal failure of

their strivings. They talk in terms of borrowing from the agency, for they will not face the real issue of the husband's incapacity. They insist, however, on being kept in the high rent district and on living according to former standards. The wife, although not needed at home, since the husband can look after his own needs during the day, refuses to accept any job. She may even develop a neurosis, such as a stomach complaint, for which she demands a special diet, although medical evidence for her complaint is entirely lacking. Any suggestion looking toward their care in a lodge home to which they may be eligible is met with a flat refusal. Nothing that the agency suggests is acceptable. Yet their demand for more and more aid is insistent.

How different this type is from that first described in the development of the personality of the individual. Yet in many instances the end result is the same, namely, a greater and greater reliance on the agency for financial aid. Here, as in the first group, all gradations occur.

These, then, are a few thoughts that have occurred to me as I have studied the cases that come to a family agency and where the worker was of the opinion that financial or other material relief had tended to pauperize the family. I think it must be plain that it is only in the very exceptional case, if at all, that it can be said that relief is the fundamental or primary cause of the dependence the family shows. On the other hand, a study of the personality of the individuals plainly shows why, in so many of the cases, the end result could have been predicted. Furthermore, it has been my intention to show that relief giving is but a tool in case work. It must at all times be guided by an intelligent understanding of the family's problem and the reason for the same, together with the carrying on of treatment aimed at the fundamental cause of that problem.

THE EFFECTS ON PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF INSTITUTIONAL PLACEMENT

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When we decide to place a child in an institution, do we stop to consider the effect upon that child's character and his mode of thinking which may result from one, two, three, or more years of living closely and continuously in, and inescapably with, a family group of twenty to two hundred, three hundred, or even four hundred? Granting that we do consider the type, the facilities, and the personnel of the institution we have in mind for this child, how often do we consider the temperament of the particular child we propose to thrust into this concentrated group life, and what the effects will be upon his personality?

And it is quite natural that such consideration is not given, since hardly anywhere is there conscious effort to solve this problem. For example, public

schools, at least until recently, have given little or no thought to the effects of their teaching upon personality and social attitudes. Very few private schools consider anything beyond the intelligence of the child, and they give attention almost exclusively to the refinement of the intellectual processes and to college credits. One hears occasionally, rarely, of the teacher who gives a thought to the kind of child she is teaching and to the effects of her teaching upon his personality. I presume there are Sunday school teachers and ministers who think in terms of the individual child and work for the betterment of his problems, but the writer has yet to come in contact with the teacher or minister who investigates the attitudes and emotional needs of the child before moral training is started. More often in character training the spraying method is used to an extent even more marked than in the day school. Our character building agencies, the leagues of the church, the Scouts, the young peoples' Christian associations, all present constructive programs for groups, but with little elasticity or modification for the individual who has idiosyncrasies or sensitivities to the rations and regimen which the directors of such agencies feel should fit the masses.

Two fundamental factors enter into the result obtained in bringing together the child and the institution—these are the child and the institution. It seems trite to make such a statement; but it is entirely true, deserves great emphasis, and I repeat that the result obtained in terms of personality, in bringing a child and an institution together depends upon the type of the child and the type of the institution. Too often, almost always, the coefficient, the child, is entirely forgotten, and if you are not satisfied with the result obtained, you feel that the institution is wholly at fault. True, when institutions become what we should like them to become, more favorable results will be obtained with a greater number of types of children, but there always will be children who do not do well in institutions.

In planning for a child, is it not our custom to think in terms of the behavior disorder only, more often just the age of the child, and then search memory or a directory of institutions for that institution which will take at five to eight dollars a week a child of ten, twelve, fourteen, or more years who has no home or who is unmanageable, ungovernable, who steals, or who has fits? In a general way we do think of the type of institution, the religious training it gives, its health facilities, its educational facilities. But I again repeat that entirely too little consideration is given to the emotional needs of a particular child. Is it considered whether or not he needs the training in give and take which is unavoidable when individuals live in large groups? If he needs it, can he stand it in the rough and ready manner it comes to the child thrust abruptly into group associations; or does this child, for the correction of his deviations or for the relief of his conflicts, whether these be centered about dependency, inadequacies, retardation, or delinquency, need an individualized handling with encouragement and sympathy in a routine which affords a cer-

tain elasticity? One thinks of all these things in a general way, but with inadequate, extramural facilities and resources to care for dependent and problem children, concern is with the practical problem of what else can be done with this child except institutionalize him, and lastly comes to mind the effects upon character development of one, two, or three years of more or less highly routinized life in a large group.

Perhaps we should consider briefly the fundamental changes brought about in an individual by group life, the effects to be expected, the more or less inevitable effects of constant, close, inescapable association of several individuals, one with another, irrespective of the type of the individual and irrespective of the group. I think we should say in the beginning that individuals become humanized because of living in groups. First, institutions compel a physical relationship. Mental and ideational relationships in the outside world, where associations are not continuous for the twenty-four hours, are not set up by mere physical propinquity or even by contiguity, yet to a degree institutions force this. To live continuously with, to think and to judge with others, is to submit one's self consciously or unconsciously to their standards. Second, the performances of individuals in groups tend to approach a common level. Third, the full force of positive personality traits is brought out by the stimulating effects of the presence of others. However, it does not follow necessarily that weak personality traits become stronger or that negative traits are changed to positive traits by constant stimulation. Rather, they may be further weakened by too great stimulation. Fourth, group life on the face of it is against the development of self reliance. If the methods of the institution do not make for self reliance or if the institution represses or dominates the individual, collapse under opposition will follow. Fifth, if inner activity becomes so intense and overt activity is not or cannot be substituted, blocking will occur. Then these states of internal tension find their outlets in various ways, and outbursts of various types may follow: opposition to rules, debauches of stealing, runaways, or psychoneurotic manifestations of various kinds may be seen. Sixth, there is a fundamental need in human beings for emotional communication. Seventh, every individual, especially the child, needs the opportunity to strut in some manner. Group life furnishes the audience. But not infrequently in institutions this opportunity to strut comes only to but a limited number of children, and unless the situation is governed and directed it comes to the child who least needs it, and not infrequently the reaction goes beyond healthy limits. As a rule, nothing is done about it until it has developed to a point difficult to control, and then harsh, unfair, or repressive methods follow. Eighth, an individual tends to identify himself with the group in which he finds himself. Membership within a group shields the member in some degree from conflicting relationships as an individual; it saves the individual strain.

It would appear that there are several distinct effects which follow or are to be expected in individuals in the process of socialization through insti-

tutional contacts. Some effects are stimulating to the personality; some are repressive; others are protective. It will be seen, however, that the predominating effects are those tending to level performance (up or down) in the direction of conformance to group level. This undoubtedly is the fundamental effect of institutional life. It is the effect deliberately sought in many cases; but when some children show an extreme degree of conformity, a lack of initiative, a dependency, and a flattening of the personality that often amounts to a near depersonalization, it is not wise to condemn all institutions and institutional care in general because of what is seen in the few. Not all children have this experience. Remember that it may be the institution or that it may be the type of child. Remember always the two coefficients of the equation: the child and the institution. Was he the type to have gone to an institution? Institutionalization means intensive group life. Was he fit for it? Should the institution have asked for the removal of this particular child? To a certain degree such effects may be expected when incorrect choices are made, but the institution can do much in the face of incorrect choices to prevent the development of such an effect, at least to a marked degree.

And yet in considering the effects of institutional life we should not forget the effects other than that just described. There are stimulating and protective features of group life, and institutions do bring about these effects in many of the children who do not come into difficulties.

Let us consider in detail some of these effects which we have briefly outlined. First, that of bringing conformance of group standards. This very effect of which we disapprove in such an extreme degree as described is the effect desired with some children, but to a lesser degree. We want the individual to gain an insight into the rights of others, of his own assets and actual achievement in relation to those of the group. Certain individuals can secure this only through rigid regulations or controls. All of us have seen children, adolescents, and adults who are thinking in terms of themselves only; egotistic, selfish individuals, giving little or no thought to the rights and needs of others. Long have they been the center of the stage, pampered by relatives and friends to the point where they are well nigh unbearable, not only when with relatives and friends, but outside of the home as well. When a boy has developed this in childhood and carries it over into adolescence, what is to be done?

What would you do with Larry, a boy of sixteen, man grown, rather good looking, with an income and an inheritance; spoiled from infancy by his father, an older sister, a grandmother, even by his stepmother (his mother having died when he was three). He had been the center of attention during infancy and childhood. At the age of thirteen he was getting beyond family control, he was shuttling from school to school, private and public, manifesting a dissatisfaction with all phases of his life—school, home, income; a boaster, a show-off, a fabricator regarding his achievements, but with no real achievements except that of cheer leader, which offered him an opportunity to occupy the center of

the stage. When he added to this an entire disregard of advice of relatives and guardian, when he ran away from the private school, stole money from home to continue his travels, what would you do with him? Here is a type which needs the leveling influence of institutional controls; it is the effect desired. But Larry will gain and is gaining other benefits through institutional life; he will be stimulated through competitive rivalry to an actual accomplishment of things by his own efforts. In the group into which he is becoming integrated he cannot continue to be a hero on his own say so; he must produce or retreat. Previously he had left the group that demanded a proof of his boasts. Now at last he cannot. Real achievement will give this boy a sense of values, a moderation of judgment in relation to others, and an insight into his own only average abilities. He had never known them before.

We have spoken of the fundamental need for emotional communication in all people, particularly children. The worried, inadequate child needs opportunity for transference, needs an individual to whom he can communicate or unburden, and who in return will emotionally respond. Does the institution give such opportunity? There are institutions which aim to do this, but too often the individual child and his emotional problems are forgotten in the large group. While his teeth, his tonsils, his athletics, his school grading may be planned for, his loneliness, his worries, and his emotional hungers are forgotten and the child is left to brood over or to bury his troubles. Many of them do the latter for a time, but eventually develop courage and make what appears to be a relatively good adjustment. Others remain unhappy and make little or no progress in any sphere of activity.

William, a boy of fourteen, is in an institution. He had committed no serious offense, but his parents were inadequate, the father a deserter. Foster homes and institutions in which William had lived had had little understanding of the boy, and when a sex incident of a minor nature was discovered, the foster home in panic rejected him. Though of normal intelligence, physically he is inadequate—slender, effeminate, and non-vigorous. In his personality he is as insecure as in his physique—timid, inhibited, withdrawn, and lonely, the recipient of more or less universal teasing on the part of his companions. His mood reaction affects his mental output. He is inaccurate, contradictory, uncertain, and suggestible. An attempt to do something funny, to get in with the boys, brought from them shouts of "Goofy," and William drew farther into his shell. He succumbed directly with no flare-back whatever. As so frequently happens, the cottage mother overdid the recommendation to help him, and for a short period tied him too closely to her, indulged him. The other nineteen boys in the cottage of course recognized this, and so William's difficulties were increased. His achievement dropped; the cottage mother, too busy with others and somewhat irritated by slowness of results, for disciplinary reasons ignored William, and he ran away. William's inadequacies, social and physical, in the course of time might be worked out in the institution. The resistance, re-

bound, and recoverability of children are quite marvelous, but here are factors that are inescapable in institutions: group verdicts and a lack of a safe harbor, consistent understanding and sympathy in time of emotional need. The latter can, or at least should, be built. The institution should try to do more to modify the severity of group verdicts through building compensations and developing skills in the individual child whereby he may gain assurance and the approval of the group.

In the case of Joe the institution can do this. He was somewhat more adequate in the beginning, though he had conflicts. He was sensitive and during his early institutional life fitted in poorly, but he had more assets and more assurance. He is fifteen, an Italian boy of high average intelligence, near superior, small but vigorous. He had stolen, truanted from school and home. His family had been ejected from many towns because of the bootlegging activities of the father. In school Joe was called "the bootlegger's son." Though he was withdrawn, yet he was shyly seeking friends. When taken in he became a bit boastful and cocksure, and this contributed to unpopularity. He had enough courage, however, to keep trying, modifying his approach, slowly correcting his attitude. It was not difficult to build up a feeling of security through his good abilities and so dispel the feeling of insecurity and shame in relation to his father. He is finding a satisfaction in a trade correspondence course taken in addition to his high school work. He is not yet entirely at ease with his group, but by his own efforts he is gaining things which will bring him recognition and the approval of his group. He is no longer the pariah and outcast he was at home. He has found in the cottage mother, the athletic director, and the woman psychiatrist recipients for his emotional needs.

There is another type of shy, seclusive, introverting, adolescent who seems to be benefited by the compulsory group life of an institution. At least observation over a brief period of a limited number of cases makes me think so. These children show even more serious symptoms as judged from previous overt acts and mental attitudes. Ronald is one of a half-dozen children I know who, from their present symptoms, may be considered to be prepsychotic. Ronald is nearly seventeen, of borderline intelligence. His behavior for a year or more before institutionalization was the outward expression of a resentment of authority, a desire to get even; he showed compulsive acts, exhibitionism, ideas of reference, and a probable hallucinatory development. He was most shy, seclusive, self pitying but really self loving, vindictive. He was egotistic, though was actually inadequate in every way and had no accomplishments which would gain attention from the group. After he entered the institution he remained for a long time withdrawn from the group, pitying himself, complaining of many, occasionally striking out (literally true), groping for relief in religion. Now, after a year of compulsory association, he is unfolding. He no longer complains of everyone giving him "a raw deal," does not cry; his egotism comes forth quite directly in a mild boasting, apologetically expressed,

and he has dropped his religious uncertainties. Though not readily accepted in the group, he is not rejected, as in the beginning. This came about largely through indirect treatment, by compulsory association, by finding the cottage parents who understood him, and by giving him outlets in reality for this inflated but compressed ego. He has become a very good machine operator and a mainstay in the tailor shop. He feels no failure in relation to his academic school work. He is receiving music lessons and plays the piano for the group, and he looks as good as the next one in the military brigade. This boy needed not only opportunity and assistance to achieve for himself, but he needed a type of group life which would not permit, or which impeded, the development of further introversion.

Most correctional institutions, because of their nature and function, appear to feel duty bound to bring about a complete and immediate conformance in its children. To do this, institutions set up or develop elaborate disciplinary systems, with a rule to fit every situation and a consequence to follow upon every act, irrespective of the type of child, the provocation, or the motives behind the act. Rules and systems grow rapidly, and with age and usage tend to become more rigid, losing any inherent elasticity contained at the time of writing. Any new situation in institutional life, even though it may concern one individual only, calls for a conference, the drafting of a new article to the constitution to affect the entire group. Amendments do not come into existence so easily. Soon the system assumes imposing proportions; and proportions, impositions. The handling of a child in an individual manner on the merits of his case would establish a precedent clashing with the system. The system must be upheld, and soon it becomes an end in itself. And so tradition accumulates. Perhaps this would work successfully if all children were alike, of the same age, same mentality, same stage of character development, had had similar previous experiences, had been in the institution the same length of time, had had the same stimulus provocative of the act. But while these factors all differ widely, yet the desired effect, a similar result, is expected in every child by using conventionalized methods.

I do not need to tell you of the effects of multifold and inflexible social controls upon human nature if the individual must meet them and adjust to them all at once, frequently not yet understanding the nature of such controls and the reasons for them. It is a natural consequence that attitudes of passive antagonism, of active opposition, and negativism in varying degrees are set up in individuals confronted by a system of rules and regulations in which they have no voice and little understanding. Moreover, institutional personnel, uninstructed and constantly changing, not infrequently wields rules with an absence of common sense. To satisfy the officer and his authority complex and to uphold the system minor injustices are done. Fortunately, human nature forgives easily, children particularly, and the majority soon forgets, harboring no lasting resentment. Some children early in their institutional life are in

trouble more or less of the time until, through better understanding, they reach a decision to avoid further trouble by real effort and cooperation. A certain number of these receive temporary setbacks because of an inflexible system which does not allow for fluctuations in human behavior. A second group accepts conditions as they are and becomes overpassive, all conforming. A third group, after acquiring a better understanding of the rules and their regulators, develop a new or perfect a previous technique of avoidance of detection, and for a time get along without any outward difficulties. Some leave the institution on account of such methods. Many of these develop no untoward mental attitudes other than those of evasion. There are those who make up the fourth group who do not forget so easily. They are of suspicious nature, with embryonic grudge attitudes; for them such injustices contribute to the further development of such attitudes. They remain uncooperative, become more and more rebellious as they get into more and more difficulties, until quite clearly defined paranoid traits are seen. The other three groups pass through this same mental attitude, but compensatory personality traits seem to prevent the crystallization of these unhealthy paranoid trends. All of this is to say that we must not make it too difficult to be good, else we defeat our ends, nor should we expect a miraculous overnight transformation to goodness. When we force children to fit the institution, no matter how good that institution may be, when we institutionalize treatment rather than individualize treatment, we fail to bring about a true reformation of the individual. Mere conformation to rules for one, two, or more years does not assure a continuance of good performance upon an escape from those rules. It were better there were fewer barriers, more freedom of action, in order that we may know better the individual, his problems, and his weaknesses so that we may do something about them.

THE EFFECTS OF FOSTER HOME PLACEMENTS

Elizabeth Bissell, New England Home for Little Wanderers, Boston

Foster home placement has long been one of the accepted methods of care for dependent children. For the care of dependent children who show no serious deviation from the normal it is effective, but for children who have strayed rather far from the straight line of normal development and are showing distinctly antisocial behavior trends I believe it is not meeting the requirements entirely. Placement of a child really means displacement, and to a child already subjected to shocks of various kinds within his own family circle and having developed a personality consistent with the obstacles he has met, this change of situation comes as another psychic shock and tends to intensify his feeling of insecurity, especially when we cannot prevent frequent replacements.

What are some of the behavior deviations which we meet in children re-

ferred to the child placing agency for treatment, and how do we deal with them?

Mary has been withdrawn from school because she kicks and bites other children and is continually disturbing the class. She is extraordinarily curious; she meddles continually in other people's belongings; she rummages and prys and pokes into bureau drawers. She demands attention for various imaginary physical symptoms; she fabricates outrageously, and altogether is quite a pest and a riddle to family and teachers. The mother works and the aged grandmother has entire charge of her. The grandmother once had money, but the family fortunes have fallen and there is an atmosphere of sadness and disillusionment in the home and a tendency to dwell overmuch on the past glories of the family. Mary's time is spent with adults because the children on the street are not nice enough for her to play with. To these adults she is first a darling pet and then a nuisance.

This child feels herself on very uncertain ground. She reacts quite naturally to the inconsistencies of the surrounding environment. She must make herself count for something, and she does this by her own peculiar methods. When grandmother is holding her and loving her she is satisfied. When she is repudiated and scolded she exhibits such striking traits as will bring her the desired attention. She has never learned to develop social feeling toward other children; hence, in the competitive atmosphere of the schoolroom she must win her place in the sun by bizarre enough methods so that she will get the notice she craves. There is a question as to the child's legitimacy, and it is certain that in her mind there is doubt about her own status in the family. There is something mysterious in her situation, something not quite like other families, something she can't quite fathom. Here one may have an explanation for the persistent rummaging, the abnormal curiosity, the tendency to fabricate and put herself in imaginary situations. Her aggressive misconduct indicates a deviation from the normal line of development in an egocentric direction.

We assume that the only hope of reeducation for this child is removal from an atmosphere so damaging and placement in a well chosen foster home. But in carrying out this plan, which we all agree is wise and the only way to help this discouraged child to meet life in a different way, we undermine the only foundation she has; we take all her props out from under her. She already feels that she doesn't count for much, and hence her insistence on being the center of attention is the greater. We place her where she will count only as she contributes to the social cooperation in a well balanced family (or as well balanced a family as we can find). What little sense of security she had is shattered. She must adapt herself to new people, different family customs, traditions, ways of living. How does she do it? She refuses to play with the other children; she is desolate; she longs for the security of grandmother's arms; she tinkers with the radio; she rummages in the bureau drawers; she disturbs important papers belonging to the foster father; she cries herself to

sleep every night; she has a pain here and a pain there. She simply cannot adjust herself. She is returned; the foster parents cannot quite stand it. This happens in spite of the fact that the elements in the foster home were evaluated carefully; the foster parents were prepared quite completely for the problem they were to take and were seemingly willing to cope with it and try their best. The length of her stay in this home has been ten days. The result is that the child is a little more discouraged and feels a little more insecure. In other words, she is the same Mary though placed in a different environment. She still feels herself different, and the influences of the foster home have not affected her constructively, as they would a child less conditioned in her early years.

We are baffled by such persistent bad behavior and we wear out one foster home after another without ever changing the child's fundamental attitude toward life. She feels herself nobody, therefore she must strive to get recognition; but she never gets enough to satisfy her ambition. She has not been shown how to get recognition through social means, through cooperation, through helpful love, through a giving love rather than a demanding love. We seldom find foster mothers and fathers who understand this principle; hence the large number of replacements for these children who have swung so far away from the norm and who must be brought back to an understanding of their own deviation and a way to correct it before we can say we are on the right track. Mary has been subjected to four placements and has been in care a year and one month. The effect of so much change is unfortunate. Could we, as children, adapt ourselves satisfactorily to four different families in one year? Behavior that is considered satisfactory in one home is considered unsatisfactory in another. One foster mother is inflexible on points involving truthfulness and honesty. Another is more inclined to be easy going and to overlook certain traits as incident to the child's age and stage of development.

There is another type of character deviation which we often see in children who come to us for placement. Jennie was the illegitimate child of an English woman who came to America to the home of a married brother for the birth of her child. A friend of her brother's through pity married her and accepted the child. Another girl was born. This second child developed a personality which was attractive and outgoing; the first child was less charming. At the mother's death both were taken by a child caring society and placed. The family which gave them a free home came to the conclusion that they would have to let Jennie go, because they could not learn to love her, they said; so they adopted the younger child and returned Jennie. She was finally taken to board by a family where she still remains, but she has made a detour from the normal just as disturbing as Mary's difficulty: a too ready submissiveness, a tendency to go whichever way the wind blows, an overeagerness to be helpful. Coupled with this attitude is a lack of spontaneity and plain animal spirits which is noticeable to a discerning eye. Jennie's real, unconscious

psychology is this. "I must somehow make up for being an unwanted child. My mother didn't really want me, and my first foster parents didn't want me. They chose my sister; she is cleverer and prettier than I. I will count by being as helpful as I can and making myself indispensable to my foster mother." What is it that this child really wants? She does not sincerely desire to be helpful. She desires only one thing—recognition. She lives for praise, and when she doesn't get it she feels that she doesn't count. The placement of this child would seem on the surface successful. The foster mother never has a word of complaint, only praise, for Jennie; but Jennie is building up a philosophy which may some day break under the strain. One simply cannot do everything that everyone wishes all the time and be quite comfortable in one's soul.

I have a notion that in many child caring agencies the Marys take up so much attention getting placed and replaced that the equally pernicious behavior patterns being formed by the Jennies go unnoticed and we often count them among our so called successful adjustments. These children typify two deviations from normal socially responsible behavior, but the two types spring from the same source: a deep discouragement with life and a tendency to overcompensate for a feeling of inferiority which has come because of obstacles met in early life. Mary deviates in an aggressive line; Jennie, in a submissive line.

Foster homes are not reeducating many of such problem children in the true sense of reeducation. Here and there we have what we call an outstanding success. At least superficial behavior is improved. But how much are we really changing attitudes that are wrong? We have announced to the world many times that we can and do train problem children. We do accomplish a very great deal in many cases through thoughtful and patient work; but I should like to discuss some of the points which seem to me rather insurmountable difficulties.

The very flexibility of the system of foster home care works against the principle we all know is fundamental, and that is consistent living and training for the child. In spite of the fact that we have tried to adhere to the principle of taking plenty of time in the beginning, knowing our child thoroughly and selecting the foster home which will be best adapted to his needs both as to physical environment and emotional factors, we do have too much change and too many upheavals. Foster mothers and fathers are not trained to understand and deal with the more intricate mechanisms of behavior in the children whom we are now placing. We have thought we could educate them to the job, and perhaps we could do more satisfactory work along this line if the case load per visitor were considerably reduced; but I am interested in the question of how many foster mothers and fathers really and truly take advice from their visitors and act on it. How many of us like to act on other people's counsel? And when it comes to the question of training children we see very few foster parents who are willing to adopt other ideas than those they have carried for years. We do here and there find people who are willing to undertake the task in a

sense of working through the difficulties, growing along with the situation, learning something new, using resource and skill in handling different phases of the child's behavior, consulting with the visitor and showing eagerness to meet new problems. But these could almost be counted on the fingers of one hand. We occasionally find women who seem to do the right thing instinctively, who have a sense of treating the child as a real person. These good women are also few and far between. We are shocked sometimes to find that a child has been told that unless he does better he will be sent back to the agency, that the visitor will come and get him. The foster mother finds this an effective way of improving superficial behavior, blind, of course, to the fact that after such a threat the child's so called good behavior is motivated through fear of changing. We all know this is bad. It has been said many times, and yet I dare say children are being told this more than we realize, and by foster mothers whom we think intelligent. I have even heard visitors say, "John knew that his staying in that home depended on his good behavior and still he persisted in being naughty."

Foster mothers are continually sidestepping the issue of sex. Mrs. J says to six-year-old Billy, whom she has found masturbating, "God won't let you have any children if you do that," and yet Mrs. J is interested, sweet, and motherly and has been used by two different agencies for problem children. How is the visitor to help Mrs. J to acquire a different attitude? If Mrs. J is embarrassed by sex, as many foster mothers are, she is going to sidestep every time the subject is presented.

This leads me to the point that foster parents, like all of us, have their own problems. Often their own problems lead them to want to take children, but sometimes prevent them from being successful with children. We are familiar with these situations: no children of their own, and an emotional need; perhaps husband and wife not as well adjusted to each other as they might be; and the child taken into the home must bear the burden. Unconscious desires and ambitions in foster parents not completely understood by themselves have their effect on the children. What connection is there between Mrs. G's perfect housekeeping methods and insistence on tidiness and neatness and her perfectionist attitude in regard to the behavior of the child boarding with her? She cannot stand dirt, and she must have the child's behavior perfect. Nothing else will satisfy her. She is propelled by some unconscious motive which she does not understand, and we do not always understand. She will never be fully satisfied and the child will never be comfortable. Such perfection he can never attain. He is disheartened already. He cannot meet the expectations of the foster mother, so why try? These things do not always show up at the home-finder's first interview with the prospective foster mother nor with the visitor's subsequent talks. They are deep underneath the surface.

Another thing which leads people to want to take children, particularly older girls, is the need of domestic help. One seventeen-year-old girl has been

in twelve such homes. Need I say that she is still a problem girl? Many of these families have good intentions toward the girls they take. They really want to help them; but uppermost in their minds is the need of having someone care for the children while they go to the woman's club or an afternoon bridge. They say the girl will have a share in the family life, and they do mean to share their family life and often put themselves to great inconvenience to do so; but it is pretty difficult to truly give another person a share in one's family life—a real share—unless the person makes herself quite invaluable and gradually wins her place in the family circle. The crux of the matter is this. We have on one side a family needing help in the home. We have on the other side a problem girl who needs everything—love, understanding, training, a home, a chance to become a socially effective person and to contribute her share to the community. Can these two needs ever be synthesized? I believe not successfully as a rule. As long as the help a girl gives the family overbalances the problem she is to the wage foster mother, so long is it a successful arrangement; but as soon as the wage foster mother finds that the time and thought and sacrifice she has to put into the girl's problem outweigh the help the girl can give her she finds it is not worth it—naturally, because what she wanted in the beginning was assistance in the home. So the girl goes on to the next wage home, still the same problem girl, and stays there until the same thing happens again. She has no real anchorage anywhere and no real change has been made in her fundamental attitude toward life. The burden rests on us to find a more effective method.

What is needed is a more professional attitude on the part of people who deal with our children day by day. An attitude of trying to find a way around each difficulty that arises, a warm feeling for children and yet a scientific spirit that is interested in working out new methods and principles. Our diagnostic methods are good; our day by day training is poor. We have a great opportunity to contribute much to the body of knowledge on the subject of method if people with training and insight would go into the job of taking children, and if child placing agencies would recognize the need of small training homes where adults with training had actual charge of the children, adults whose motive is first and foremost reeducating the child to be a socially effective person, adults who understand what is behind the unacceptable behavior and deal with it in a sincere, honest, courageous manner.

Such a training home exists in Sharon, Massachusetts, under the auspices of the Boston Children's Mission. It is conducted by a social worker who understands the children placed with her and whose technique in method is developing continually through her experience. I should like to tell you about Agnes, fourteen years old, who has been in this training home for nearly two years. Agnes was a very disturbed personality when her problem was first known to the Children's Mission. She is the oldest of three children. The other two are boys, ten and eight years old. At the time of placement the

mother had gone to the state hospital on a voluntary commitment. She had become increasingly seclusive and ingrowing, and unnaturally hard in her attitude toward the children. She had been a school teacher and had married the father late in life. He had been her pupil in high school and was thirteen years her junior. The father had always retained the pupil attitude through the years of their living together, and the mother had kept the teacher attitude, she decidedly dominating the situation. Her one insistent ambition seemed to be that her children develop into models of scholarship. At the time of her mental breakdown Agnes was not able to live up to her mother's excessive ambition and had ceased making an effort. She was extremely shy and withdrawn and had developed very little social feeling. Due to the mother's seclusiveness the child had little chance to make contacts outside the home. She showed little spontaneity and little interest. Agnes came to the training home at Sharon with a burden of family disruption and discord upon her, and the task of her reeducation began. The first phase of shyness soon wore off. The repressions of her own home being lifted, she reacted to the opposite extreme and became quite a "rowdy." She desired always to be the center of attention. She developed a strident voice and a rather swaggering manner and was aggressive and overaffectionate and very selfish. The foster mother tried to understand this phase of behavior, difficult though it was. Knowing how little the child had felt she counted as a real person in her own home, she tried to give her opportunities to count in worth while ways and to give her real recognition for what she did in a helpful way. She gave logical explanations for everything that was required, and when it was necessary to give punishment, planned it so that only Agnes was inconvenienced. Recreational activities were planned for her and the neighborhood children invited in for Friday frolics. In school the child felt competition keenly and would not try, believing always that she was bound to fail. She was kept at home and tutored for some weeks, and in the quiet, non-competitive atmosphere of the home this tension lessened and Agnes gradually found that she could progress little by little if she tried. Recognition was given for each accomplishment, not overpraise but recognition commensurate with the progress. She gradually learned that one does not always need to be in the limelight to be noticed, that some good honest effort on her part brought its own satisfaction. Thus she was encouraged to test herself still further. After a while she began to do helpful things for the foster mother unasked and to get a bit of the cooperative spirit on which the training home is organized. She began to show a sense of humor, and eventually the foster mother found that she could point out the funny side of some failures to the child and she would even laugh at herself and say, "Gee, wasn't I a goop?" She longed to be athletic, so skis were purchased for her. The foster mother found teaching possibilities in this project and opportunities for the child to develop courage and good sportsmanship.

The next phase of behavior which developed was jealousy of another girl

of her own age who was placed in the training home. To help meet this problem the foster mother explained a little of each girl's situation to the other and tried through clear explanation to have them understand each other. Agnes was jealous of Helen's greater popularity and easy way of making friends, so the foster mother pointed out to Agnes her own assets and successes and told her that just as she overcame her difficulties in scholarship so could she overcome her difficulties in her disposition, her tendency to have a chip on her shoulder and to expect friends to come crowding round her instead of doing something herself to win friends. Each girl had her place in the foster mother's affections, and comparisons were never made between the two girls.

It is a slow process, but there is steady growth in dependability and effective social cooperation. The child understands her relationships to the foster mother and to the home. She knows she will always have a square deal from the foster mother and will be dealt with frankly and truthfully. There is no mystery to be feared. In this warm atmosphere of interest and understanding and equal give and take she is learning what interesting things there are to do in the world besides being bound up in one's own selfish desires and expecting the world to come to one's feet. The training home at Sharon is demonstrating a true experiment in social living.

The reason the problem child can be reeducated more effectively in this sort of home is that the home really has to revolve about the child for a time until some of the rough corners are smoothed down and the personality conforms a bit more to the normal. A foster mother with her own family problems and worries finds it very difficult so to organize her affairs that the environment for the foster child is softened and molded to meet his particular difficulty while he is learning to stand on his own feet and face things squarely. Also the trained worker can safely know every scrap of history and use it wisely and can interpret the child's family to him and the child to the family, for through visits and contacts the director at the Sharon home is helping the members of the family to modify their attitudes, as well as the child.

I believe that the organization of such training homes is the next progressive step toward the effective reeducation of problem children who have seriously deviated from the normal line of development.

SOME RESULTS OF TWO YEARS' STUDY OF FAMILY CASE WORK STATISTICS

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The Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation, as most of you know, has been collecting monthly statistics of family welfare organizations now for somewhat over two years. We have been compiling and studying

these figures currently and reporting our results back to the contributing organizations. So far, our emphasis has been placed almost entirely on the problem of obtaining comparable and adequate statistics of the operations of these agencies for comparison and combination, and the most important result yet obtained is that a common scheme of statistics is now in use in a considerable number of agencies and is producing, we believe, reasonably comparable data.

Because we have been experimenting throughout the period of the study with the method of collecting the data, we regard all results of combination and analysis so far obtained as tentative. The scheme for collecting the statistics itself is, moreover, still being studied and is subject to change, so that this paper must be regarded as a report of progress on the study, rather than as a record of any final results.

Purposes of the study.—In planning this study we were originally most interested in obtaining material with which to test the relationship between fluctuations in the work of family welfare agencies and those in employment. Our early attempts to do this revealed how fragmentary on the whole were the records of different organizations. We found that much more attention was given to annual figures than to records for shorter intervals (which are essential if the relation to economic variables is to be studied), and that too little attention was given by many agencies to the comparability of successive annual figures. The lack of, as well as the need for, records tracing fluctuations in family welfare work was also clearly shown by Dr. Philip Klein's study of the experience of these agencies in meeting the emergency caused by the industrial depression of 1921.

We concluded, therefore, that the first objective of our study should be to develop comparable records at short intervals describing this work. As such data became available we planned to subject them to statistical treatment in order to disclose regularities which might exist in this field of work. Among other things we contemplated the production of a periodic index of fluctuation in this work, representing a considerable group of agencies, which might be of value in the administration of individual agencies and which might have significance as reflecting changes in social conditions. The production of such an index, we recognized, would require experimentation to learn both what should be its components and how it could be interpreted, for a statistical index may serve one purpose admirably and other related purposes not at all, depending upon how it is constructed.

Method of the study.—Our method has been to adopt a tentative schedule of items designed to produce comparable data and to experiment with its use, changing the schedule and definitions of items as need for changes are indicated. We assumed that comparable and accurate data would not be produced merely by introducing a standard schedule, but that the data must be currently recorded and currently used by the reporting organizations. We have therefore included in the schedule those items which seemed to be most useful to the

organizations themselves, and have tabulated and turned back the summarized data as often as it has been compiled. The summary tabulations prepared each month have included various derived data which facilitate comparison of the current experience of the organizations, and we have also submitted from time to time special comparative studies prepared from the currently reported figures. These current results of the study have been returned to the reporting organizations with request for criticism and suggestions, which have, I am glad to acknowledge, been received.

We have also had the assistance of an advisory group. At first this was an informal group, consisting of the statisticians of four large New York City agencies¹ who had previously been meeting from time to time to compare their own statistics, and Mr. Linton B. Swift, of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work. After a time this group was made the nucleus of a committee on statistics of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, with Miss Helen I. Fisk, statistician of the New York Charity Organization Society, as its chairman. This committee, on its appointment, made the development of the scheme for these statistics its primary concern.

The participating agencies.—We began the collection of current monthly figures in January, 1926, with a request sent to forty organizations for reports for December and January. Although only twenty-nine organizations were able to report for these two months, all but three of the forty had begun reporting by April, 1926. Some others were added subsequently, and since early in 1927 the number participating has been forty-two.

These organizations are identified in Chart I, which shows the variation in the average number of cases worked on monthly during 1927. The organizations were selected from cities having 100,000 or more population. The group is well scattered geographically. It represents thirty-one different cities in this country and one in Canada. It includes seven Jewish agencies and three public departments. The rest are private organizations dealing with clients of all races.

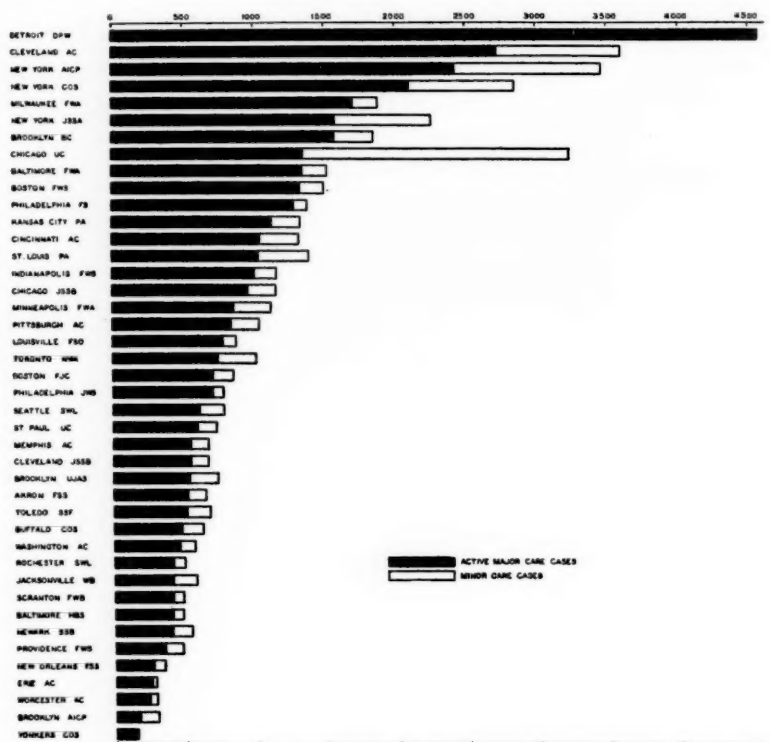
The following figures will indicate the importance of this group of agencies: The average number of families per month during 1927 reported as active major care cases by the forty-two agencies was approximately 46,000, representing roughly 120,000 different families worked with during the year. This is in addition to families receiving only minor attention. Over 19,000 families per month were given financial assistance, and the combined expenditure for financial relief was over \$6,000,000. The combined case work staffs, excluding volunteers and clerical workers, was about 1,250 persons.

The scheme for comparable monthly statistics.—Before describing any

¹ Miss Fisk, of the Charity Organization Society, Miss Irma M. Riley, of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, Miss Miriam F. Cohen, of the Jewish Social Service Association, and Miss Ellen F. Wilcox (and later Miss Pricilla E. Ford), of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities.

statistical results it will be desirable to discuss briefly the terms used in collecting our data. The scheme is, of course, based on the results of previous work. As early as 1907 a plan for comparable statistics of the volume of work of family case work agencies was proposed by Mr. John Koren, who was chairman of a committee on statistics of this Conference. Another committee under

CHART I
AVERAGE NUMBER OF ACTIVE CASES PER MONTH DURING 1927 FOR 42 FAMILY CASE WORK ORGANIZATIONS



the chairmanship of Miss Margaret F. Bergen prepared and circulated a report on uniform family case work statistics in 1911. The work of two later committees definitely put into use a plan for standardized statistics which forms the basis of the scheme we are now using. These were committees of the (then) American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity in 1914-15 and 1917-18, respectively, for both of which Dr. Fred S. Hall served as secretary and prepared the published report. The recommendations of these committees were adopted by many organizations, but, apparently lacking any provision for

systematic assembling and comparison of data, the schemes as actually adopted or else as subsequently developed in different organizations suffered many variations which in large measure defeated the purpose of providing comparable statistics.

The present scheme provides for monthly counts of four different kinds: (1) of cases, that is, families or single individuals served; (2) of expenditures for relief; (3) of staff; and (4) of visits and interviews. Each of these counts is subdivided. No items of expense other than that for relief are included.

The case count, which is the most valuable measure of the volume of work, and hence of most interest as a time variable, presents difficulties inasmuch as the work on individual cases varies both in amount and in significance. A primary division is made into major care and minor care cases. The former are defined as those for which the organization has accepted responsibility for carrying through the typical case work process of diagnosis and treatment. The latter are those for whom this responsibility is not accepted. Minor care cases include the cases of out-of-town agencies on which some collateral investigation is made, cases previously under care concerning which a report to another organization is made, and the cases to which some attention is given but which are not retained for treatment either because they do not need or will not accept the services which might be given.

That the distinction between major and minor cases is made entirely uniformly in all organizations or by all workers in any organization we do not suppose. It has seemed probable, however, that comparison is safer where some such distinction as this is made. There will always be some cases which might reasonably be classified as either major or minor in a given month, but we are confident that this is not a very large number.

Chart I compares number of major and of minor care cases worked on each month during 1927 by each of the forty-two organizations. Examination will show that there is considerable variation in the proportion of major to minor care cases. Not all of this variation by any means is due to variation in classifying cases. In all probability the relative amount of minor care service does vary greatly in different organizations. Some do relatively much more reporting on closed cases to other agencies (this proportion is likely to be higher in a large city where case work is specialized and divided among several organizations) and some do relatively much more investigation in response to inquiries from out-of-town agencies than others.

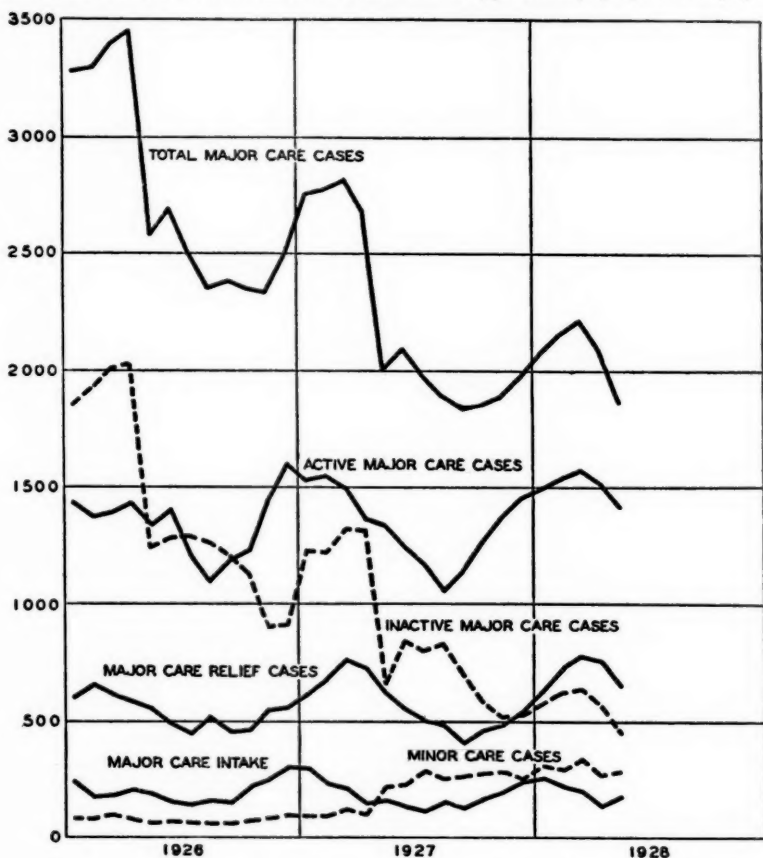
Major care cases are divided first into those accepted for treatment during the month of the report (intake), and those carried over from the preceding month. They are also divided into cases active in the month, that is, cases actually worked on, and those inactive; and again into those closed and those carried forward to the next month for further treatment. The three divisions of the total count give a useful check on the accuracy of the reports.

Active cases are divided into those receiving financial aid and those receiv-

ing service only. Inactive cases are divided into those needing, but not receiving, attention, those inactive according to the plan of treatment, and those troublesome cases on which work is completed but which still remain in the count because the formal process of closing has not been accomplished.

CHART II

CASE LOAD CURVES FOR A SELECTED ORGANIZATION, JANUARY, 1926, TO MAY, 1928



The other items of the form do not need to be discussed here. Copies of the form and definitions will be sent on request to any who desire them.

Records for individual agencies.—The body of data already assembled in the successive monthly tables represents an important result of the study. These data are available for comparative studies. They also afford material for graphic records of fluctuations in the work of individual agencies, which become of great value in interpreting their current data.

Chart II gives an example of these individual organization records. The

curves included in the diagram show fluctuations in six of the case counts. The work of this organization is considerably heavier in winter than in summer, and there is a tendency for the peak to come late in the winter. This chart illustrates well the corrective effect of regularly recording the statistics and comparing them with those of other agencies. It will be seen that the curve for active major care cases shows a very slight upward tendency, while that for total major care cases undergoes marked decline. The decline in the total curve is due entirely, it is clear, to the decline in the number of inactive cases. Apparently in this organization, as in many others, use of the total count of cases to measure change in the volume of work carried on would have been quite misleading at least over most of the period.

The rise in the curve for minor care cases in this chart, occurring in May, 1927, is due to a change in the practice of counting these cases by this organization. The two groups of minor care cases, "report only" and "investigation for out-of-town agency," having been previously omitted were included in the count at this point.

Type ratios for the group of organizations.—Absolute figures such as those in Chart I are of limited value in comparing organizations beyond the point of showing merely size. When we wish to compare more significant characteristics it is necessary to use relative figures. In Table I a summary of comparative ratios for the group of organizations is given, showing relative number of cases of different kinds, number of cases per worker, and average amounts of relief per case. All these ratios are computed from average monthly figures for the year 1927, and represent, therefore, a comparison of the organizations in terms of a typical month's work. The figures given are the highest, the lowest, and the median ratios in each case. The median ratios are taken to be roughly typical for the group of organizations.

The following statements will illustrate how Table I can be read:

The lowest organization gave relief to 11.2 per cent, the highest organization to 84.5 per cent, and the median organization to 43.3 per cent of its active major care cases monthly.

The proportion of intake to total active major care cases ranged from 4.0 per cent to 72.7 per cent; for the median organization intake was 14.4 per cent of total active cases.

The lowest organization showed 7.9 inactive cases for each 100 active major care cases monthly; the highest, 131.6; and the median, 35.

The proportion of intake represented by cases recurring within the current fiscal year was 9.5 per cent for the median organization; this proportion varied from 0.8 to 34.9 per cent.

Regular allowance cases were 40.5 of the total number of relief cases in the median organizations. The proportion varied from 2 per cent in one organization to 87 per cent in another.

The average number of active major care cases per worker per month for the median society was 29.4. This ratio varied from 19.9 to 116.5.

It should be explained, concerning the ratio of active major care cases per worker, that the number of workers used in computing this ratio is the number of paid professional workers; visitors, supervisors, specialists participating in the case work, and the director of case work are included; volunteers and cler-

TABLE I
EXTREME AND MEDIAN RATIOS BASED ON AVERAGE FIGURES
FOR THE TWELVE MONTHS OF 1927

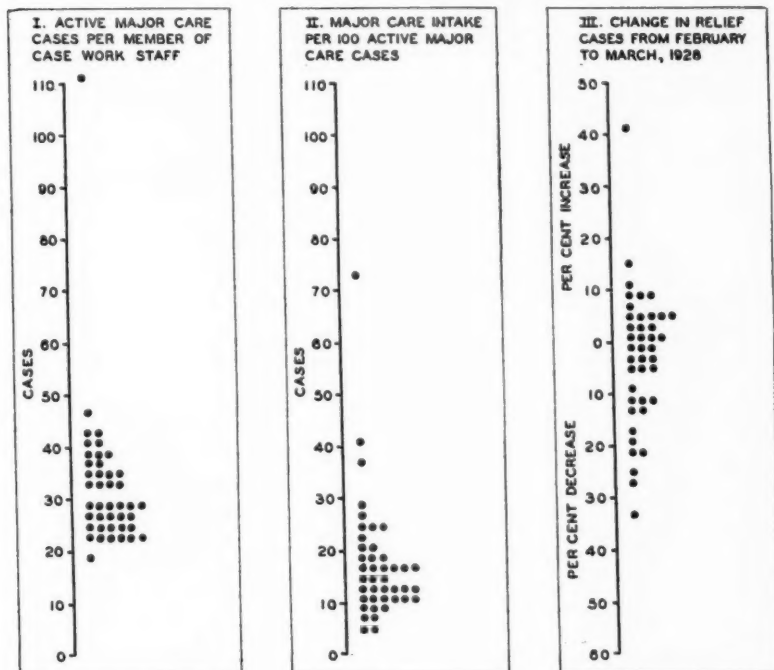
	Lowest Ratio	Median Ratio	Highest Ratio
<i>Per 100 active major care cases:</i>			
Major care relief cases.....	11.2	43.3	84.5
Major care service only cases.....	15.5	56.7	88.8
Major care intake.....	4.0	14.4	72.7
Major care cases carried forward.....	27.3	85.6	96.0
Inactive cases.....	7.9	35.2	131.6
Inactive cases needing, but not receiving, at- tention.....	0.8	13.3	59.7
Minor care cases.....	8.0	23.3	138.4
Out-of-town inquiry cases.....	0.5	6.5	19.6
Report only cases.....	0.4	3.2	19.3
<i>Per 100 intake:</i>			
New cases.....	29.3	58.1	77.4
Old cases recurring from prior fiscal year.....	14.0	30.9	57.6
Old cases recurring within current fiscal year.....	0.8	9.5	34.9
Cases closed.....	65.6	97.8	183.9
<i>Per 100 inactive cases:</i>			
Cases inactive but needing attention.....	1.6	42.9	100.0
Cases inactive according to plan.....	0	27.0	88.6
Cases inactive waiting only for closing.....	0	26.4	74.0
<i>Per 100 relief cases:</i>			
Regular allowance cases.....	2.0	40.5	87.0
Other major care cases receiving relief.....	10.0	52.0	95.0
Minor care cases receiving relief.....	0	4.0	39.0
<i>Cases per worker per month:</i>			
Active major care cases.....	19.9	29.4	116.5
Major care intake.....	1.1	4.3	48.6
<i>Amount of relief per case per month:</i>			
To regular allowance cases.....	\$11.94	\$32.43	\$59.71
To other major care relief cases.....	6.19	16.42	41.36
To minor care relief cases.....	.97	4.52	13.31

ical workers are excluded. The highest ratio is for the organization having the largest number of cases. This is a public organization and has the largest proportion of relief cases. The lowest ratio of active major care cases per worker, 19.9, may probably be explained by the fact that this organization has the highest ratio of minor care cases, 138 per 100 active major care cases. It is the only organization having more minor care than major care cases. The extreme ratios in most instances are exceptional. They are cited only to show the full extent of the variation.

Are the median ratios typical?—An average is used as a basis for comparison because it is assumed to be typical of the group of measures being compared. An average is always between the two extremes of the group, but that is the only statement which can be made concerning the typicality of averages which would always apply. It is always important to determine how typical an average is.

CHART III

DISTRIBUTION OF ORGANIZATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THREE RATIOS SHOWING TENDENCY OF MEASURES TO CLUSTER



The median is an average found by placing the group of measures in order of size and counting off to the middle item. It is a typical measure only if the other measures tend to cluster somewhat closely around it, which they may do even when a few extreme items show wide variation.

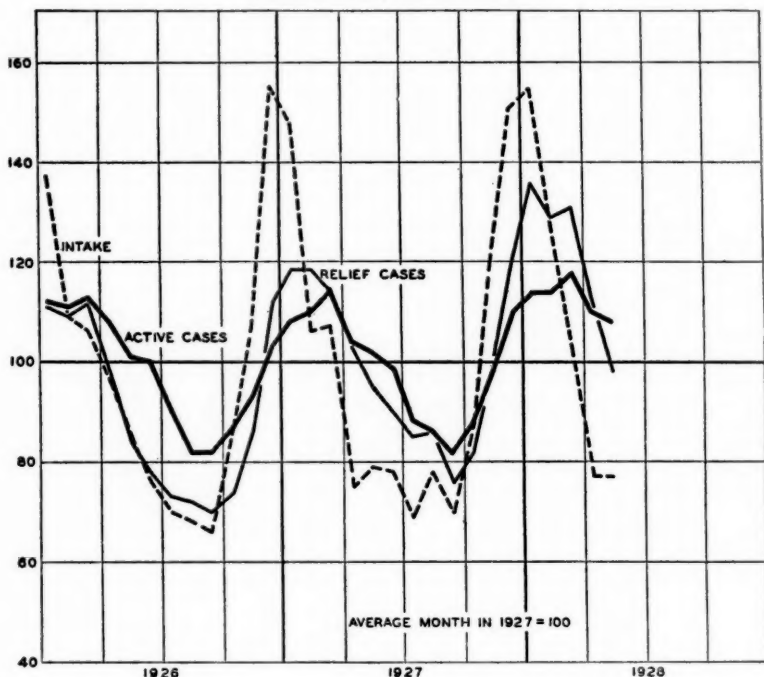
In Chart III, three sets of ratios have been plotted to illustrate that there is a tendency of these ratios to cluster about some point on the scale. In each section of the chart each organization is represented by a dot placed opposite the point on the scale corresponding to its ratio. The median may be found by counting from either the top or bottom of the scale to the middle dot. In each case there is very marked tendency for the ratios to cluster, and an average

may therefore be accepted as a typical measure, typical at least for this particular group of agencies.

Three indexes of change in the volume of work.—By using typical measures of change from month to month in the number of cases we have constructed several series of index numbers which seem to be fairly typical of the change in the volume of the work of the group of agencies. Three of these are

CHART IV

THREE INDEXES OF CHANGE IN VOLUME OF WORK—MAJOR CARE: ACTIVE CASES, RELIEF CASES, AND INTAKE



shown in Chart IV. In each case the curve rises or falls from month to month as indicated by the median figure for the group of agencies. The few organizations that experience exceptional change in any month do not affect the curve appreciably; it represents rather the movement over each monthly interval which has been typical of the central group of agencies in that month.

These curves show rather regular contours, but they also show characteristic differences. Intake undergoes most change within each year. It is lowest from July to September, and highest in the two winter months, December and January. Relief cases are lowest at about the same time as intake, but the

heavy relief load occurs later in the winter, in January, February, and March. The peak of the index for total cases in each year occurs in March.

The number of organizations included in this group is too small to justify great reliance on any precise comparisons of the position of the index in different years, but we think the index of relief cases is correct in recording increases over the preceding winter both in the winter of 1926-27 and in that of 1927-28. That the index for relief cases was at a much higher level last winter than the winter before, while that for all active cases was at about the same level, we also think is significant. These indexes are still tentative. Were the size of the group of participating organizations doubled, they would have more value as indicating general changes in the volume of relief giving and family welfare service. We hope that it will be possible to so increase the scope of our figures.

Relation between amount of relief per case and size of city.—As a final chart, I wish to present one showing the result of an attempt to get at the cause of the wide variation in amounts of relief per case per month. We have obtained in recent months (from most, but not all, of the reporting organizations) classification both of the number of cases receiving relief and of the amounts of relief granted, making it possible to compute average amounts for three groups of relief cases. The three classes are as follows: Allowance cases are those receiving relief according to a plan which makes relief regular for at least three months. As the foregoing table shows, allowance cases receive materially higher amounts per month than cases in the other two classes. Other major care relief cases are those which receive emergency relief, and in some organizations cases receiving relief regularly but not according to a definite plan. Obviously, our definitions should be changed to include in the first group all cases receiving relief regularly for several months. The average for other major care relief cases tends to be around one-half that for regular allowance cases. The relief given minor care relief cases is incidental and usually very small in amount.

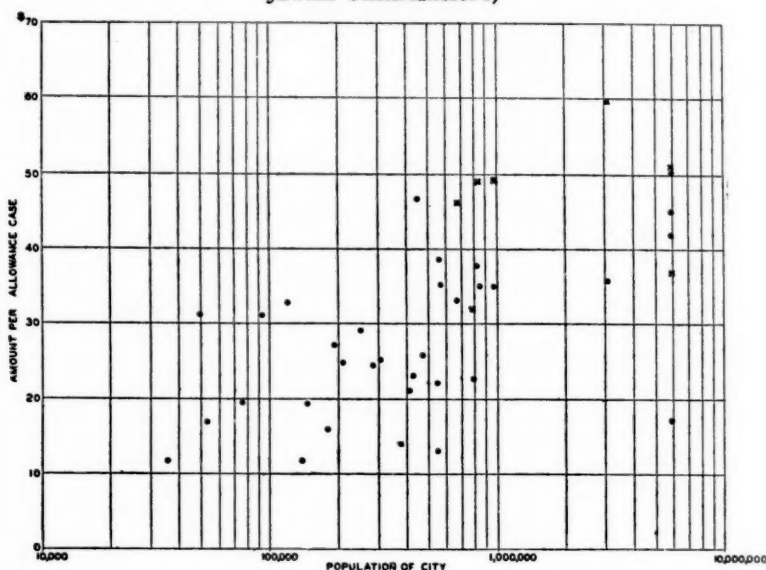
We have found several interesting things about relief grants. The average amounts to major care cases in a given organization tend to remain about the same from month to month. There is a fairly high correlation between amounts to allowance cases and amounts to other major care cases in different organizations. But there is great variation in the average amounts per case per month in different organizations. The range for amounts to allowance cases shown in our table is from \$11.94 in one organization to \$59.71 in another, and for amounts to other major care cases, from \$6.19 to \$41.36.

Some possible explanations of the cause of this variation are quickly surmised. The adequacy of the budgets of the organizations varies greatly, and supply of funds undoubtedly has something to do with the average amounts per case. This factor may or may not explain the fact that the Jewish organizations in our group, with one exception, give more generous amounts per case

than the other organizations in the same city. Another fact requiring consideration is that the average amounts per case represent only relief received from the reporting agency. In some instances the relief cases of an organization may be receiving supplementary relief from other organizations. This, we believe, does not affect our figures to a very great extent. There may also be in cities where several organizations give relief some selection of cases which would affect the average amounts per case.

CHART V

SCATTER DIAGRAM SHOWING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMOUNT OF RELIEF TO ALLOWANCE CASES AND SIZE OF CITY (CROSSES REPRESENT JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS)



Another possible causal factor which we think may be most important is the size of the city. Cost of living is likely to be greater in large than in small cities, and the agencies in the larger cities are perhaps more inclined to meet needs. It is perhaps easier to give adequate relief in the larger cities, where the social distance between contributors and recipients is greater. Whatever the explanation, we think there is evidence that the influence of size of city exists, and possibly that it tends to be exerted in proportion to the size of city. Chart V shows the result of distributing the group of organizations at the same time in two ways, according to the amount per allowance case and according to the size of the city. We assume that the amounts tend to vary according to the relative rather than the absolute increase in size of city, and therefore the

population scale of the chart is logarithmic. It is apparent from this chart that there is some tendency for the amounts to be higher as the size of the city increases. The relation is not uniform, but it is probably sufficient to be significant. A coefficient of correlation is not cited because these data are considered tentative.

This chart contains data for forty organizations, six of which are not included in the group of forty-two organizations reporting regularly to our office. These are organizations in Pennsylvania which have recently begun reporting on the same schedule to the Bureau of Social Statistics of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania. Five of these organizations were in cities of less than 100,000 population. Their figures were available for several months, and by using them we were able to extend the diagram to cover a portion of the population scale below 100,000.

This conclusion that size of city may be the main factor determining the difference in amounts granted to relief cases by family welfare agencies, if it proves to be valid, is of considerable importance. It may mean, for example, that the mothers' aid grants should be graduated according to size of place as well as by number of children. But here, as on other points, we need to wait for further data before adopting a final conclusion.

The tentative results here presented are of value chiefly as illustrating the sort of use to which family case work statistics can be put. I hope they will seem to justify the effort necessary in keeping accurate and detailed statistics. I think we should recognize that social work has become important enough in point of volume, cost, and significance to the community to justify the application of scientific method in describing its processes and investigating casual relationships within its sphere. But before this can be done satisfactorily adequate data must be made available.

THE CONCERN OF SOCIAL CASE WORK WITH THE TENANT FARMER

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Rural social problems cannot be divorced from the problems of farm tenancy. In our Southland there is no doubt that our rural social problems are the outgrowth of our system of tenancy. I shall deal for the most part with that phase of the subject known as the cropper system, because it is high time for somebody to champion the cause of the croppers. Until our last census we knew little about them economically or numerically; we still know less about them socially or as individuals. That illuminating study, "How Tenant Farmers Live," made for the University of North Carolina, refers to them in the words of Robert W. Service as "the men whom God forgot." Verily they seem a forgotten people. They are the underdogs of our tenancy group; their eco-

nomie assets are doubtful, and their contributions to society are negative. You people from the North and West are little concerned with the problem in your sections, but we are inviting you over "into Macedonia" to help us out.

A study of the mechanism of this system discloses a maze of interesting facts. We find that a cropper is one who farms another's lands, paying for their use with 50 per cent of his produce or 50 per cent of his major crops. There is also a method of operation known as the third and fourth system, whereby the cropper pays one-third of his minor and one-fourth of his major crops for the use of the lands. The cropper supplies all the labor. In turn the landlord furnishes land, stock, implements, seed, house, wood, and water. During the actual cultivation of the crops, he also furnishes groceries and a limited supply of other necessities, or credit or cash for them, taking a lien on the cropper's share of the crop, and in some instances a mortgage on any personal property the cropper may have, as a means of protection. This loan carries interest on deferred payment. In the Arkansas and Mississippi deltas the landlord frequently supplies only the "three M's," meat, meal, and molasses. On large plantations the landlord may own and operate a commissary or storehouse where the cropper can take up his supplies. His contract usually specifies that he shall buy all, or at least the bulk, of his provisions here. These are bought at wholesale prices, but are sold to the cropper at prices higher than market, plus a high rate of interest on deferred payment. If the cropper cannot pay his account in full, the balance is carried forward to next year's account, with or without additional interest.

If the cropper leaves the landlord's place owing a balance on account there are three methods of procedure to collect this, varying in different states: first, the next landlord becomes responsible; second, the next landlord becomes responsible if advised of deficit at time of signing contract; third, the deficit becomes an ordinary debt and does not take precedence over any other debt; the landlord can sue and get judgment. This last is the most common method and is in general use in most states. This method of collecting debts has discouraged thrift in the cropper.

The cropper system was one of the economic factors that followed in the wake of the Civil War. Prior to that time there had been practically no croppers. Young men who were not landowners worked as farm laborers until their age, experience, and small accumulated capital warranted their attempts to operate lands. They were essentially potential landowners. After the Civil War there were certain dynamic forces that contributed to the upbuilding of the system. First, the overthrow of slavery, unattended by any concentrated effort to settle the colored man on the soil, let loose a host of landless people who were destined to become croppers. Second, the closing of the frontiers forced an army of poor whites into this class. And third, the increase in land values and the cost of production, together with the advent of machinery, swelled the ranks of tenancy, and incidentally exploded the Jeffersonian theory

of a country made up of small farms operated by their owners. Since money was scarce, the cropper system was the most workable plan. By tracing the genealogy of the white croppers we find that they are descended from the weak stock of colonial days, and those members of the generation following the Civil War who were unable to secure education or vocational training and were rendered thereby unfit to meet the vagaries of fortune that beset them under the new régime. They increased rapidly in numbers. In 1880, which gives us our first figures, we find that there were 702,244 tenants working under some form of the share system. In 1920 there were approximately 1,300,000 share tenants, of which 65,109 were croppers. Of these three-fifths are colored. We find that 47.4 per cent of all the colored tenants and 25 per cent of all the white tenants are working under the cropper system. We have definite figures to show us that the ranks are swelling at an enormous rate. Let us now turn from generalities to study the croppers themselves and the social problems that grow out of the system.

To the system must be charged constant migration, illiteracy, child labor, poverty, lack of thrift, incompatibility of debtor and creditor, agrarian discontent, lack of civic interest, impoverished social life, spiritual stagnation, and poor health.

The average cropper moves once or twice a year; he is a wanderer, a homeless one. He shifts from farm to farm in an endless endeavor to better his condition. It is estimated that 300,000 tenants move every year, and the bulk of these are croppers. This makes a home impossible. Constant wandering from place to place makes the accumulation of household goods and other possessions a burden; it plays havoc with the education of the children. The contract, if there is one, begins the first of the year. This means transplanting the family in a new environment. All contacts made in the previous year are lost. The children must enter a new school, adjust themselves to new teachers and new schoolmates. No sooner is this done than it is time to withdraw the children to work in the field, for the cropper's family is his only asset and it is necessary for even the younger children to take up their portion of the farm labor. It is frequently the case that the number of acres apportioned to a cropper is determined by the number of children he has. It is easier for a family with a large force to find a home. In some rural communities the school term is determined by the crop season. In Shelby County, Tennessee, for instance, the Negro schools are closed at planting time and reopen after the crop is laid by, only to close at harvest time. In some sections the conditions are even worse, with only a three to five months school term during the winter months. It has become a proverb that illiteracy and tenancy go hand in hand. A survey shows that nine-tenths of the cropper's children finish only the fourth grade.

The cropper is a poor man. We say that he is shiftless and irresponsible, and that his word means little. He is burdened by debt; he owns nothing and wants nothing. Under the procedure pertaining to the collection of debts de-

scribed earlier, even if he did accumulate property, his former landlords might execute judgments for collection of deficits on account and he would lose what he had accumulated. With little chance of raising his head above the sea of debt that engulfs him he becomes lazy and irresponsible. His only hope is to outwit his landlord or creditor; he gives his word with little thought of keeping it. Thus is begun the endless warfare between the two classes. This naturally leads to agrarian discontent, which in turn results in farm abandonment.

The cropper has no interest in his community. He lacks civic and political pride. He does not vote and he has little social life. He feels keenly the opprobrious term, "pore white trash." Even the doors of the church do not offer him a welcome. In Robinson County, North Carolina, where nearly three-fifths of the farmers, black and white, are croppers, when asked if they attended church, and if not, why, they replied almost without exception something like this: "No, we don't go to no church, and the children don't go to no Sunday school neither. We aint been here long; we don't know nobody yet and nobody aint ast us to go. 'Sides, we aint got no clothes that's fitten and no money to put in the hat, and where we can't pay we don't go." In a study of a group of tenant families under care of the Associated Charities of Memphis, it was found that 80 per cent had a definite church preference, but that only one family attended Sunday school or church with any degree of regularity. It is estimated that three-fifths of the croppers are outside the church, and four-fifths of them are outside the Sunday school.

The low standard of living maintained by croppers and the meager food supply has made for poor health. A diet consisting for the most part of fat meat, starches, and molasses, with a minimum of eggs, milk, lean meats, and green vegetables is conducive to pellegra, tuberculosis, and diseases due to malnutrition. In a rural county of Florida 80 per cent of the children were infected with hookworm. We do not know to what extent this is caused by diet, but we do know that unsanitary living conditions foster this disease. Referring again to the study of this group of tenant families under care of the Memphis Associated Charities, it was found that 70 per cent of these had bad health problems serious enough to contribute to their dependency either directly or indirectly. In the South syphilis is fast making inroads into the ranks of our colored croppers. They are losing their value as farm laborers. Landlords are complaining that the Negro can no longer do the heavy work that he was capable of in the past, that he tires more easily, and loses more time from work on account of illness. Shallow wells, germ breeding pig stys and outbuildings, lack of screening, together with general unsanitary conditions of the household, claim their share in helping to undermine the health of the family.

Can the case worker, with all of her versatility, hope even to scratch the surface of these problems? I believe she can do much toward the amelioration of the evils. Certainly most croppers in themselves, with their lack of possibilities, their inhibitions, and self satisfaction, do not offer much encourage-

ment; but what of those swarms of bright faced youngsters who form the next generation? Must they, too, follow in the footsteps of their families?

It would seem, with the scarcity of farm labor just now, that the social worker has rare opportunity to render a real service to the community and to her clients by placing those with a rural background on the farm where they belong. But with existing conditions no worker would be justified in placing her families in haphazard fashion on the farm. It will be her job to investigate the prospective landlord, to determine his honesty and integrity in handling his tenants, to examine the contract between the two parties, to see that the education of the children is not interfered with, and that they are not given too large a portion of the farm work. It will also be the case worker's job to supervise the home, to make contacts with the school, church, and other community resources. She, too, will be given a satisfactory report on the settlement of accounts at the end of the year. Where a family is placed on a farm by the case worker of an urban society she should get in touch with a case worker in that community; if none is available, and there is no socially minded person on whom she can depend, then she would better make other plans for her family. This plan has been tried out in part by the Associated Charities of Memphis.

The rural case worker has a rare opportunity in the fact that she is in a position to organize landlord-tenant conferences, to study the problems of tenancy and farming, and thereby to draw these two factions together and give each a better understanding of the other's point of view. Usually there is a county agent to help her in this enterprise. This is being done with some success in the corn belt.

The case worker must set herself to meet the health problems of her families—and this is a veritable job. But with the nationwide interest that is being manifested in health work she should, even in the most isolated communities, have some resources at her command. Her work will be in a great measure of an educational nature, seeking to prevent disease and to raise the standard of living among her clientèle.

But most of all the case worker should attempt to educate the public in general to the evils of our tenancy systems. How can she get milk for the undernourished children if there are no cows available and no credit for milk at the store. How can she persuade her client to go to church or community meetings if he is to be scorned by his fellow men. It means the breaking down of class consciousness and age old inhibition. She can agitate legislation which will better the tenants' condition. She can teach the tenant himself the value of his own vote, which will react on the economic aspects of agricultural life and will make for better times.

With the children of croppers she should find her greatest inspiration. Let her see that they get the chance to escape illiteracy. By standing between them and their scornful neighbors she can prevent their little natures from becoming distorted and dwarfed, and build up a sense of self possession and assurance.

By taking his place in the community the cropper's child should develop resources within himself that will lead him out of the wilderness that surrounds his parents. He will throw off class consciousness and develop community interests and pride of citizenship, which will all tend to curb his migratory instincts. By noting how the other half of the world lives he will want to raise his own standard of living. In short, can he not hold up his head and ask in good faith, "Am I not one of God's creatures?"

It is a big problem and a big job. We case workers who have labored with the cropper know that it is an appalling one. Neither dogmatism nor emotion will be of much avail. But by persistent efforts on our part, by educating the general public to the situation that confronts us, and by joining hands with the other community resources—the church, the school, the lodge, the county and state authorities—we may evolve a better system. To quote from that old Belgian economist, Émile Lavele: "There is in human affairs one order which is the best. That order is not always the one which exists; but it is the one which should exist for the greatest good of humanity. God knows it and wills it. Man's duty is to discover and establish it."

FAMILY ACHIEVEMENT

Mary Swan Brisley, Secretary, Church Mission of Help, New York City

This paper is written neither for the judges who advocate marriage without children, nor for the social reformers who practice children without marriage, but rather for that sadly conservative majority of us who still believe with Miss Richmond that every child has the right to two parents who love him and each other.

Family achievement is a formidable topic, and one which demands definition. The family is easily defined as parents and children held together by bonds of affection, but the first definition of achievement which I found rather stumped me. Mr. Webster says that to achieve is "to bring to a final conclusion," and to bring the family to a final conclusion in forty-five minutes is a bit beyond the daring even of a person who undertakes a conference paper three weeks before the beginning of the conference. The Century dictionary, however, fascinated my imagination. Achievement it says, is "something accomplished by valor, boldness, or superior ability," or "an obtaining by exertion." Family achievement, understood thus, has a ring and a meaning to it and is an epitome of the history of the family. I accept the implications of the subject—that vital family life is not something which just happens, but which is attained by the exertions of the valiant, the brave, and those of superior ability; within which group, with becoming modesty, I place the family case worker.

The essential elements of a normal family life are familiar to all of you, and I shall not rehearse them; rather shall I start on the basis of former papers

on the subject, notably one by Mr. Porter Lee on "Some Changes in Social Thought Which Affect the Family," one by Mr. Bruno on "The Family," and more immediately Professor Ogburn's paper on "Our Social Heritage," given at the Conference on Family Life in America. In each of these papers the affectional basis is recognized as the one which is absolutely essential to a true family; without it these groups become what Mr. McLean some years ago termed the "sham family." Professor Ogburn calls upon "those who would solve family problems and try to direct the course of evolution of the family toward better channels" to "work to discover as much as possible about the science and art of affection for parents and children as well as husbands and wives, and to disseminate these fundamentally important discoveries as widely as possible." Surely a direct challenge to us as family case workers!

I should like to broaden Professor Ogburn's term to include all the emotional satisfactions, not simply the satisfying and strengthening of the affectional bonds between various members of the family, of primary importance though these are. All of us who deal with human relationships know that when any person's or any family's entire emotional outlet is in affectional relationships with other members, the result is not conducive to normal development of personality in either parent or child.

Emotional satisfactions differ from feelings of affection and mere pleasurable excitements in one very important particular: they are the tranquilities which result from the gratifying of some fundamental need of the human personality. The running appearances of the two may be the same; in the pursuit of each we forget our fatigue and our troubles, but the end results are the test. The satisfying of a real emotional need brings quiet and happiness and is the seed bed for renewed effort and growth; mere pleasure may end only in deeper fatigue and a deeper restlessness. In thinking of this whole question of the affections and the emotions it is extremely important that family case workers keep this distinction in mind; else we, in trying to provide recreation for our families, are apt to increase the dissatisfaction we hope to cure.

An obverse side to Professor Ogburn's statement that as the economic, educational, religious, and recreational functions are being removed from the family the affectional function becomes more important, is the fact that as the institutions which have taken over these functions grow larger and more remote from the home, the emotional satisfactions formerly inherent in them are more and more being crowded out. If we accept the theory that the peculiar function of the family is to produce the happiness which comes from the exercise of the affections and emotions, then as the next step we must believe that the family, if it is to live up to its office, must assume the responsibility, not only for satisfying, strengthening, and developing those affectional ties which have always had their almost exclusive life within the family group, but also must seek and find new ways of gratifying those fundamental needs which are no less potent because mass production and urban life are taking from us the old

ways of satisfying them. And whatever is the responsibility of the normal family to achieve is the responsibility of the family case worker to study and to understand.

The psychologists, of course, have listed the fundamental needs of human beings in various profound and exhaustive ways, but as a case worker I must admit to finding the poets almost better guides. For the distinguishing feature of real poetry is that in it experience which most of us recognize as universal is fused into words which we recognize as inevitable to the expression of that experience, which are in fact almost the experience itself. Moreover, poetry supplies the motive power for putting the idea into action, and is more apt to start in most of us the octopus action of the idea than a purely intellectual statement. Compare, for example, the effect upon yourself of the statement that the family supplies a sense of security, with Robert Frost's lines: "Home is the place where when you have to go they have to take you in; a place you somehow haven't to deserve," or of the statement that the ability to express one's meaning, normally in words, is a universal need, with the poem "The Inarticulate," by Eda Lou Walton:

We who have words
Intimate and unsure
Even in this unmitigated thunder
Are secure—
But the inarticulate throats,
The songs lost on the first notes,
The dumb tongues
Gone under earth,
The dearth of voices
Even to blunder
From this inescapable girth
Of pain
Binding the breast
Where no words rest,
These feel the dark rain,
The white lightning's flare
With a dumb stare,
These are the lost,
The utterly damned
To whom no man
May reach a hand.¹

Am I suggesting that we scrap the psychologists and turn completely to the poets? Well, hardly, since one of the most hopeful signs for the future of family life seems to me to be this scientific interest in finding out how the human personality works; neither am I suggesting that we try to make Mrs. Jones go to the clinic by reading her a poem, though I think we might do much better jobs as developers of personality if we paid a bit more attention to guiding the reading of our families. But I am suggesting that the case worker

¹ *Nation*, May 2, 1928.

who wishes to discover in vital living form those needs the gratifying of which brings true emotional satisfaction cannot afford to neglect the poets, particularly those now writing.

One of the dangers which beset us as case workers, it seems to me, is that under the influence of our very real benefactor, Dr. Freud, we shall tend to narrow this matter of emotional satisfactions, or strengthening of the affectional ties, and think that if one deep need is satisfied, particularly if the need is that for sexual union with a truly loved partner, the other needs can be neglected. Or that if within the family there is truly deep affection, the family life is therefore productive of happiness. Unless enriched by other interests and ties, however, the affectional bond becomes a bond indeed, stifling and preventing sound personality development. Even though those satisfactions inherent in the family, such as the knowledge that we are loved and appreciated, that we are necessary to the happiness of those we care for, that we belong, that we are bearing our share of a common burden, and that we are, in a sense at least, as parents, creators, and as home owners, possessors—even though these needs are gratified, members of the family still may be conscious of a sense of frustration and restlessness from which they would not have suffered a generation or two ago. Formerly other almost equally deep needs were gratified—sometimes unconsciously—in the shop, the smaller church, and the more intimate and informal clubs and groups. Even the house in which we lived had its effect. It used to be in itself indicative of our standards and provocative of respect and productive of a sense of permanence. Our gardens were means of satisfying our need of contact with growing things, as well as providing us with physical exercise, a chance to compete with others, and a sense of having made something. Other satisfactions are no longer produced for the majority of people in their jobs. Mass production and business cycles have pretty well cast out of the business lives of most industrial workers any satisfactions for the need of security, of accomplishment, of companionship with their fellows; and of one which is seldom recognized, but the consequences of which are apparent to many case workers who work with men who have (for example) become truck drivers instead of teamsters—contact with animals.

I have no intention of attempting to give a catalogue of the needs of human beings, but I should like to remind you of two or three less tangible but important satisfactions which are not any longer obtainable for most of us without effort: the thrill that comes from contact with and appreciation of beauty, that which comes when we take part in a worthy struggle, and that which we feel as the result of stretching muscles and of seeing, even for a moment, long views opening before us, whether physical, mental, or spiritual.

You may quarrel with this list of fundamental needs, particularly as to whether they are fundamental, and you may be right; that is one reason why I suggested earlier that each case worker make up her own list from the poets, from psychologists, from her own experience—but never from her case records.

Because, you see, one of the reasons why families come to case working agencies is that they are lacking in these satisfactions, and are frequently conscious only of a sense that something is wrong somewhere. As in all other family problems, the case worker's knowledge and appreciations must be broad and deep enough to enable her to make the diagnosis and to interpret to the family, in terms which the members can comprehend, the causes underlying the symptoms of restlessness, lack of interest in the home, drabness, and irritability. It is a large order; yet if we as family case workers allow Professor Ogburn to delegate to the family the production of happiness as its essential function, then we must also accept the responsibility for finding ways in which the family can lead its members to the satisfaction of the really deep needs which no longer find satisfaction elsewhere. Otherwise it seems to me we may look for an intensification of the unreasoning seeking after pleasure which is typified by the people who hunt for a third movie in an evening because the first and second have produced no tranquility, only an intensification of restlessness.

I am not, of course, delegating to the family case worker the entire responsibility for making these discoveries, but I am beginning to suspect that we must cast aside our modesty and our tendency to allow our job to be bounded by the limits which other agencies and institutions set to their own. To take one institution which is also vitally interested in building up family life—the church—I think the case worker may have to take the lead and point out to the clergyman what she has found or feels to be the church's peculiar contribution to family life, and suggest to him ways of studying it and methods of making it.

And I am increasingly sure that family case work must provide some means whereby qualified family case workers may become sufficiently detached from the daily job so that they may study and articulate for the benefit of the rest of us the way in which, to quote Miss Richmond again, case workers perform their task of stimulating in the client wants which only his own efforts can supply.

Observance of family life in intelligent families is one of the ways of studying which is open to even those of us who are tied to the job. One of the most hopeful elements in family life as I observe it in the lives of those of my friends who have children is a growth in respect for the personalities of even very young children, a respect which looks to an older generation like unmitigated indulgence, but differs from it in that indulgence is, after all, a gratification of our own desire to hold the child's love, to save ourselves trouble, and to satisfy our own need to be kind to someone else. Recently I have happened to be in two families where there were, in addition to the children and their parents, at least one grandparent, so that I have been able to see the difference in attitude of the two older generations, and it is hopeful. In both of the following incidents the grandparents felt that the children had been impudent and the parents hopelessly indulgent in not punishing them.

Peggy, aged three, was having one of her off days. Nothing quite suited. Finally, standing in the middle of the floor looking like Elisha's cloud, the size of a man's hand, but stormy, she stamped her small foot and announced with vehemence, "Then I'll go upstairs and change my dress," and up she went. Mother looked after her, puzzled but calm. Grandmother felt that since the child was wearing a clean dress she should be restrained. It happens that my friend washes those small dresses herself, so the question was hardly academic to her; but she insisted that if somehow or other the changing of a dress had acquired in Peggy's mind a connection with a change of disposition, Peggy had a right to exercise her own choice so long as she did not interfere with the rights of others. The dress was changed (incidentally, for a very similar one) and a smiling child came down the stairs.

My other story concerns an older child, eleven this time. She had spent most of a raw cold day in the house with a book, but was finally forced out of the house by all the grown up preachments about how good for her the fresh air would be. Five minutes later she was again in the house, and was again met by a hymn of praise to the bracing effects of the cold. But this time Marie eyed the four grown-ups around the blazing fire with a considering glance. "I notice where you all are standing," she said. Now the important thing to my mind was the difference with which the two older generations met this youthful observation. Grandmother had opposed the child's being sent out in the first place, but felt that she should be punished for speaking so to grown-ups. Father, mother, and auntie looked at each other with humor, and father said, "Well, sister, I think you've got one on us this time. We'll all go out with you."

These anecdotes may seem trivial, but to me they are tremendously significant and indicate an attitude which is extremely important for case workers to study. If I were to choose, from reading case records, divorce court proceedings, reports of investigations of industrial and housing conditions, and juvenile court records, the most fundamental and most frequent causes of human unhappiness within the family and outside of it, I should say without hesitation that it was failure to meet the deep need we all have to know that our own personalities are respected, and the almost greater need we have to respect other people's personalities. And second only to that as a cause of unhappiness I should place the lack of a sense of humor.

We used to assume that a sense of humor, that oil which makes the machinery of social relationships run smoothly, was something which one was born with or born without; that in our chromosomes was it decided whether we should laugh at certain times, as well as whether we should need permanent waves or not. But recently, in *Influencing Human Behavior*, Professor Overstreet has assured us that this is not true, and he gives us certain practical suggestions as to ways of developing a sense of humor. Seriously, it seems to me, however, that the matter goes much deeper, is dependent, as is a sense of respect for the personalities of others, upon our own social philosophies. We

laugh at ourselves (which is the true test of humor) because we see ourselves in our true relation to the whole. If we are the whole, or a large part of it, we do not laugh. Humor is based on a sense of proportion, and one cannot see discrepancies and true proportions without having some idea of the sum of all the parts.

So with respect. I frequently am tempted to put Felix Adler's *Ethical Philosophy of Life* upon the required reading list of every case worker, present or prospective, with whom I come in contact, and to repeat the prescription at least once each year. In masterly fashion Dr. Adler gives the true nature of respect and its necessity to the development of personality. That book, however, needs to be supplemented by other reading and other study, particularly as to ways in which we can arouse in others a sense of need for feeling that respect, and then ways of helping them develop that respect.. The effect of the attitude of respect on personality is patent to all of us. Jensen, in *Adventures in Understanding*, is an interesting and sparkling person when his wife tells David Grayson of his skill as an artist and a gardener, but he collapses to a gray nonentity when she adds that because he cannot commercialize his art, he is a provider who does not provide.

Most case workers do recognize this need we all have for the respect of others, most especially those within our own family group, and we do urge our wits and imaginations to discover ways in which the adult members of our families may excel, and give them opportunity to do so, in order that they may gain the respect of their families and their own self respect. But how about the other side of the need—that for respecting others? Is there any way in which we can prevent the personality deterioration which almost inevitably follows when we lose all respect for those with whom we must live or come in contact? And how do we inspire respect in the adult for the personalities of their very young children? Frankly, I do not know—yet, though I have two or three suggestions to make. The first is that I believe the sense of possession and that of respect are two fundamentally opposing forces. The thing that makes this problem so very intricate is that both are the expression of fundamental needs. That there are such conflicts in us is not new; it is the very condition of our being; but in this instance the sense of possession seems to have acquired so much more social sanction than the sense of respect and has grown so much stronger that there is now almost no struggle between the two, if there ever was one. Yet I doubt whether we can have any real respect for any person whom we think we own or have created of ourselves. One thing, therefore, that we must learn to do and to help our families to do is to attach the ownership sense to things, and absolutely to detach it from persons. There is even a danger to us as case workers in the term which I discover myself to have used consistently throughout this paper, "our families." Because of course they do not belong to us at all, and words have an unfortunate habit of affecting our thinking so that although at the outset we realize that we use the term

for the sake of brevity, we are in danger of gradually assuming the "our" attitude.

The other conviction which I should like to place before you for discussion is my own belief that for the development of humor and respect and for the satisfaction of many other needs we must look to the social and religious philosophies of our families; that in the end true family life is to be achieved only when a family has become conscious of a place and a part to play in the whole scheme of things, has, in short, become integrated into a spiritual universe. Call it the sublimation of frustration, if you like, or the philosophy of escape, or transcendentalism (I have also been inoculated against Freudian terminology!) but where else is the family, and the members thereof, to find a sense of security? Surely not in the idea of marriage relation itself any longer. It is only in the wider view of things that we can find the permanence we so deeply need; only, as I have said, in seeing the discrepancies and relationship of the parts to the whole that we can find true humor; only as we view children and some adults as fellow members with ourselves in a spiritual universe can we possibly attain a genuine respect for their personalities. Increasingly, I think, case workers have a right to challenge the church to find ways and means of developing in clients this inclusive and extensive sense of citizenship.

But that does not absolve the case workers from responsibility for finding means to satisfactions in this realm as in others; which puts upon us the obligation to develop our own well thought out social and ethical philosophy. We know from observation and experience the futility of attempting to give something which we do not possess. Something, it seems to me, of the poet's passion for beauty and perfection must possess us if we are to help the families under our care to achieve a vital family life, feeding and fed by all the currents of modern life and thought.

The wrong of unshapely things
Is a wrong too great to be told.
I long to build them anew.

Perhaps it is because I feel with Yeats this wrong of unshapely things that my mental diagram of a spiritual universe and the way in which the family case worker can help a family to achieve true family life takes the shape of four widening concentric circles.

The inner circle is that of the family, or perhaps that should in turn be filled with smaller circles, not concentric, each representing a member of the family, because there is a certain amount of case treatment, of straightening out of difficulties, complexities, and changing of attitudes which must be done with and within the individual. He must acquire an insight into the harmonies and disharmonies in his own nature and their relationships to him, as a whole personality. But man as an individual, distinct from social relationships, is almost non-existent; so the possible amount of purely individual development is definitely limited. (Even here, you see, I have tacitly introduced a conditioning

environmental factor, the case worker, or the psychiatrist.) It is really within the larger circle containing these individual circles impinging and overlapping in some places, not touching at all in others, that the peculiar field of the family case worker lies.

Here most of our work must be done. We are *family* case workers, and adjustments—the explaining and interpreting of each member to the others—as well as all the more tangible things which I have purposely not touched upon in this paper are definitely our peculiar tasks. And it is this family group that we must help to study its needs and to provide satisfactions for its members. But all of us know that our job cannot end here. We have too often been saddened and baffled by the “closed corporation” family, and the results upon the personalities of its members of the ingrown family which resists outside influences.

In the *Christ of the Indian Road*, Mr. Jones tells of a conversation with a student who thought he might like Christ if he knew him but who said he had no one to introduce him. Definitely it seems to me that the case worker must assume the rôle of introducer, with all the graces and charm of the hostess technique which Miss Salsberry told us of last year, the introducer to the wider circles of social groups, community institutions, and books, art, music.

In fact, by accepting Miss Richmond's definition of case work we also accept a responsibility for widening our family's citizenship into the next circle, that of neighborhood, community, city, state, and national affairs.

In theory, at least, I am sure no case worker would consider a case ready to be closed until she had made an effort to Americanize and naturalize her foreign clients and get them in contact with settlement, church, and club. But do we, I wonder, consider it our duty, with our American born clients, to see that they assume their responsibilities as voters and lodge and union members, and put them in touch with the constructive political forces or means of political education within the community? We ourselves satisfy our own need for bearing our share of responsibility and of taking part in a worthy crusade in our jobs. May we not, therefore, let our own well known lack of interest in political affairs blind us to the fact that here is one way of widening the consciousness of our families and of satisfying some very powerful emotional needs.

Up to the limits of this circle, however, most of us would accept responsibility, scattering though our covering of the territory undoubtedly is, but few of us have so far ventured to induce our families to grow through that boundary into the area of world citizenship. Yet, I wonder if it is not necessary to the full and free development of a conscious and vital and enduring personal and family life? We recognize the necessity for ourselves by travel, and by vicarious travel through books and papers. Here I think we might learn something from our foreign clients. After all, they have had experience in living in two countries. True, if we have failed to integrate them into the community

life, they may consider themselves only citizens of the old country instead of the world, but we might widen their citizenship and our own by encouraging them to draw really critical comparisons between the old and the new. While as for the American born citizen—well, one good look at the Ku Klux Klan and at the black list of the Key Men of America should be enough to convince the least imaginative of us that something wider than patriotic fervor is needed for the development of personality.

Now for the last circle, the circumference of which I shall not attempt to draw. This does not mean, however, that the area contained therein is vague; only that it is infinite. Family membership, community and national participation and activity, world consciousness, and now, finally, citizenship in the realm of the spirit, the country of religion, of ethics, of ideals, and of beauty. Felix Adler names it the "ethical manifold"; to some Christians it is peopled with saints and angels; to other people it means the sublimations of the frustrations of life or the realm wherein they pursue beauty; to me it means a spiritual God. I am not concerned here with defining it, except as the realm of the intangible values, which are nevertheless real values. It is this final step of induction into citizenship into this spiritual universe which most of us leave entirely to other agencies to help the family to take, with the result that only infrequently is it taken.

I do not believe that a family has really achieved the vital type of family life, can really satisfy many of the fundamental affectional needs, until it has successfully widened its consciousness to include, or to touch upon, the very widest of these circles. The circumference at which the conception of citizenship stops is the limit to the realization of its full possibilities.

So with the case worker. I have, it is true, given her a limitless field; but a much wiser than I have given her a definite function within the field—that of consciously making adjustments between the individual members of the family and the family as a whole, and their social environment. Is the last circle of all quite outside the meaning of the word "social"? Perhaps; yet to me, failure to recognize its existence and its importance is the explanation of why painstaking, careful, and, in so far as it goes, scientific, case work produces sometimes so little in the way of personality development. I should like to add here that the accomplishment of this widening is much more a matter of imagination and philosophy than of time.

And, though this is a bit aside, I should like to stress the successive nature of the widening. Failure to understand and to take into consideration the inner circles, trying at once to leap from the center to the outer, may explain why religion so often lacks vitality and dynamic power. Can you, I wonder, seize hold upon the outer circumference and pull it in to meet your own little circle even in one spot, crowding out your friends, neighbors, and fellow men, without distortion and narrowness and the loss of the wideness which makes the

spiritual what it is? May not that same tendency to leap intervening circles explain the fanatic in art, politics, and business, as well as in religion?

Do you remember that scene in *Hamlet* where the King, having violated his human relationships, tries to establish connection through prayer with the infinite, and complains that his prayers get no higher than the roof and fall back upon his head? That seems to me the picture of the family or of the case worker who has not thought through a real philosophy of life, or, having thought it through, finds it bounded by material things. In the case worker's journey with her clients to enlargement and development of personality she may find herself turned back at the frontier where her own conception ceases. True, she may have inspired her client with sufficiently adventurous a spirit so that he may go on, or she may, in rare instances, see her own lack of ability to go farther and introduce him to another guide; but by and large, if she denies the existence of the countries beyond for herself or denies her need of them, she is apt, almost bound, to forget even to take the possibility of their existence into consideration when planning with her client. In so far as this happens she falls short of what, in its ideal sense, family achievement means to me as a case worker; that by valor, by courage, by exertion, by superior ability, we help families, through the case work method, to a happy functioning life within the family group, and to conscious, functioning, citizenship in their neighborhood, their community, their political unit, the world, and in the spiritual universe. Without these last widenings of consciousness and responsibility, without the enthusiasm and imagination, respect for others and sense of humor which that vision gives, her view of life, which inevitably affects the family's view, is apt to be like a certain great mathematician's picture of the sea:

Pour some salt water upon the floor.
Ugly I'm sure you'll allow it to be.
Suppose it to stretch a mile or more;
That is very like the sea.

For this intelligent audience I hardly need to point out that a modern case working Lewis Carroll would obviously have substituted "life" for "sea," and for "salt water," "sex complex," "case problem," or even "heavy case load."

SUMMARY OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS

DISCUSSION GROUP NO. 2.—IS CASE WORK MAKING FOR CHANGED STANDARDS IN THE CARE OF THE AGED?

Miss Adaline A. Buffington, Welfare Council of New York, presided. An unexpectedly large attendance at this Group Discussion attested to the interest shown throughout the United States today in the care of old people. The discussion centered around the care of the aged in institutions, both public and private, in their own homes, in private boarding homes, in hospitals; the ad-

visability of old age pensions, the need of increased facilities for the care of the aged chronic sick; occupations for able bodied aged; and central information bureaus on the care of the aged such as are being conducted by the Family Society of Boston, the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, and the Welfare Council of New York. Throughout the discussion the need of case work—individual treatment for old people—was stressed repeatedly, and the conclusion reached was that, as in all case work, all methods of care are required to meet individual needs. For instance, there are some old folks who need more care than can be given in their own homes or in boarding homes, or who are in such physical or mental condition that they have to be placed in institutions giving medical and nursing care. There are those who have no home or family to care for them, etc., and either need a home for the aged or can be boarded out in private homes. There are those who can be taken care of in their own homes if a monthly allowance, even small, is forthcoming.

Georgia has made some interesting experiments in boarding out old people in private homes. In Massachusetts an almost ideal system of old age care is in operation. For suitable cases there is outdoor relief to be drawn upon so that a person can receive an allowance and stay at home. Public and private agencies work closely together, the public often supplying the allowance and the private agencies the trained workers, who investigate the cases carefully and after the allowance is granted visit at intervals, reporting back any need or change to the poormaster. Almshouses are being closed up gradually, and county infirmaries or hospitals substituted. In Pennsylvania almshouses are being consolidated—one unit serving several counties—with a hospital a part of each unit. New Jersey is experimenting with boarding out the chronically ill in private homes. The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor of New York City runs a sheltered workshop for the aged where the men make toys, and the women, children's clothing and uniforms. Wages are supplemented by the society.

The central information bureaus steer old people in search of care to the homes where they are eligible, act as clearing centers for the institutions, and in Boston and Chicago have begun to investigate applications at the request of individual homes.

Several persons expressed the wish that a further discussion of the care of the aged might be had in San Francisco as a part of the main Conference program.

DISCUSSION GROUP NO. 3.—TREASURE HUNTING AMONG THE RECORDS

Some of the questions asked were as follows: Assuming that we are searching for treasure in our records, what kind of treasure are we looking for? If we want to find certain things in records, what are the things that should be in records? Discussion brought out that visibility in our present methods of record keeping was low. Some suggestions were made as to record writing

which might increase the visibility of such material as was in records—brevity, summaries, topical headings, indexes, careful preparation for dictation, building out and focusing the record around the major problem, careful recording of diagnoses, careful recording of plan, careful recording of anything in the way of treatment process.

It was agreed that the only style admissible in a professional record was that which brought out the greatest degree of significance in the choice of material. This would mean the analysis of material always in terms of use, and the discarding of such material as was of lesser use, assuming that all records had some limits. A record which was significant for treatment would be significant also for research. It was agreed that a general basis of social history was necessary for all case treatment, but that beyond that the records would select material along somewhat narrow lines, either for treatment or for study.

The question of following a pattern in interviewing was discussed at some length, with the usual conclusion that interviewing should be flexible and that outlines or patterns were suggestive chiefly as points of departure. The question of whether case material in records should be standardized was discussed. It was noted that there was considerable divergence between records of different agencies as to the same family. It was agreed that part of this confusion came from the difficulty in terminology and the fact that concepts were left much too broad and general. It was felt that some headway had been made in the sharpening of concepts for treatment and research, but that much more needed to be done as quickly as we could do so. If concepts are too complicated and vague, they become dangerous for uses either of treatment or research.

At present labels of personality are rather unsatisfactory, and a clear description of behavior seems to serve the purposes of the record in the main better. It was pointed out that it was too easily assumed that any record could be used for any type of research, and that research would have to conform rather to the type of treatment record than the treatment record to the general purposes of research, although it was also pointed out that for certain purposes special records would have to be kept.

The question, Can treatment processes be at present recorded and evaluated? was discussed. Professor Burgess again put in a plea for the use of the first person in interviewing and for permitting the client to make a more complete statement of his situation as it looks to him.

The discussion was summarized as follows: that treasure hunting was entirely practicable now both for treatment and research purposes in certain phases of recorded case work. (1) Situational data, i.e., face card material, registration material, or facts of the "economic man" are now quite clearly recorded and in most cases are easily accessible for statistical or other purposes. (2) The definition of the problem has gained ground in the last few years, and many agencies sufficiently register and index common social prob-

lems so that they can be found again. The chief difficulty is that concepts are still too large, and words and phrases used are not sufficiently precise, so that there will be considerable variation even in one hundred cases named desertion. Progress is being made very slowly in refining these problem classifications. (3) Characteristics and personality material have a low degree of visibility. Our notion of units is not at all precise, and even our description of behavior is entirely inadequate both for treatment purposes or to find again for any research purposes. (4) Process has no visibility except in a few special records constructed for process. It was agreed that treatment processes should be articulated and put into records and indexed in some way as to become again available. This is a goal to work for.

DISCUSSION GROUP NO. 5.—FAMILY CASE WORK STATISTICS

Dr. Ralph G. Hurlin led the discussion, which was arranged for further consideration of the statistics presented in his paper at an earlier meeting of the division. The charts included in the paper were displayed and each was discussed in turn. Questions were raised concerning the interpretation to be placed on various comparisons, and the point was again emphasized that the average ratios representing division of case loads, case loads per worker, and change in loads from month to month were not assumed to represent any standard of what was desirable, but that they described the situation apparently most typical for the group of agencies. Marked divergence from average ratios suggested search for differences in interpretation of terms or in practices which might explain the divergence, rather than an attempt to change the situation.

The experimental nature of the data was stressed. At present the emphasis in this experiment is on method, and particularly on the development of a basis for standard statistics, rather than on conclusions to be obtained from the data so far assembled. The results presented were therefore proffered as tentative only.

There was discussion of terminology and of means of improving the uniformity of statistical practice in different agencies. Mr. Linton B. Swift described the work of the Committee on Statistical Interpretation of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work and the standard statistical card which this committee has prepared as a basis for standard statistical counts. Mr. Walter W. Whitson, of the Kansas City Provident Association, and Mr. H. W. Zahrn, of the Detroit Department of Public Welfare, described visitor's month sheets recently introduced in these agencies to facilitate the preparation of accurate comparative statistics. It was suggested that the Association for Organizing Family Social Work might undertake to prepare and circulate exhibits of record forms in use in member and non-member agencies.

V. INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS OF THE NEW SOUTH: THE SOUTHERN MILL VILLAGE

Paul Blanshard, League for Industrial Democracy, New York City

It is appropriate that while we are meeting in the South we should discuss one of the South's greatest social problems, the cotton mill village. In this discussion I want to give you a sort of airplane review of that problem, looking at the mill village and its people, and then passing on to the wider social and economic setting of which the mill village is a part.

Let me say at the outset that while I am a northerner I do not consider it inappropriate for me to be discussing the southern mill village at a conference in the South. This is not exclusively a southern problem. The living standard of our whole American population is being affected by the rise of industrialism in the South. Today 27,000 workers in the cotton mills of Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts, are on strike largely because southern competition has led to a slashing of northern wages. There are mill villages in New England that are dying because their life blood is flowing South. I do not speak as one who is opposed to that transfer of industrial supremacy to the South. I regard the southward movement as more or less inevitable. My concern is with the human conditions in the southern mill village. Are the human beings in our southern cotton mills getting their share of the good life and prosperity of which we boast so much in America?

The investigator is confronted with violent differences of opinion concerning the present condition of southern cotton mill workers. I want to quote to you three different views. The agents and advertisements of the manufacturers burst with pride in the great opportunities for capital, the "loyalty" of labor, and the absence of any "disturbing agitators." May I read you a few sentences from an advertisement of the Tennessee Electric Power Company published in the *Textile World*, appealing for more capital for Tennessee textile mills? Tennessee invites the world in these words:

[We have] an apparently unlimited supply of native Anglo-Saxon workers—the type that seeks to profit to the fullest extent through gainful occupation, rather than attempts to reduce the number of working hours per week. Only 2.2 per cent are of foreign ancestry, with less than 2 per cent foreign born.

Hours: Day and night operations are permitted in Tennessee mills for both male and female labor. Women may be employed a total of 57 hours per week. Double shift work reduces overhead costs.

Wages: Latest data give average weekly earnings of textile operatives, male and female, as \$13.63. . . .

Open shop: Southern industries, almost without exception, operate on an open shop basis.

In contrast to this appeal of the manufacturers, let me read you some paragraphs from a strike handbill issued last year during a strike of cotton mill workers at Henderson, North Carolina. The handbill is headed: "Henderson or Hell," and was written by Alfred Hoffman, an organizer of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers. These strikers, by the way, lost their strike. Some of them were working the twelve hour night and many were getting less than \$9 a week.

Straggling over hills and bottoms is the rest of the village with its drab houses and rutty streets, unpassable to vehicles in wet weather and dusty as sin in dry weather. In some of the bottoms the roads frankly are lost in the swamps.

It is October, and the hogs are getting bigger and dirtier all the time. The weather is hot. The stockyard odor hanging over the back yards of the richer workers, the open toilets, and the garbage dumps and trash heaps—one could crawl into a den of skunks and be happy.

At 6:20 in the morning we watch the villagers going to work—men, women, and children—very reluctantly, very tired after a night's rest. They are in overalls, and the women in cheap cotton slips with sunbonnets on their heads. Some of them barefoot, some of them ragged, but all of them tired. At ten minutes to six the night shift goes in, tired too. At 6 P.M. the day shift comes off and the machinery keeps on going without a stop. Many of the men, and most of the women and children, drag themselves along, almost too worn out to reach their homes.

For supper you find fat pork without even the trace of lean, beans, home-made biscuits, corn bread, and perhaps a few potatoes or yams, if you are lucky. You sit on 69-cent chairs, or more likely it will be a soap box. Perhaps you will eat off a trunk, perhaps off a table. In most cases the table cloth is last night's newspaper. There is little paint on the wooden walls of the rooms, no paper, hardly ever a picture. The floors sag, and if it is not dark you can see the ground through the floor. There are no screens on the windows. If you want water, take a pail and get it from the spigot outside; however, if you want water fit to drink, you will have to walk ten yards or a quarter-mile for it. If you are afraid of typhoid, or don't like dirty water, you won't drink water at all.

And now let me read you a paragraph from the *Baptist Courier*, leading religious paper of South Carolina:

There does not exist in America a happier population [than in the mill village]. It is our information that human conditions in our southern mill villages surpass those to be found in the industrial population of New England.

The day will come when the historian of South Carolina will pay a high tribute to the men who are now over our mills. The very best labor and human ideals obtain, and they obtain because we have over these mills great, true, Christian business men. Many of these are leaders in their denominations. A list of them would almost be taken for a roll of delegates to a layman's meeting.

In the face of such flat contradiction in evidence let us look at the southern mill village for ourselves. The old style village was not a thing of beauty. It stood there on the countryside, or near some city, looking like dismal rows of shabby boxes lined up around a square pink box, the mill, which shook with the roar of machinery almost twenty-four hours a day. There were mud roads and shabby wooden churches, a company store and a boarding house. The houses were practically all alike and all ugly. Some of those villages still exist

in the South, and one can find them in the rural districts of the Carolinas and Georgia.

But the new mill village of the South is quite often a thing of considerable proportion and beauty. The last twenty-five years have seen an immense improvement in the living conditions of the workers. The houses in the newer villages often have slight and pleasing variations in architecture. Sometimes they are well painted, are surrounded by a lawn and a hedge, are well lighted with free electric lights, equipped with modern toilets, and occasionally with bath tubs. The worker may get his house with plenty of light, air, and garden space for the amazingly low rent of twenty-five cents per room per month. If the mill houses are overcrowded it can be said by way of mitigation that the housing conditions are much better than those of the average city worker in either North or South.

Along with the improvement in the physical appearance and housing of the mill village has come a vast improvement in welfare work, amusement, and medical care. The southern employers are justly proud of the hospitals, attractive community buildings, and playgrounds of their new mill villages. It is quite accurate to say that the mill people are better housed—and better cared for through social service work—than they have ever been before.

Along with these important advances in social welfare exist a number of inhumane and serious conditions of exploitation which give an entirely different hue to the picture. These conditions are so serious that I am constantly amazed at the comparative indifference of southern social workers to them. Let me take, for example, a more or less typical mill village of the better sort and bring out the shadows with the sunshine.

Porterdale, Georgia, is a large isolated mill village not so very far from Atlanta. Physically it has most of the new improvements which I have just described. But the labor policy of the owners, the Bibb Manufacturing Company, is feudal and reactionary. The workers stand at the machines eleven hours a day or twelve hours a night. What faculties has a man left for imagination and intelligence after an eleven hour day or a twelve hour night? Can any amount of motion pictures, churches, Y. M. C. A.'s, and playgrounds make up for that? And the work in the cotton mill is deadly monotonous, full of nervous strain. You would not trade places with a Porterdale spinner for \$100 a week if you were doomed, as he is doomed, to work eleven hours a day. Yet the hours of labor in Porterdale are not exceptional. Georgia and North Carolina allow the sixty hour week in manufacturing; Alabama has no limit on hours for adults; and South Carolina has the fifty-five hour week. You have heard me read already the advertisement of Tennessee power interests boasting of the fifty-seven hour week for women in this state.

Most of the workers with whom I talked in Porterdale were getting between \$10 and \$11 a week for working sixty hours. These are not exceptional figures in Georgia cotton mills. The average earnings in all the cotton mills of

the four leading southern states are \$12.35 a week. The Southern cotton mills not only have the longest hours of any large manufacturing industry in the United States, but they have the lowest wages as well. Is it any wonder that northern manufacturers are moving South to take advantage of these conditions? The wages in the northern cotton mills are low enough, as any northern social worker can testify, but in the cotton mills of the four leading New England states the wages are 58.5 per cent higher than in the corresponding states of the South.

You would probably be wearied if I went into this economic description in more detail, but I refer you modestly to a booklet which I have written called *Labor in Southern Cotton Mills*, and published by the *New Republic*. There is just one more economic detail that I wish to bring in. The southern manufacturers, when charged with paying low wages, reply that they spend so much money for social welfare and give their workers such low living costs that the southern workers have just as high wages really as their northern compatriots.

This is, to speak with mildness and gentility, all poppycock—although it is widely believed in the South, even by some intelligent people. There is very little difference in the cost of living in a northern and a southern mill village. The National Industrial Conference Board, as I have shown in the aforementioned booklet, actually estimated the cost of living as higher in Pelzer, South Carolina than in Fall River, Massachusetts. Moreover, the best engineering figures indicate that while the southern manufacturer gets a wage differential of more than \$7 a week over his northern competitor, he pays back to the worker only about \$1.50 of that amount in mill village philanthropy which his northern competitor does not spend. This "velvet" in lower wages is about \$5.50 a week.

What are the social consequences of the low wages and long hours? The labor of older children is one of them. Child labor of young children has been pretty well eliminated from the southern cotton mills, but children of fourteen to sixteen are still fed into the mills regularly because their parents need the money which they earn. In fact, it is the tradition in mill villages for children to go to work at fourteen, and in Georgia children of fourteen work eleven hours a day in the mills. When a father gets a wage of \$12.35 a week there is just one way in which he can keep the family going—bootlegging is not an available profession in the southern states! He must send the whole family to work. They are caught in the roar and vibration of the mill and end their blind alley lives in those same mills partly because they have not learned to do anything else. The southern mill villages have produced no outstanding leaders of any sort for a generation.

The mill workers stay in the mill village partly because a traditional barrier of social caste has grown up between them and the rest of the South. They are branded as "poor whites." They rarely intermarry with other classes of people. They have their own churches, Young Men's Christian Associations,

and schools, the latter usually dominated in one way or another by the mill owners. The resultant isolation and inbreeding has exaggerated mental subnormality and removed the mill people still farther from the normal community life. There are as yet few alternative manufacturing industries to offer them a way out of the mill career.

The life of the average mill village is completely in the grip of the employer. He owns the whole town, hires the sheriff or policeman, collects the rent, builds most of the churches, and pays a controlling portion of the minister's salary. The workers have virtually no independent life apart from their subjection to their industrial overlord. The overlord may be a kindly and considerate man, but the effect upon the retainers is bound to be deadening. They are afraid to attack the labor policies of the owners, and this fear extends to the social workers employed by the company, sealing their lips effectively. The workers are even afraid to let their grown sons and daughters go into other kinds of work because they may be compelled thereby to move from a company house. Their fear is the chief explanation of the lack of rebellion against low wages and long hours.

The cotton mill owners may be personally kind and philanthropic, but they have smashed the textile trade unions of the South with the brutality and ruthlessness of a Judge Gary. They have organized themselves, but they will not allow their workers to organize. Incited by their pugnacious spokesman, David Clark, editor of the *Southern Textile Bulletin* and creator of the notorious rump farmer's committee against the Child Labor Amendment, they have destroyed every vestige of labor organization in southern mills. They blacklist union leaders, and in the Callaway mills of La Grange, Georgia, they compel workers to sign a "yellow dog" contract pledging themselves never to belong to a labor union. To me the most appalling feature of the mill village situation in the South today is the power which the mill owners seem to possess in distorting and suppressing honest discussion. They threaten and attack university professors, preachers, and social workers who suggest the most mild constructive reforms. They have made it almost impossible for the University of North Carolina to push fearlessly its studies of mill village life. They have used the great journals of the South to maintain silence concerning the grievances of the mill workers and to emphasize the philanthropies of the owners.

Recently a committee of southern social and religious leaders formed at Greensboro, North Carolina, a Southern Industrial Council led by Professor Broadus Mitchell and Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of the Methodist church. This exclusively southern committee has the mild object of creating a strong public opinion in the South for the nine hour day instead of the ten and eleven hour day. But Bishop Cannon and other members of the group have been viciously attacked as "reds," or agents of northern manufacturers, and the *Atlanta Constitution* is apparently trying to drive Bishop Cannon out of public life. They will have a hard time doing it, for the good bishop is a born fighter.

There are two things which the South needs, it seems to me, more than anything else to meet the challenge of the cotton mill workers. It needs information and courage. I am convinced that most of the social workers, journalists, professors, and preachers of the South do not realize that the southern mill village has the worst industrial conditions in the United States today. An entirely artificial complacency has been created by false propaganda. All of the big southern newspapers are so eager to encourage northern capital to come South that they overlook the danger of making the South into an industrial slum.

You who help to direct the social work of the South have a tremendous responsibility to establish a new kind of public opinion in the South. The core of that new public opinion must be this: that the prosperity of the new South will depend, not on the profits of its speculators and the gusto of its super-salesmanship, but on the economic and social welfare of its common workers.

THE NEW INDUSTRIAL SOUTH

Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary, Children's Aid Society, New York City

The past decade has witnessed a more extensive industrial development in the southern states than in any other section of the country. This fact is in general due to three causes: first, the extensive development of water power which began to express itself in concrete projects about twenty years ago but has reached gigantic proportions within the past decade; second, the heavy migration of northern people to the South, bringing with them industrial ideas and interests; and third, the heavy Negro migration to the North and to southern urban communities, with its resultant tendency to divert interest from agricultural to manufacturing and other industrial pursuits.

An analysis or summary of manufacturing industries in the South would be outside the scope of this discussion, except to call attention to the fact that in various sections of the southeastern states the quarrying of building stone and road building material has become an extensive industry; that the mining of coal, especially in Alabama, Kentucky, and Tennessee, has grown to such proportions that Birmingham is popularly known as the Pittsburgh of the South; that the production of oil, particularly in Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana, has grown to such dimensions that Texas is now probably the chief oil producing state of the union; that the production of hardwood in Tennessee rivals that of other sections, and the manufacture of furniture in North Carolina is second only to the chief centers of this industry in the North; that while the most outstanding growth in manufacture is in the realm of King Cotton, the number of spindles in the South having increased 288 per cent during the past 25 years, and while the number of cotton mill wage earners has doubled so that while at the beginning of the century New England had three times the number of spindles in the southern mills, today the two sections are about equal

in capacity. It is estimated that New England has invested a hundred million dollars in southern cotton mills within the past year and a half, and it is well known that southern chambers of commerce are aggressively welcoming northern investors into their field.

Perhaps before discussing the problems arising out of this sudden and unprecedented awakening it would be well to indicate some of the factors which so long delayed the present development. Among these should be mentioned the ancient institution of slavery which, as everybody now recognizes, laid its heaviest burden upon the slave masters and on the white competitors of the Negro chattels. A second factor causing delay was the almost desperate poverty resulting from the Civil War. Not only was the young man-power of the South substantially depleted, but many estates were ruined, credits were impaired, bank failures were epidemic, schools and similar institutions for the improvement of social conditions were paralyzed, and for a number of years the struggle to lay even a plain foundation for social advance was intense. A third factor was the so called reconstruction experience. The defeat of the Confederate forces inflicted and accepted by the fighters themselves in a spirit of laudable sportsmanship was not so received by the safety first politicians who always remain in the background to fight the battle over after the gong has sounded. The policy of imposing unscrupulous northern politicians on a defeated section of the country to lord it over local jurisdictions and settle neighborhood differences, as well as the policy of controlling congressional position and patronage over an unwilling people, naturally left the South humiliated, sour, suspicious, resentful. Whatever may be the virtue in such a psychological state, it does not tend to aggressive or constructive policy in industry or otherwise. As one student of our economics has recently pointed out:

Had it not been for the heavy financial depletion through the North which followed upon this misguided national policy, reflecting itself in a stoppage of northern factories and a clogging of the markets with unwanted goods, it is doubtful if the industrial revival in the South would not have been still further delayed. But enterprising salesmen found the struggling South a needy field for their agricultural and industrial implements, and a system of commercial exploitation naturally grew up.¹

It is impossible to assemble and fairly appraise the different elements which delayed the industrial development of the South, but students of our social problems recognize the broad principle that social maladies tend to aggravate themselves and that depression in one quarter tends to depress the entire body, while awakenings, when they come, are swifter and more far reaching than the immediate factors of the problem would justify. The rush to oil fields, gold fields, coal fields, the booms in Florida, Long Island, and the Rio Grande Valley real estate, which caused valuations to mount to dizzy heights, usually to be followed by deflation, depletion, debt, dispossession, and discouragement, or well known examples of this principle.

¹ Broadus Mitchell, *American Labor Legislation Review*.

When the new South began to awaken industrially, the dawn was brief, just as under southern skies the span from darkness to full sunlight is briefer than in the North. So in this industrial awakening, when capital began to turn South, it soon rushed South, particularly in the manufacture of cotton goods. The nearness to raw material, superior water power, the equitable climatic conditions, less expensive housing because of a more congenial climate, and cheaper food due to the more bountiful gifts of nature readily appealed to financial backers of this industry as offering an advantage not to be ignored. This recognition was intensified by the fact that competition between the northern and southern states in cotton manufacture has never been so keen as between the northern states and Great Britain on one hand, and the competition between the southern factories and those of India, China, and Japan on the other. This difference between the North and South, however, is rapidly disappearing as cotton mill operatives become more skilled in their art. The southern factories are devoting themselves more largely to the production of the finer grades, which brings them into more direct competition with their northern neighbors. It is conceivable that in the near future there will be no marked difference in the grade of cotton goods produced North or South.

Turning now to agriculture, three main developments should be noted: first, the migration of Negroes from tenant farms; second, the development of farm colonies; third, the introduction of new methods as the result of migration to the South and the better practice stimulated by the southern agricultural colleges and other educational methods.

The tide of migration of Negroes to northern industrial centers has become so heavy as to substantially affect industrial conditions both in the communities from which they come and in the urban centers to which they have gone. Social welfare problems of vital interest are being discussed in this Conference growing out of this new migration. What its results will be it is perhaps too early to forecast. It is not unlikely that many who have left southern cotton fields, turpentine swamps, and other sections will return after a more or less brief period in the North with that homing instinct so characteristic of people whose educational advantages had been limited. The high death rate among Negroes in the North, the discrimination against them in certain localities, the serious problems of housing, the heavy percentage of crime as compared with their record in the South are well understood. It is estimated on good authority that at least one million Negroes have migrated to industrial centers in the North, while probably an even larger number have left their tenant farms and settled in urban communities within the South. This migration has favorably affected the Negroes' status in the South. Agriculture and industries need his labor. Homes need his faithful service. The eloquent southern orator who used to preach all over the land twenty-five years ago that the Negro must be segregated into some one section, or deported to Liberia, would find cold welcome today.

On the other hand, the restriction of foreign emigration leaves northern industries in normal times bidding strongly for that group of laborers popularly called "unskilled," and the Negro from the South is now almost the only source supplying this demand. In New York he has been admitted into unions of the building trades.

The development of farm colonies in various southern sections is progressing rapidly. The efforts of the J. C. Penney Foundation in northern Florida, of the Railway Brotherhood at Venice, Florida, and numbers of poultry and dairy enterprises throughout that newly awakened state are notable examples. If these enterprises are conducted on a sound financial basis and with due justice to those who are induced to invest, the possibilities of offering real living conditions to rural communities is almost unlimited. At present a popular method of developing these farm colonies is to offer for sale small tracts of five or ten acres with certain equipment and buildings, providing for long time payments and reasonable interest rates so as to enable the colonist to meet his obligations out of the fruits of his industry. Such enterprises are also developing rapidly in Georgia, the Carolinas, southern Alabama, and in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas.

One of the factors which has delayed the development of agricultural wealth in the South has been the practical conservatism of the southern farmers, whether owner or tenant. The traditional attitude that tools and methods good enough for their grandfathers are good enough for them is an attitude not confined to the South, but for many years prominent here. This disposition has been aggravated in the past generation by the extreme poverty to which reference has already been made, involving nearly all agricultural labor in a burden of debt so heavy that but a small percentage were ever able to liquidate. Farmers may still be found in certain sections using old fashioned tools, cutting their small fields of grain with a sickle, or if a grain cradle is used, taking the grain off the forks with the hand between stokes, plowing with antiquated plows and emaciated mules, feeding and caring for shadow cattle afflicted with tick fever to such an extent that every night of the year a long train of milk cars leaves southern Wisconsin for Miami, Florida. But all this is rapidly changing because of the infusion of new blood and new ideas throughout the South. Not that the farmers of the North are uniformly more enterprising or more intelligent than the farmers of the South, but the coming of new ideas is always recognized as one of the chief advantages of social intercourse, and many almost revolutionary changes have characterized agricultural enterprises as a result of the moving to the South of large numbers of northern and western farmers.

It may be mentioned here that the tremendous wave of migration which swept through Florida three or four years ago, threatening for a time nearly to depopulate some of the southern states farther north, as might have been anticipated, has not resulted in such permanent loss as was then feared. The human waves have broken and dashed back toward the North, but many of these

families who came from rigorous northern climes only to find themselves unable to adjust to Florida conditions have started back, settling in Georgia to raise pecans, in the Carolinas to raise cotton, or farther north through Tennessee and Virginia and Missouri to build up farms that had run down, and have established themselves in these communities.

It is impossible to draw a picture of the new industrial South with any satisfactory completeness, but there are certain human aspects that may be assumed to be of more specific interest in this discussion. The fact that labor conditions in the South are still inferior to those of other sections cannot be denied. In fact, advertising officials for southern industrial centers make it a point to appeal to northern capital on the ground that labor is cheap and wages are lower. It is significant that the most extensive industrial development in the South is in the textile industry; and everyone who knows the history of the textile industry anywhere knows that this is the very branch in factory industry in which wages are the lowest, and, traditionally, the working day the longest.

As to wages in some of the southern states in the cotton industry as compared with northern mills, I quote from Elizabeth Otey, of Virginia:

In the cotton mills the average full time earnings for men in the five southern states, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, range from \$14.55 a week to \$18.33 a week, and for women from \$11.43 to \$14.46; in four New England textile states, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Maine, wages for men are from \$22.05 to \$25.27 a week, and for women from \$17.59 to \$20.90.

But this is not the only important difference. For this inferior wage the southern textile worker is compelled to do a considerably greater amount of work. As to the mills themselves, the eleven hour day shift and twelve hour night shift are common when the demands of the market justify this. This gives an advantage to the southern manufacturer, for while northern competitors are running their mills on an eight hour day, he has an advantage of overhead by the addition of three or four hours or sometimes the entire shift in his own mills. In 1924 and 1925, for example, the average northern spindle ran 1,719 hours, while the average southern spindle ran 3,205 hours. It has been recently estimated that in 1925 and 1926 the northern spindles ran only 54 per cent as long as the southern spindles. As to the hours of the individual workers, North Carolina and Georgia have a sixty-hour work week, South Carolina a fifty-five hour week, and in Alabama there is no limit. All the southern states allow night work for women. The social effects of such industrial standards are obvious. Much has been said about the exploitation of children in southern cotton mills, but a point should be emphasized which the National Child Labor Committee has repeatedly attempted to emphasize. The reluctance of southern industries to subject themselves to a restriction of child labor has been due largely to two considerations: first, the effect of the presence of these children on the general wage scale, rather than the actual saving in wages in the labor

of the children themselves; and second, the opposition to any legal supervision which might ultimately lead to the organization of their own employees.

That the standards of regulation of child labor are below the general level of the country in these southeastern industrial states is well known. While New York forbids the employment of all children under fourteen, requires school attendance for 9½ months, and limits the labor of children under 16 to 44 hours a week, Georgia does not forbid employment under fourteen except in certain occupations, does not require a compulsory attendance above the seventh grade, and even makes exemptions to this low standard, provides a 6 months' school year, and permits the employment of children for 10 hours a day or 60 hours a week. While Massachusetts requires school attendance for at least 8 months in the elementary, and 9 months in the high school, grades, forbids employment under sixteen unless the sixth grade has been passed, and limits the hours to 8 a day and 48 a week, South Carolina permits children under 14 to work in factories except in larger cities, requires 4 months' school attendance for children between eight and fourteen, with exceptions for poverty, limits the hours to 10 a day and 55 a week, with 12 hour day and 60 hour week for all females. Other comparisons might be made, but this will suffice to indicate a wide differential in standards.

In the matter of workmen's compensation for accidents, gratifying progress has been made in recent years, but many of our southern states still lag. Five states in the South, according to a recent editorial in the *Birmingham News*, still remain without the pale of accident compensation laws. This editorial says of these states that they deserve a "scathing rebuke." "Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North and South Carolina are the laggard states that have not kept step with 43 other American states in fixing damages for deaths and injuries for workers in industry."

Perhaps the most encouraging and gratifying aspect of the whole situation in the new industrial South is the present disposition toward a searching criticism of our own defects, a tendency to study the achievements of other and older industrial communities, and a determination to profit by the experience of those who have tried out various methods of social control. Dr. Wilson Gee, of the University of Virginia, says:

There is no doubt in the world but that the South will become increasingly important as an industrial area of the United States. The practical question before us is whether study and counsel cannot be given to the trends in this process so that the proper principles can be applied in a way that we shall avoid as far as possible the evils manifested in New England and the older industrial areas of this and other countries. If the intelligence and foresight of all interested parties, capitalists, labor leaders, statesmen, newspaper editors, college professors—in fact, everyone who has a duty to be interested in—is enlisted, we can make the industrial development of the South one of the most ideal that has ever taken place in the civilization of the world. Shall we neglect so great an opportunity and responsibility?"

To which we may add, in closing, the striking statement of Dr. Broadus Mitchell, himself a southerner and proud of it:

There can be no doubt that in the current phase the southern factory operative, certainly in our typical industry, is exploited. He is fit for a wider diversity of employments, he merits greater leisure and self direction, requires to be included in social counsels, and will repay a high standard of life. I believe that, however behindhand, we are now at the threshold of the second state of our industrial revolution, which shall realize these objects and bring us abreast of the times. I am certain of the satisfactory outcome. Industrialism has supplied the living spark of progress in the South. We must be careful that while we feed and encourage it, we also control it, keeping the flame to a grateful flow, not letting it leap up into a consuming fire.

ECONOMIC STABILIZATION OF THE FAMILY

THE STANDARD OF LIVING

Harry L. Lurie, Jewish Social Service Bureau, Chicago

An analysis of the problems of poverty from the aspect of standards of living and sources of income is a means of enlightenment to the social worker interested in the major factors of family maladjustment. The value of such an approach lies in the fact that we are thus able to relate the inadequacies of the individual case against the larger background of the industrial and economic organization of our communities. If we approach each family situation from the point of view of the standard of living which it is able to maintain (and I mean by standard of living the total of activities, material, cultural, and aesthetic), it becomes necessary for us to consider the family in terms of money received and spent. This should lead us to a consideration of the factors which hinder or promote the obtaining of necessary income. We inevitably come by such processes of thought to a consideration of income and standards of living as affected by the ability of the economic organization to supply wants, and to the pecuniary culture of the group which determines the various planes of living to be found in our communities.

The development of the programs of family and relief agencies dealing with problems of poverty and dependency has been accompanied by a trend of interest of this type. Out of the requirements of an organized service to distressed families there has emerged gradually a budgetary basis for measuring needs and for the granting of relief. Such family budgets prescribe a definite standard of living for dependent families, and are founded upon a realization that economic welfare rests upon an irreducible minimum of income.

The social agency attempts to secure such standards in one of two general ways: first, by the use of case work methods whose aim is enlarging the abilities of the family, creating for it opportunities not immediately apparent, and by stimulating initiative toward the discovery of unrealized opportunities so that

the family may obtain for itself a standard of living equal, at least, to the minimum considered essential by the social agency; second, by the granting of relief allowances if the handicapping conditions in the individual family lie either in its inherent structure as an economic unit, or in the lack of abilities of the responsible members, or in the absence of opportunities which the community affords for normal maintenance of economic life. The Chicago Standard Budget for Dependent Families, evolved largely through the efforts of Miss Florence Nesbitt and her coworkers, interprets the standard as follows:

The minimum normal standard must furnish everything necessary for a manner of living that will make possible a high standard of physical, mental, and moral health and efficiency for adults, the full physical and mental growth and development of children, and provision for their moral welfare.

It is common experience that this standard the social agencies of the community do not undertake to secure for the general population through prevailing sources of relief. In general only such families are assisted with continued relief as are within the limits of the class whose state of dependency is accepted as justification for organized assistance. This group of acceptable dependents constitutes but a fraction of the population handicapped by low standards of living. A much larger number outside of this group, consisting of normal families with potential wage earners, necessarily falls outside of the class acceptable as dependents of organized relief, although it is from this group that the bulk of the dependent families of the relief agencies are subsequently recruited.

The relation of standards of living to this larger group, as well as to the families within the class of dependents of relief agencies, may be considered from three main aspects: first, the nature of the budgets employed in relation to general standards and planes of living; second, a comparison of dependency standards with the incomes of wage earning groups; third, the major problems of the families whose incomes approach the standard set for dependent families.

The standard budget used combines the experiences of social agencies in relation to the domestic economy of dependent families, with some expert knowledge developed through scientific studies. This can be illustrated by reference to the individual items composing the budget. For example, the estimate for food is based upon nutrition studies interpreted in terms of food habits. While other items, clothing, household supplies, etc., are on a less scientific basis, the underlying principle is the same for all items, an attempt to translate into terms of minimum costs the various elements of a family's needs and services. Allowances made for miscellaneous expenses which it is presumed will be used for the care of health, for newspapers, school supplies, and recreation are extremely meager.

In addition to primary physiological considerations, the budgetary items must also be related to the prevailing habits and expenditures of the general

population. These cannot be understood apart from the entire pecuniary culture complex of American life. Theoretically, a simple type of life is possible, simpler perhaps than that prevailing in the ordinary working class family, but practically, one cannot expect that the economic habits of the wage earning groups would reflect a culture differing radically from that of the more favored economic classes. The highly effective system of production in the United States makes possible for many a varied and abundant livelihood. The rate of expenditures of the so called well to do and middle classes illustrates standards of comfort which have become synonymous with the American standard of living. No matter what our viewpoint may be with regard to the ultimate human value of the American comfort standard, we must expect the population at large to respond to similar economic ideals. Under the existing circumstances, therefore, we must for all practical purposes consider the minimum standard for dependent families as an absolute minimum requirement. The standard used, it should be noted, presupposes most careful planning and utilization of allowed income.

The family welfare agencies of the Chicago Council of Social Agencies believe that the present dependency budget is a minimum and is based upon expert knowledge and organized experience. With a recent upward revision made necessary largely by increased knowledge in dietetics, its relation to prevailing wages began to be questioned. It appeared that the use of this budget would insure a standard of living higher for dependent families than for some of the so called independent. Accepting this challenge, a number of the family agencies of the Chicago group were instrumental in organizing a study of the standard of living of unskilled laborers in order to determine, first, the relation of the dependency standard to the standard of living enjoyed by the laboring groups, and second, to determine, if possible, the validity of the various items on the dependency budget as evidenced by actual standards of expenditures among "independent families." The study was made by the late Miss Leila Houghteling, under the auspices of the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago and the Council of Social Agencies. The cooperation of the employers of the low paid earning groups was secured, and the results of this careful study may be accepted as authoritative. It may be considered as a valuable current contribution to previous undertakings in this field of study.

Eleven cooperating firms supplied a total of 2,354 names of wage earners on their pay rolls who had been employed during the previous year and who were married and had at least one dependent child in the home. There was considerable question as to what constituted an unskilled wage earner, and the classification finally adopted included wage earners of various degrees of skill and ability who were receiving the lower wage rates in the industries studied. From this group 439 schedules were obtained, and from other sources, 37 additional schedules. The information secured on the length of time during which

these wage earners were previously employed by the industries indicated that this was a relatively stable group of workers, and not composed of transient laborers, who are supposedly at the lower end of the income scale. It is safe to assume that this group is a sample of a larger section of the wage earning population and that the conditions found in the study are typical of the standard of living of the unskilled and of many of the semiskilled laborers' families in Chicago. The earnings of the heads of families in the study were obtained from the actual payrolls, and in this respect the study differs from many other standard of living studies in which the information regarding earnings is obtained from the family itself. Using the data thus secured, the income from earnings was compared with the theoretical budget estimate based upon the Chicago standard for dependent families. We quote the conclusions reached on this point by the study:

When a comparison was made between the earnings of the chief wage earners and the budget estimates, it was found that in more than two-thirds of the families these earnings were insufficient to provide a standard of living equal to that provided by the Chicago Budget. This fact is especially significant when it is recalled that this group of laborers was unusually well situated, as they had been regularly employed throughout the year 1924, and had, for the most part, been in the employ of their firms for several years.

The great importance of the other sources of income, therefore, became evident; and it was not surprising to find that there were other sources of income in 355 families. These sources were found to include the earnings of the wives and children; payments from boarders and lodgers; income from property, benefits, borrowed money; and gifts from friends and relatives. . . . The fact that it was necessary in 108 families for the mothers to work—and to work at jobs of a particularly arduous type—means undoubtedly a lowering of the standard of living in those families and the consequent sacrifice of the welfare of the dependent children in the families. . . .

When all these sources of income had been included it was found that just over one-half of the total number of families were able to maintain a standard equal to or above the estimated budget. Since this was the case, it became necessary to learn what standard the group as a whole was maintaining in order to answer the question as to whether this budget estimate was a reasonable one. Analysis of the general living conditions of the whole group and of the food consumed by a smaller number of families has shown quite clearly that the families living on a lower standard than that provided by the budget estimate are living under conditions which fail utterly to provide a standard of living that will make possible a high standard of physical, mental, and moral health and efficiency for adults, the full physical and mental growth and development of children, and make provision for their moral welfare. Further emphasis is given to this conclusion by the discovery that a relatively large number of families—134 during the year 1924—found it necessary to supplement their incomes by making use of the free services provided by social agencies.

The published study of this investigation offers complete evidence of the validity of the conclusions reached by Dr. Houghteling. Tabulation of the details gives a striking picture, not alone of low incomes, but of substandard daily life in terms of poor diets, poor housing, working mothers, and general household inadequacies.

As was to be expected, considerable variation was found in the use of

available income. Perhaps with a group living under different influences affecting habits of expenditures, another result might have been found. The consumer of economic goods is affected by current values, regardless of the amount of income. Intelligent knowledge based upon a proper education, the development of an ability to discriminate between values in goods purchased, and the creation of radically different standards of taste might affect the picture which the investigators found. Studies have recently been made which indicate the small proportion of actual value which the consumer receives for his dollar. A highly effective economic society functioning in a cooperative spirit might increase the real value of the present wage level so that a more adequate and satisfactory economic life would be possible. But unless there is a radical transformation of economic society in this direction, it is the income, rather than the expenditures, which is at fault. Under the present system of values the income of the unskilled and semiskilled laboring groups is not an adequate family wage, and the essential minimum of living found necessary by social agencies for dependent families cannot be attained by them in many instances.

Many remedies have been suggested for the problem which is here presented. There is first a program of radical transformation in fashions and tastes, together with a centralized control of production and distribution so that the inefficiencies of production, of advertising, of sales promotion, and of the creation of a false psychology of purchasing could be eliminated and the individual could obtain greater value for the dollar in food, clothing, housing, and other essentials. Secondly, general wage increase, which, considering the tremendous productive capacity of this country, seems an attainable goal. We cannot enter here into the methods which have been suggested whereby a higher wage level could be brought about. Even from the ranks of those who control wage politics we are beginning to hear expressions of a newer economic philosophy indicating that a high wage level is essential to the continuance of the present highly organized system of effective production. There is, thirdly, a type of remedy involved in proposals for family allowances and family subsidies added to a basic wage policy. It is not the function of this paper to discuss economic reform in general. What we wish to point out is that while this problem is the most baffling of all social issues, it is not entirely outside the possibilities of social control, and is therefore one to engage the attention of social workers.

We have been concerned so far in this discussion with the regularly employed, low wage earning groups. It is not the normal family in general that the social agency serves. We deal largely with the disorganized families of that group. Gradually, with the growth of relief methods and policies in this country, we are beginning to improve the standards of dealing with dependent children separated from their families, with families of widows, fatherless, and incapacitated wage earners, and, to a lesser extent, with the chronically incapacitated heads of families and the aged and unemployable groups. To meet

the costs of relief presented by these groups taxes to the utmost the resources of present private and public sources of aid, and, so far as the aged group is concerned, and possibly with other dependent groups, present community provisions for their care do not seem adequate. There are, in addition, other large groups of temporarily dependent individuals and families which the social agencies are called upon to serve. Unemployed wage earners constitute a large group which periodically swamps the resources of social agencies. The temporarily disabled is another group with lesser periodic variation in volume. Usually the policy of relief agencies involves the granting of service but not of relief before total destitution has been reached. Such a policy, while it has many drawbacks when we are dealing with a long term dependency such as widowhood, becomes totally unsatisfactory as a method for sustaining the standard of living of wage earning families meeting economic crises and stoppage or serious reduction of income. A policy of relief only after destitution means the draining of resources and savings and the need for adjustment to a lessened and often inadequate standard of living while the emergency persists. As family agencies we cannot say that we are meeting these problems when we employ case work methods and a policy of relief at destitution. With such policies we have no right to accept responsibility for dealing with the unemployed and with families whose wage earners are intermittently disabled by ill health. To meet such occasional crises in the lives of wage earners' families already subsisting on low standards requires a general social provision beyond the present functions of public and private relief organizations. Families of this type require an assured, continuous, and sustained income, and an effective social solution of these problems must cover such needs.

To sum up: first, social agencies have developed a minimum standard of living as a basis for measuring relief; second, this minimum standard is likely to be higher than that enjoyed by many families of the regularly employed unskilled and semiskilled wage earners; third, a study of the standard of living of wage earners in Chicago indicates that their living standard is below the minimum in important respects; fourth, although relief agencies as at present constituted meet the problem by increasing the opportunities of individuals, they can only successfully accomplish this in a small proportion of cases; fifth, families are accepted as dependents by relief agencies for causes involving more or less permanent dependency, such as dependent children, families of widows, etc.; sixth, many of the chronically dependent families and individuals are not adequately provided for by existing arrangements, for example, the aged; seventh, other large groups in the community including normal families living on low wages, those temporarily unemployed or in ill health, come within the field of the social agency, if at all, only when the final point of destitution has been reached; eighth, these are not the groups whose welfare can be assured solely by case work methods added to a policy of relief based upon destitution; ninth, the organized community should find other methods of aiding

such families during times of crises and of assuring to them a continuous, uninterrupted income which would make possible a satisfactory standard of living.

It is the opinion of the writer of this paper that the highly developed industrial and economic organization of this country can produce a standard of living for all greater than the inadequate minimum now afforded to large sections of the population.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION AND THE FAMILY

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The evolution of economic and social forces is profoundly affecting the family as the unit of our American civilization. As social workers we often overlook the effects of many of the changes which are being brought about by such forces. No single force, for example, has operated to affect more profoundly social work as a whole and the problems which it has to wrestle with than the change in the standard of living which has been brought about in the first quarter of the twentieth century through a combination of economic factors. The tendency during this period for wages to rise more rapidly than the cost of living has not only improved the general comfort and well being of the American family but it has definitely improved its health, extended the range of the education of its children, decreased the volume of death of its wage earners, especially during the period in which there are children under working age, decreased the volume of poverty, and greatly increased the working social efficiency of the family as a social and economic unit. There are many other important social and economic forces contributing to this result.

Workmen's compensation a recent social force.—This discussion proposes to deal with one of these important economic and social forces, the influence of workmen's compensation upon the family. This is distinctly a recent force, and yet a very profound one so far as its influence on family life is concerned. The benign results of workmen's compensation have all developed within the last two decades. Although the changes in family life brought about by this have been both profound and rapid, nevertheless we are likely to overlook the full significance of what has taken place. A comparison of existing facts with those prevailing before 1914 is helpful in the realization of the part played at present by compensation in the family life of our country.

Development of workmen's compensation.—In 1908 a Federal Compensation Act was passed. The first state compensation law was that of the state of New York, which was passed in 1910, and subsequently declared unconstitutional. This was followed by a constitutional amendment making possible new legislation, which finally became effective in 1914. Meantime several other important states had enacted compensation acts, and other states followed rap-

idly after 1914. As a result there were in 1927 compensation acts in forty-three states and three territories and, in addition, two federal compensation acts applying to the civilian employees of the federal government including the Panama Canal, the Panama Railroad Company, the Alaska Engineering Commission, and longshoremen and harbor workers. Only five states are now without such acts: Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina. In two decades this movement has swept over the country until now nearly all of the population of the United States and its territories are protected by some form of compensation acts.

Approximate amount of compensation paid.—It is impossible to speak with full and complete authority with regard to the total amount of compensation paid to individuals, but in New York State alone, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926, there was a total of approximately \$29,000,000 paid out in compensation, exclusive of medical benefits. The inclusion of these would bring the amount to more than \$35,000,000. In thirty states for which information is easily available for the last fiscal year more than \$130,000,000 was paid out in compensation to injured workmen or their families. In some of these states the figures which were tabulated in securing this information included medical service; in others these were not included; and in still others no information was available as to whether they were included or excluded. The total amount, therefore, should not be taken literally, and is given only to convey some approximate picture of the volume. Thirteen states are not included in this total, but for the most part they are not important industrial states. In addition to the \$130,000,000 compensation paid out in these thirty states, the United States Employees' Compensation Act paid out over \$2,500,000 in 1927, in addition to about \$500,000 of medical benefits. The Public Health Service and the war and navy departments are giving medical treatment in excess of \$1,000,000 a year. It is probably safe to estimate therefore that somewhere between \$135,000,000 and \$150,000,000 are paid out to injured employees and their families in the various states and territories of the United States.

From a social point of view we may say, therefore, that there is now approximately \$150,000,000 expended annually in the maintenance of family units as a result of laws which did not exist previous to 1908. This is probably a greater amount of money than is expended for relief to families by all of the public and private family welfare agencies combined in the country, although we have no adequate data available to fully prove this. As a bit of evidence pointing in this direction, however, facts seem to indicate that about \$7,000,000 were expended for relief of families in the city of New York by public and voluntary agencies during the year of 1927. During this same period approximately one-half of the total of \$29,000,000 compensation awarded in New York State for deaths or injuries, exclusive of medical benefits, was awarded to families residing in New York City to compensate them for accidents incurred by

wage earners in these families. This is more than twice the amount expended for all relief purposes.

We have no means of knowing whether this ratio prevails for the country as a whole, but let us draw also upon the following facts relating to allowances to mothers of dependent children. The mothers' allowance movement began at almost the same time as did the workmen's compensation movement. Illinois passed the first statewide law for mothers' allowances in 1911, although allowances had been granted by juvenile courts of several California counties as early as 1906. Up to the present mothers' allowance laws have been adopted in forty-four states and the District of Columbia and Hawaii.

In a recent bulletin of the federal Children's Bureau, estimates from data supplied by state officials show that the amount of children's allowances granted in 1926 in twenty-two states and the District of Columbia with a total population of over 60,000,000 people was approximately \$18,600,000. These twenty-two states include those which have acted most vigorously in providing allowances and those from which the data is most easily procurable. The amount expended in the remaining states, although not definitely known, would certainly not exceed \$12,000,000, making a possible total for all of the states somewhere near \$30,000,000 annually.

While neither this figure nor the total of \$150,000,000 referred to before is anything more than an approximate estimate of the amount expended annually in families for allowances and as compensation for accidents, it is believed that they are sufficiently valid to be used to give an approximate picture, indicating that somewhere near five times as much money is annually available for families from workmen's compensation acts as is available to families from the popular mothers' allowance act which has swept over the country during the same period. Statements like these enable us to vision more clearly what the development of workmen's compensation for the past two decades has meant to family welfare.

What happened previous to 1908.—An examination of the records of public and private relief agencies previous to 1908 would disclose evidence of an attempt here and there to wrestle with the unfortunate result of industrial accidents. Investigation has disclosed that actions brought by individuals through the courts to recover damages resulted in more or less complete failure so far as the recovery of any considerable amount of money was concerned. Relief of such family situations by either voluntary associations or government agencies was scattering and totally inadequate. The fact stands out baldly therefore that but little was done either through the courts or by welfare agencies to preserve family units that were either completely crushed or seriously handicapped by industrial accidents, resulting in either death or permanent or temporary disability of wage earners.

Who receives compensation.—The great bulk of compensation goes to moderate wage earners. This is illustrated by the fact that 59,917 employees

out of a total of 99,673 employees receiving compensation in New York State in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926, received wages of \$30.49 or less per week. Thus about 60 per cent of all compensation cases were receiving wages of less than \$30.50 a week before their injury. Only 8,592 out of this total of 99,673 received more than \$50.50 per week, or less than 10 per cent. It is precisely in this low income range of families that the greatest social damage is done when the income of the breadwinner is either permanently or temporarily interfered with. Death or permanent or even partial disability in such families almost inevitably means wreckage or serious disarrangement of the family unit. That some 100,000 families are prevented from enduring such serious hardship in the state of New York each year is a fact the social significance of which for family life cannot easily be overstated.

When we examine the age distribution of these 99,673 cases we find that 67 per cent of 89,000, for which this information was available, were between the ages of twenty-one and fifty, or between the ages which are of the greatest significance as wage earners in family economic units. Thus both from the point of view of amount of wages earned and the age of persons compensated we find the facts pointing to the maximum influence upon family life.

Again, if we examine the facts with regard to the seriousness of the accidents incurred, we find that in the state of New York nearly one-quarter of the compensation paid is paid for accidents resulting in death or the permanent removal of the wage earner from the family unit. Fortunately in New York State (and similar provisions are found in many states) the amount of the award in cases of death is directly related to the family situation, the number of dependents, etc. It includes, first of all, reasonable funeral expenses not to exceed \$200. If there be a surviving wife and no children under eighteen years of age, the wife receives "30 per cent of the average wages of the deceased during her widowhood, with two years' compensation in one sum upon remarriage." If there be a surviving child or children under the age of eighteen years, 10 per cent of wages is allowed in addition for each such child until it reaches the age of eighteen years, and in case the surviving wife dies or remarries, the compensation to such child or children is increased to 15 per cent. Thus the compensation itself is directly related to the family situation, the number of dependents, etc. In short, workmen's compensation is recognized as a family welfare provision, related closely to the needs of the surviving family.

I have pointed out that approximately one-fourth, 23.7 per cent to be accurate, of the total funds awarded as compensation are, in New York State, awarded because of death. Nearly one-half of the total awards, or 47.8 per cent, are allowed for permanent disabilities; in other words, for disability that permanently handicaps the wage earner.

Temporary disabilities account for a little more than one-quarter of such awards. These temporary disabilities are not compensable until after the lapse of one week, and the great bulk of such disabilities are compensable for periods

of less than ten weeks. There are, however, a very appreciable number of these disabilities that run for much longer periods of time, and the total amount of money paid out in compensation for the longer periods is considerable. Even in the case of temporary disabilities the effect of compensation upon the family life is considerable. To a family of modest income complete loss of wages even for a temporary period, plus medical and hospital bills, is a serious blow. Under compensation legislation the family is obliged to carry its share of the burden through partial loss of wages, but the share is not in most cases insupportable.

Significance of this for families.—I have tried in a few bold strokes to give some picture of what the development of workmen's compensation has meant for families in terms of number of families affected, the amount of money available, the age of persons receiving compensation, etc. The human side of this picture, however, is not to be had from statistical statements. One needs to look intimately into the lives of the 100,000 families affected by workmen's compensation in a state like New York each year in order to appreciate more fully the human aspects of the problem. Here one would find the results expressed in terms of better health, not only because of hospital and medical care given to the injured person, but because of the fact that there is less serious disarrangement of the family life; there is less actual want following in the wake of injury. This in turn expresses itself in better health of children in such families, less interference with their proper education, and the prevention of the breakdown of mothers and fathers through the strain and worry of serious loss of income. Not only are we preserving 100,000 family units annually from results varying all the way from relatively minor disturbances through temporary accidents to the serious disasters inevitably following death or permanent disability, but we are also adding greatly to the comfort and value of the remainder of the lives of the individuals in these families. The social results of workmen's compensation in families are measured in terms of making possible a more normal continuation of existing family standards of living. Better health, more vigorous children, better education, better citizens are results that are not easily measured by statistical yardsticks.

Is this paternalism?—The first efforts to secure compensation were met with the statement that this was a paternalistic or socialistic movement, and that it would have dire results in undermining the moral stability of families benefiting from it. This argument was probably never very seriously advanced. It overlooked the fact that the results of failure to meet the problem in this way not only resulted in breaking down the economic unit of the family but required a still more objectionable and unsatisfactory form of paternalism to care for the family disasters flowing from industrial accidents by making necessary in many cases institutional care or relief of such families as paupers. The economic loss to the state because of the breakdown of such family units was undoubtedly greater in the long run than the present cost of preventing

such breakdown. As for the morale of such families, there is nothing that more completely breaks down family morale than the serious and permanent discouragements that come from inability of the family to secure an income adequate to maintain a decent standard of living. The protection of the economic and social unit of the family through suitable compensation awards, instead of proving to be paternalistic and undermining family initiative and morale, is proving itself to be a wise extension of the power of the state to protect its families from economic disaster and make them again, at an early date, independent productive family units.

Has the cost been prohibitive?—Those of us who watched the efforts to secure workmen's compensation in New York State are familiar with the fact that there were many warnings that business would be driven from the state, that the cost of manufactured articles would be so increased that consumption would be decreased, and that many other dire economic results would flow from the adoption of workmen's compensation. None of these serious predictions have followed to any appreciable degree. The cost of workmen's compensation is a considerable item when examined by itself alone; when examined, however, in the light of the total value of production, it is seen at once that it is inconsiderable. A recent publication of the National Industrial Conference Board would seem to indicate that the various industries of the state of New York pay from 3 mills to $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents for each dollar paid out in wages to cover the item of workmen's compensation. From the point of view of the consumer, this is more easily visioned by the fact that it is estimated that workmen's compensation costs from 1 mill to 6 mills for every dollar of sales value. In the boot and shoe industry, this is estimated at 2 mills, and this would mean, from the point of view of the consumer buying shoes, that he would have to pay 1 cent for every five dollars' worth of shoe value purchased. Similarly, in manufactured food products it is estimated that the same amount would be added. In textile products, one-half of this amount, or one cent in every ten dollars' worth of purchases bought, would be necessary. In lumber and mill products and in metal working products 6 mills would be required for every dollar of product purchased, or 3 cents for every five dollars' worth. A person building a home, for example, would have to add three-fifths of a cent to every dollar's worth of new window sashes or other mill work purchased.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to argue in the light of these facts that the expense involved in adequate workmen's compensation is incommensurate with the important family and social results secured. One or two cents added to the retail value of a pair of shoes to cover this item surely will not seriously interfere with the budgets of family groups. At a very moderate price, in almost unappreciable amounts, we have conserved a volume of family life that is an asset to the state out of all proportion to the expenditure made. This argument might be made on a purely economic basis, but when one adds to the argument the humanitarian one of the saving in health, happiness, comfort, and general

welfare of families, the argument for this particular form of family welfare becomes irresistible.

Further steps.—While we may be very gratified with the rapid extension of workmen's compensation acts, we cannot well be satisfied until every state in the union has such acts. Five such states, I have already indicated, have not taken the official step: Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina.

There is a wide variation, also, in the provisions made by the acts of various states. If you are killed in industry in New York you are allowed \$200 for your funeral expenses, but if you are killed across the line in Connecticut you are allowed but \$100; and if you happen to be killed in Kentucky you are allowed but \$75. If a man is killed in New York the wife receives 30 per cent of the average wages of the deceased during her widowhood, and children under eighteen receive in addition 10 per cent of the wages until they are the age of eighteen years. But the maximum allowed in California is \$12 weekly. And so one might cite from the many provisions in the laws of the various states greatly differing provisions for compensating employees for the same or similar injuries.

There is an evident tendency working gradually toward removal of the more fundamental differences in the legislative provision of various states. This process should be speeded up until the more liberal provisions in such states as New York, which is one of the most liberal states dealing with this problem, are in essence adopted in every state and territory in the union. It is inequitable, for example, that the citizens of North Carolina should not have the same or similar protection in law from accidents sustained in the course of their employment as are available to the citizens of Tennessee; and the citizens of Tennessee should have as enlightened provisions for their protection as should the citizens of any other state.

The American Association for Labor Legislation has, after careful consideration, promulgated standards for workmen's compensation that they urge as suitable for inclusion in all legislation. These standards are, in the main, adopted in the legislation of the more advanced states, and citizens of states that are not having the advantage of these standard provisions might well continue to call to the attention of the industrial and legislative authorities in their states the inequity of the situation under which they are laboring. It has been fully demonstrated that the cost of assuming the expenses of workmen's compensation is not so great as to make it a serious problem for the industry of any state adopting such measures. It would seem to follow that every state should have adequate and reasonably uniform compensation provision. It works well in practice, and the theory back of it is a sound one, namely, that compensation to injured workmen or their dependents because of shortened lives and maimed limbs is a just part of the expenses of production.

Prevention of accidents.—While pursuing the objective of securing more uniform provision in the various states, the workmen's compensation movement should turn more attention to the prevention of many accidents now occurring in industry. It is difficult to measure accurately the effect of the workmen's compensation movement on the prevention of accidents because during the time in which workmen's compensation has had its greatest development there has also been the greatest progress in mechanization of industry. We have more machinery per worker than formerly, and as a result of this we may naturally be expected to have more accidents.

So far as the family is concerned, no amount of compensation can be a satisfactory substitute for life or limb. While workmen's compensation has operated to greatly reduce the necessary suffering in families, it has not removed it. Our goal, so far as the family is concerned, should be the removal of industrial accidents through prevention, or at least the reduction of such accidents to the lowest possible minimum. Fortunately leaders in industry are realizing more and more that this is a loss which should be minimized. There is a tendency to approach it more and more from the point of view of an unnecessary waste in industry, and this is a most helpful approach. Whether this can best be accomplished through giving more adequate recognition to reduction of premiums of companies which have a favorable accident experience I do not pretend to know. Full and adequate analysis of current experience and continuous research and education of producers in the light of ascertained facts should in any event be carried on by each state and by voluntary agencies interested in the social welfare results of workmen's compensation. In these and in other ways a still more energetic campaign for the reduction of the present volume of industrial accidents must be waged. With its success would come another important advantage to family welfare. The great improvement in workmen's compensation for industrial accidents, so far as family welfare is concerned, is through the attainment of the goal of no accidents in industry which require compensation, or, if that be impossible, the fewest possible number of accidents which require compensation.

Social service bureau.—The state of New York has a social service bureau attached to the department of labor to which is referred selected cases in need of after care. At the last session of the legislature this bureau was strengthened so that it is now possible for it to have a small staff of trained social workers to deal with specially selected cases referred to it. This is an additional feature of workmen's compensation which might well be adopted by other states, as it enables the state to apply family case methods to a larger extent in dealing with family situations in which accidents have occurred. It emphasizes the relation of workmen's compensation to social service and to family welfare, and puts in the hands of those responsible for the administration of workmen's compensation a more effective social service tool for dealing with the social service problems which come to its attention.

Summary.—In this brief discussion we have emphasized the fact that workmen's compensation is a very recent development, and that during the period of two decades it has covered all of the United States and its territories with the exception of five states; that there is probably something like \$150,000,000 a year expended at the present time in compensation to families; that this is probably a greater amount of money than is expended for relief by all the public and voluntary agencies of the country; that workmen's compensation is a source of preserving family units and takes the place of little or nothing that preceded it; that the great bulk of workmen's compensation goes to employees receiving moderate wages; and that over two-thirds of the compensation goes to families in which the wage earner is between the age of twenty-one and fifty, the age of the greatest responsibility for dependent children; that compensation for accidents resulting in death, in New York, count for about one-fourth of the total funds necessary for compensation, permanent partial disability for nearly one-half, and temporary disability for nearly one-fourth.

All of this has important social significance for the welfare of families. It is not paternalistic and does not undermine the morale of families, but tends to build it up. The cost, from the point of view of the consumer, is slight. We now need to make the provisions of workmen's compensation acts more uniform in their application in different states, and place additional emphasis upon the importance of preventing accidents in order that we may not have to compensate for them. While workmen's compensation already is an enormous factor in the welfare of families, the reduction of present accidents to a minimum would be of even greater significance to society and to these families.

SOME CRITERIA OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

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Progress to most people is a subjective attitude, a matter of feeling or temperament. It is sometimes a matter of fear or the corollary to a sunny disposition. It may be associated with the rude shocks and bumps of a hard life. On the other hand, a life that has been free from sorrow and vicissitude and is not burdened with aggravating problems may develop an optimistic outlook for the whole course of human history. Again, one's social outlook, or one's feeling, is usually limited by the narrowness of one's social horizon and experience. Comparatively few people, after all, ever travel beyond the limits of their own state or country. They do not read the history of other parts of the world except superficially and in small scraps. Likewise some people become obsessed or hypnotized by dogma or hypothesis, say, for example, the Second Law of Thermodynamics, and that dogma they carry over from one field of knowledge to another.

The result is that we have at least two well-defined tendencies: To deny progress altogether, as Spengler does in his *Decline of the West* or as Henry Adams and Brooks Adams did because of their fear of entropy (that is, a universe which has come to a dead center), or as Bernard Shaw or Sorokin, or even Dean Inge, have done for various reasons. The opposite tendency is to take progress for granted as inevitable or automatic. To this group belong the easy evolutionary optimists or those who confuse change and progress or who take a very short range view of the ups and downs of human events.

Of course the scientist, and we hope the social worker, will take neither of these views, for neither of these extremes is based upon actual fact. I am perfectly willing to grant that it is possible to ask some very embarrassing questions. For example: Can you do anything for anybody? Don't the same old problems recur? Is there any development except in the individual soul? Has environment or social situation any effect? Can you prevent evil or suffering or poverty or vice? Isn't the present generation worse than the past? Was the world ever before in such turmoil and despair? Didn't the war definitely disprove the possibility of progress? Have we realized a single one of our war bred hopes? Isn't the claim of progress through education exploded? Is there any real increase in health? Do real wages rise and confer increased well being? Does machinery lighten toil any more than it did in 1850? Doesn't the family tend more and more to disintegrate? Is brute force any less of a factor than ever? Doesn't progress in science merely increase the possibility of destruction and exploitation? Can you "train" anybody to work either directly or indirectly for the common betterment? Isn't there less sense of social responsibility than ever? How can one speak of progress when human life is held so cheap? Isn't belief in progress just socialistic, materialistic, antireligious bluff? Since the whole problem of progress is biological and the race still goes to war, reproduces like rabbits, and fights shy of eugenics, is there anything ahead of us but progressive race degeneration? Doesn't the very fact that we are human and in this world prove that the world stays fixed and that if anything happens for the better it may be to ourselves personally and individually by getting out of the world? Supposing progress to be possible, isn't social work hindering it by interfering to soften the struggle for existence? Why not let the strugglers fight it out, let the fittest survive? Progress, if it means anything, means elimination of waste; isn't social work wasteful and therefore antiprogessive? Doesn't it contrive to spare and save the weak and handicapped as a burden to the rest of us? If charity were suddenly shut off, wouldn't everybody go to work and wouldn't this make prosperity and progress? If God meant the world to progress, would he have sent earthquakes upon Lisbon, Messina, California, or Japan?

Now, obviously, before we can answer these questions intelligently, and more especially before we can set up any criteria of social progress that will be objective or worth anything, we shall have to agree on certain "goods." We

shall have to agree that life on the whole is better than death, that health is better than sickness, that freedom is better than slavery, that control over fate is better than ignorance, that moderate provision for human need is better than chronic lack, that broad interests and moderate desires are better than narrowness and enforced asceticism, that there is a materialism of lack as well as of plenty. I am quite aware that to every one of these stipulations it is possible to make a cynical or facetious or even plausible answer. For example, that "where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise"; that there are many worse things than death, and that a healthy sinner may be worse off than a sick saint. Most of these answers are more plausible than convincing. They merely sidestep the issue.

But certain other stipulations are necessary. For example, we must realize that happiness can never be a real test of progress. There is no psychological mechanism delicate enough so far to measure happiness. In order to keep our discussion upon an objective plane, we can talk merely in terms of an increase or a decrease of the means to happiness. Moreover, we must agree that progress is a long range problem and that in statistical language it can be measured only by the long swing of secular trend and can never be judged by the little jiggings up and down of a line representing social movement. Progress, in other words, is more akin to what geographers think of as a continental drift or what astronomers call the drift of a whole solar system through space rather than like the day by day variations of temperature, employment, income, or morbidity rate.

What are these objective tests, then? After having examined several score of proposed tests and after several years of study I finally came to the conclusion that there were only four. These four tests are: first, population; second, health and longevity; third, wealth; and fourth, moral standards.

Modern science and modern industrialism have made it possible to increase the population of Europe threefold from 1750 to 1914. Other factors contributed, along with these two, to the astounding twenty-nine fold expansion of the population of the United States in the 138 years from the adoption of the United States Constitution to President Coolidge's announcement that he did not "choose to run." The scientific and industrial factors are even more clearly evident in Germany's addition of 50 per cent to her population between 1871 and 1910. Sanitary science and some improvement in agriculture have added one-third to the population of India in the last century. The colonial administration of Holland in Java has multiplied that population nine times since 1800. At the present rate of growth in Porto Rico its population, thanks to American administration, Ross thinks will double in 37 years. Japan has also nearly doubled her population since 1871. With our present means of sanitation, industry, and agriculture, and with our prevailing systems of promotional imperialism, religious taboos, political ambitions, and sentimentalism, it is possible to predict with Sir George Knibbs and Professor Ross that within the

lifetime of the average person born in the year of our Lord 1927 in the United States as many human beings may be added to the population of this globe as were produced in all the 1,500-2,000 generations of the history of the human race.

Is this increase of population a mark of progress? Does progress necessarily mean a large and growing population? As a test of man's ability to dominate and control his environment, population increase is of positive significance. Man, in the last three hundred years, has shown, as never before in the history of the race, an ability to master certain aspects of his physical environment and to permit a larger number of people to share the experiences of life. But, after all, does the largest total of well being consist in a small per capita well being multiplied into an indefinitely large number of units, or in a smaller number of units multiplied by a much larger per capita well being? We are commonly told that India would have been much better off without the additional one hundred millions added to her population through well meant western science. The supernumeraries have simply eaten up whatever gains in prosperity the Pax Britannica has brought to India. On the other hand, Mahatma Gandhi assured me that India is not overpopulated, and that even with present means of production India could support double her present population. I think Mr. Gandhi's reasoning is inaccurate. But at the same time I am convinced that it would be perfectly possible, by a better application of science to Indian agriculture, to double or treble the present income and standard of living of the Indian population.

What, then, shall we say is the test of a proper sized population? Real civilized men unite in agreeing that good populations rather than large populations, quality rather than gross quantity, are most likely to contribute to the world's progress; that the plea for large populations comes nearly always from fear, desire to exploit, superstition, or sentimentality. The objective marks of a potentially progressive population would include a high average expectation of life, freedom from death by need or misery, increasing fitness of the average individual, adequate numbers and capacity for the specialization of labor necessary to a highly developed system of production, a reasonable opportunity to attain property and comfort, steady improvement in the arts of life expressed in rising standards of living.

The second great objective test is health and longevity, or, as it is commonly phrased, lease of life. The Western world has been threatened by many critics with imminent bankruptcy because of industrialism, debilitation by wealth, and that great, inclusive, stalking disease known as civilization. Now, accepting frankly the charge that industrialism, the chase of wealth, worry, and certain so called diseases of civilization threaten us with degeneration, if not extinction, what are the actual facts? If you take the figures of comparative expectancy of life at birth, you will discover an increasing vitality on the part of populations throughout practically the whole of the western world.

During the last three centuries the life span has almost doubled in the West. The mean duration of life in France rose, in the nineteenth century, from 29 to 40 years. In the United States the lease of life has leaped from about 40 years in 1855 to nearly 60 years in 1927, that is, a gain of about 50 per cent in a little more than seventy years. England and Wales added nearly 20 per cent to the average lease of life in the sixty years from 1864 to 1912. Germany, within twenty-five years preceding the World War, added over ten years to the average longevity of her men, and over twelve years to her women.

We cannot, in this discussion, give any categorical answer to the question of how much this increased life span is due to medical or sanitary science; how much to industrial development; how much to a social surplus which makes possible better sanitation, housing, food, and recreation; how much to better thinking. These questions are of undoubted importance from the standpoint of social technique, but at this point our chief concern is about the problem of what to do with increased longevity and with the increasing numbers in the upper age groups. Perhaps you will say that this is borrowing trouble, just as you might if faced with the problem of what to do with the increased leisure that has come from the shorter working day. It is quite evident that increasing old age may present us with the problem of increasing dead weight, an increasing burden upon social resources, or it may offer the happier prospect of new industrial, social, and political resources. To Plato, Aristotle, and August Comte advanced years meant opportunity for participation in the art of governing; it meant leisure and wisdom for scientific politics. Perhaps we may be able to utilize to very practical purposes their vision. If so, it will be necessary to prepare people for this avocation. If it is true that industry still tends to scrap its older workers, it will be necessary to reeducate these workers displaced because of advanced years in new kinds of productive, gainful occupations. It will be necessary to train for new kinds of recreation, hobbies, and the like, which will prevent elderly people from becoming a nuisance to themselves and a problem to their friends and relatives. If education and industry in co-operation find a way by which these increasing years can be made approximately to pay for themselves, it should have the desirable effect of prolonging youth and permitting a better preparation for working life. While at the present stage of our development it is undoubtedly necessary to consider old age pensions, retiring allowances, sunset homes, and other measures to care for the aged, we shall have to go far beyond these more or less makeshift devices if the years which modern science has added to the human life span are to be counted as an asset instead of somewhat of a liability.

When we come to the third objective test, namely, wealth, we are plunged into a series of difficulties. What shall we say, for example, is increase in capital or real income? Shall we include productive equipment? And how can we be sure that official figures of national incomes represent tangible, consumable goods? When we say, for example, that the per capita wealth of the United

States increased from \$307.69 in 1850 to \$3,108 in 1920, what does that mean either to the country as a whole, or to your pocketbook, or to my standard of living? Or, if it is correct that the total current income of the people of the United States rose from about \$27,000,000,000 in 1909 to \$90,000,000,000 in 1927, what does that signify? The obvious answer is that per capita income increased from \$299 in 1909 to \$770 in 1927. But at once two objections crop out. A dollar is as variable as Illinois climate. But suppose we admit that and reduce these income figures to 1913 dollars. There is still a handsome showing of an increase from \$312 per capita in 1909 to \$455 estimated in 1926-27. But what do these \$455 in 1926-27 really cover? Is it true that on the average we are all now receiving 50 per cent more food, clothing, shelter, recreation, and other similar desirable "goods" than we were in 1909? Hardly. Because a considerable item in this estimated per capita income is increase in land values. We have no more actual acres of land or building plots than we did in 1909. We simply pay more for them.

We will strike somewhat nearer the center of the problem if we circumscribe the situation and consider the incomes of the gainfully employed. On this score there has been a striking apparent improvement, a jump from \$823 per capita in 1909 to \$1,186 in 1926, measured in terms of 1913 dollars. That is, in terms of money of constant purchasing value, the gainfully employed person in the United States received about one-fourth more in 1926 than in 1917, and about 44 per cent more than in 1909. During approximately the same period there has been a striking increase in the number of millionaires, an increase from 7,509 in 1914 to 29,897 in 1926. I shall not attempt to argue here the whole case for distribution of wealth, but shall only state the very obvious fact that the larger part of the income in these higher income levels is ploughed back into productive industry.

Perhaps the best measure of the real gain in average well being is the huge increase in savings deposits. These have more than doubled in the last ten years. There are now 48,000,000 such depositors and their total deposits bulk up to \$48,000,000,000. Another significant objective measure of comparative well being and of progress is income margins. For example, in a non-industrial country like India, with a huge population sponging up every slight increase in production, 90-95 per cent of the average worker's income must go for food. On the other hand, in the United States usually not more than 35-45 per cent of the worker's income is similarly applied. A larger proportion goes for shelter and clothing in the United States, due to differences in climate; nevertheless there is a huge margin in favor of the western worker, and this margin is to no small degree attributable to modern science applied to agriculture and industry, and at the same time explains why the West is "dynamic." This marginal difference is almost equally apparent if we compare the income of the western worker now with what it was, say, a century and a half ago. It is possible to attack this statement and to deny it. My answer is simply to appeal to the

inexpugnable fact that mortality has decreased and life has lengthened in the last century and a half, and the real explanation of these gains is surplus income, gains in real wages, created by improved productive technique.

Let me illustrate how this improved productive technique not only shortens working hours and in many ways lightens the actual muscular load of the average worker but has created real margins for him. For example, it is estimated that as compared with 1781 a man produces ten times as much iron in one working day, five times as much lumber, eight times as much coal, one hundred times as many nails, ten thousand times as much paper and grain; clothing and other commodities in almost the same increased proportion.

If we accept the sociological formula $\frac{R}{P} = S.L.$, in which R stands for total productive resources, P for population, and $S.L.$ for standard of living, we shall, I think, agree that there are only three possible ways of increasing $S.L.$ We can decrease the factor P by better internal distribution, by immigration, periodical pestilence, infanticide, parricide, or birth control. Or we may increase R by moving a whole population to richer territory by annexation, conquest, or colonization. Or we may increase R by applying science to the means of production. Now this latter alternative is one which modern industrial nations like the United States, England, and Japan are accepting. There is no question but that in the average distribution of actual consumable goods, well being has actually increased in recent times. You may deny that this is progress measured by a 100,000 year scale. The cynic may deny that it is progress so long as we still fail to reach an average age of a hundred years or still have ten times as many millionaires as we need. The pessimist may insist that whatever we have gained is at the expense of our fundamental natural resources and has consisted only in the degradation of cosmic energy. I shall not quarrel with these people about terminology. I am well content to think that there has been substantial improvement in the average well being of great masses of mankind if for no other reason than that improvement is the symbol of man's increasing control over his environment.

Must we stop here, however? The critic may admit that we have made thundering gains along material lines, but that we have made absolutely no moral progress. Now, I am one of those who believe that morality is not merely a subjective matter, but that it can be reduced to objective terms, and therefore am frankly of the opinion that moral progress is not only possible, but that we have actually made moral progress in the world within measurable times. I see five objective evidences: first, an increase in the accessibility of knowledge, as witnessed by a large growth in educational equipment, in libraries, and in such new movements as adult education. Let me here speak merely of libraries. While it is true that we still spend in the United States only about thirty-five cents a year per capita on public library service, and that there is still less than one book available per capita when all our libraries are

massed, remember that a generation ago only 2 per cent of the people of these United States had access to public libraries, but now 60 per cent are so favored.

Second, there has been a certain refinement in ethical concepts and standards. The very exigencies of modern social contact and communication have necessitated setting up new statutes, ordinances, and regulations which, in spite of some exhibitions of lawlessness, nevertheless seem to indicate an increasingly delicate perception of moral values and the necessity of heightened moral performance.

Third, that we have made moral progress is, I think, to be found also in some phases of our international relations. Nobody, I think, can read through the record, slight as it may seem, of the League of Nations without realizing that there has been a distinct development of moral appreciation. This is so apparent that it has inspired men like Johnston to recount the achievements of the various services of the League of Nations in his book, *International Social Progress*.

A fourth evidence appears in certain aspects of modern industrialism. Here I shall not attempt anything more than to cite two or three paragraphs from L. P. Jacks' delightful new book, *Constructive Citizenship*, which I recommend to everybody as a wholesome antidote to the despairing negativism of men like Veblen, Bertrand Russell, and, to a lesser degree, Hobson, Kallen, and Pound. Says Jacks:

History shows—and history has no deeper lesson to teach—that the institutions that last longest, that link human beings together in the most abiding and beneficent fellowship, are those that rest upon a *fiduciary basis*, those that embody a tradition of trustworthy service, those that gather to their service a continuous succession of honorable and loyal men. . . . No form of society . . . can flourish without some measure of good will in the members of it. . . .

. . . . With this marked dependence on good will for the maintenance of its life current, industrial society offers a large place for what I shall call fiduciary institutions—for institutions, that is, which presuppose the personal trustworthiness of those who conduct them.

Finally, there is the evidence from codes of business and professional ethics. Since things are supposed to be in the saddle and since we are bearing about the marks of a predominant industrialism, it is quite probable that our general standards of conduct might take their color from prevailing practices in business and industry. Is it not highly significant, then, that within the last five years five separate books have appeared in the field of business and professional ethics (these include the works of Lee, Lord, Heermance, and Taeusch)? While it is true that a code of conduct may be a tentative gesture, or even a barrier to further moral growth, none the less a gesture by which several hundred, perhaps even a thousand, American business, industrial, and professional organizations have definitely worked out codes of practice regarding relations between manufacturers and their competitors, their customers, and their em-

ployees is not to be overlooked or dismissed as hypocrisy or futility. I, for one, could wish that these codes were broader and more inclusive. I see the process of imitation and similar authorship in many of them. I agree that many of these codes have been hammered out as a desperate measure to prevent business anarchy or government regulation. But conceive this phenomenon in its very lowest terms and you have to admit that there are profound moral stirrings in our whole business and industrial world. It is true that these stirrings have been more apparent within the last thirty years. Perhaps they would hardly register at all in a moral curve of a hundred thousand years. Nevertheless I think they are significant, and, if progress means anything at all, they are indications of a serious desire and a noteworthy attempt to achieve something better than we have so far reached.

Is there any prospect for western civilization? In spite of critics like Bertrand Russell, I think there is. At least I shall refuse to join the chorus of despairing fatalists who can see nothing but a universe running down, a world going to pieces, a civilization doomed by industrialism, a rising tide of color, science, cities, or nationalism. On the other hand I shall not grow complacent because the average lease of life is growing larger, wealth and well being are increasing, knowledge is wider and more accessible, moral standards grow more complex and delicate. Progress is not automatic. It comes, if it comes at all, only through knowledge and effort captained by an all but transcendent sense of direction and a perception of human values.

VI. NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

THE COMMUNITY'S RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE LEISURE TIME PROBLEM

Eugene T. Lies, Special Representative, Playground and Recreation Association of America, Chicago

The problem.—Through the ages the people have striven for free time which they could call their own, time in which they could invite their souls, be themselves, indulge in the things they willed to do; have freedom from the pressure of the tasks which brought only food, clothing, and shelter.

But up to comparatively recent times only the few achieved leisure, while the masses continued to struggle for it. Now, however, it can be asserted that not only the few but the many have it, and in abundance. "No generation in the history of the race has had so much free time placed at its disposal as has the present generation," declares Norman E. Richardson, of the Religious Education Department of Northwestern University.

Within the last thirty-five years or so the working day for most of the toilers in industry has been reduced from ten, eleven, or even twelve hours to eight. In some lines the five day week is in effect. Then, too, more and more, Saturday half-holidays and vacations ranging from a week to a month are coming into vogue. Furthermore, it seems that year by year the number of legal holidays is increasing. Somebody has figured out that in a lifetime of three score and ten a man really works only twelve years, and has twenty-nine years for sleep and twenty-nine for leisure; the working time being arrived at by massing all the days and hours during which he actually is on the job.

The major factors in the growth of leisure for the masses of people may be cited as the development and use of labor saving, electrically driven machinery in factories and on the farms of the United States, labor saving devices of every description in stores and homes, the wide use of electricity, and the pressure of organized labor for the shorter workday. We are told by the great wizards in the fields of electricity and engineering that the end is not yet, but rather that it is altogether likely that in the not far distant future the still wider application of electric power and the utilization of the products of inventive genius will make it possible to turn out enough stuff for human consumption successively in seven, six, five—yes, four—hours of daily toil! Each hour cut off from the labor side of the ledger means an hour added to the free time side of the ledger.

Truly, then, there is something in the situation which confronts us to

make the thoughtful pause and ask the question: Will the new leisure turn out to be a tremendous human liability or a splendid human asset? In his valuable book entitled *The Threat of Leisure*, published in 1926, President George Barton Cutten of Colgate University, speaking of this modern condition of affairs, says, "We are now in the midst of a revolution." Parents, educators, religious leaders, sociologists, and more and more social workers are fortunately showing concern, and are pointing out that what we have before us is "a problem of right and wrong use of hours, days, and weeks of marginal time during which people can either degrade and destroy themselves and others or can elevate themselves, add to their worth and stature, and at the same time give of themselves in service to their fellow men." Maeterlinck said long ago: "Tell me how a people uses its leisure and I will tell you the quality of its civilization," an opinion that just about plumbs to the very bottom of the case.

Professor E. A. Ross declared a few years ago that the present use of leisure represents one of America's greatest wastes; while Professor Charles A. Elwood has given it as his opinion that "More lives have been offered upon the altars of pleasure than upon those of war, famine, and pestilence combined." Certainly if there is any truth in these strong statements, then all who are interested in human welfare have a big job cut out for them.

What are some of the types of misuse of marginal time? We know them. Some of them are idling, meandering, gambling, carousing, trash reading, razzzy-jazzy joy-riding, illicit sex practices, marauding, bad gang activities, overindulgence in mere amusements, recreation of the wrong kind, in the wrong places, and at the wrong times. Then in addition there are the millions who overindulge themselves in that insidious disease known as sit-itis alias spectatoritis. For example, 22,000,000 of our people attend the movies daily in the 20,000 theaters showing pictures, and hand over \$1,000,000,000 per year for the privilege. In this connection we interpolate the well known fact that the young people of today have more money in pocket with which to buy their way about than ever before.

And what are some of the results of misuse of this precious free time? Breakdown of ambition, of health, of efficiency, and therefore of earning power; degrading of tastes and moral stamina; delinquency and crime, meaning the multiplication in the long run of subjects to be dealt with by doctor, nurse, hospital, social hygienist, psychiatrist, family welfare agency, juvenile and other courts, reformatory and prison. Waste of time, waste of money, waste of human substance!

What is the answer?—The right answer obviously is not that we should gird our loins, smash the automatic machine, turn off forever the electric current in homes and factories, squelch the labor unions, and choke the urge in all humanity for opportunity to invite its soul. That would not get us far. No; obviously the way out is along other lines, mainly two: first, to train people

for the constructive use of leisure; and second, to set up rich and varied opportunities for such constructive use.

"Guidance in the right use of leisure," said President Nicholas Murray Butler, "is vastly more important than what is now known as vocational guidance." That is strong; but that man Aristotle, a long way back, put it even more strongly: "The whole end and object of education is training for the right use of leisure," said he. Then the statesman, Elihu Root, gives us this to think upon: "There is no problem before the world today more important than the training for the right use of leisure."

But training how, and in what? Well, obviously, in high quality of tastes, choices, and attitudes, bred and nurtured in such manner as to be abiding and have carry-over and carry-on power, and which when applied shall spell growth, development, enlargement of understanding, of appreciation, of ability, of personality, and of character: the realization of self.

But fine tastes without satisfying food to gratify them are no good and may breed sour discontent. The food, the objects, the opportunities for satisfying cultivated hungers must be richly provided if we would not have backfires of the human spirit.

Who shall do the training and provide the opportunities?—The natural trainers and the natural providers, namely, the home, the school, the church, and the community. Each has an important part to play in the ensemble of effort. If any one of them fails there will be unfortunate consequences, and the problem in the large will not be solved. Indeed, these four major agencies must get together in thought, planning, and execution if there is to be an adequate solution.

As to the community itself, however, these pertinent and specific queries may be raised: first, will it recognize the very existence of this modern leisure time problem and the first rate importance of working out a right solution? Second, will it see clearly enough both the large regulative and preventive aspects of a right solution and also the positive life enhancing possibilities thereof? Third, will it think deeply and broadly enough so that in the making of a program it will meet the genuine needs of all the people, young and old, both for the present and the future, and cater to the many-sidedness of human nature, physical, social, intellectual, and aesthetic? Fourth, will it in its plan give due recognition to the important part which can be played by private organized agencies and institutions in addition to municipal departments? Fifth, will it in all its thinking and planning lay the necessary stress upon trained leadership imbued with the highest ideals?

Any community which answers these queries aright and acts out the right answers surely may be hailed as no "mean city." It will be responding worthily to the challenge emanating in the last analysis from the very souls of men to give them opportunity to live the more abundant life.

This then, tersely put, is a statement of the case before us: "The great

problem," said Mr. George W. Alger, in a trenchant article appearing in the *Atlantic Monthly* a while ago, "is to create a civilization that does not degenerate under leisure. This can be done only by setting in operation forces making for a culture that recognizes, as no civilization since the fall of Rome has been required to do, that leisure is and must be a means, and not an end, that its true value is measured by what we do with it, by whether it lifts or lowers us in the great world of the intangibles, the world, not of material, but of spiritual, values."

IMPORTANT ELEMENTS IN A COMPREHENSIVE LEISURE TIME PROGRAM

*Elwood Street, Director, Community Fund and Community Council of
St. Louis*

A comprehensive program for the expression of the community's responsibility toward the solution of the leisure time problem should live up to its name. It should comprehend all the people of the community and all of their leisure hours. By a slight switch of the word it should be comprehensible to the people, understandable and usable, adapted to their needs.

The elements of such a comprehensive program are simple. They may be expressed in four words: generalization, specialization, localization, and co-operation.

Such a program might be likened to a recreational department store with great sections meeting the spare time wants of the masses, but with specialty shops for the interests of the few. Such a "leisure time emporium" would have "buyers" who would adapt their purchase of recreational wares to the enthusiasms and carefully studied requirements of the public. It would have an advertising department which would create a demand for these wares, by those who can use them. It would have a sales force which would make these wares available when needed. It would have a management which would unify all these departments and fit the policy of this store into the policies of other stores in the community.

The word "generalization" as applied to a comprehensive program for the solution of the leisure time problem means that the community should provide for generally recognized recreational needs. This provision usually should be made through municipal action; although private enterprise may fill in the chinks where the city fails to operate. Such general provision for recreation should range all the way from the stimulation of backyard playgrounds to the development of far flung forest preserves. It should include facilities for golf, tennis, baseball, and bathing. Through its libraries it should provide good literature; through its art museum, art; through its public schools, opportunity for continued education for people of all ages. It must also provide stimula-

tion for the use of all of these leisure time activities through an effective program of promotion which will let all citizens know when and how and on what terms they may use these facilities and what advantage these facilities will be to them. Private movements, such as the Little Theater Movement, must be encouraged to promote dramatic expression. Through private endeavor, also, the movie, the legitimate drama, the radio, and the dance hall may be encouraged to provide recreation of a wholesome character and the force of public opinion applied to those commercial enterprises which do not meet reasonable standards of decency. The purpose in such generalized recreational activities should be to find that common denominator of recreational interest which corresponds to the enthusiasm, either actual or potential, of the greatest possible number of people and to provide the ways of meeting those enthusiasms. The word "generalization," then, refers to the mass provision of leisure time activities for all those hours in which people are at liberty. We might liken the function of generalization to the grocery department of our recreational department store.

Important, however, as the principle of generalization is in recreation, it is not sufficient to the play needs of the people. To that fundamental line of service must be added the principle of specialization. Many kinds of leisure time activities are not of general interest, but do require special attention. Such consideration is often best given by citywide agencies which by their very citywide but flexible character can select from throughout the community enough people to make a given special activity worth while. Such activities might serve national or racial groups, or persons with unusual enthusiasms, through classes in art, foreign languages, etc. Usually such specialized activities, although conducted on a communitywide basis, may best be handled by private recreational agencies such as the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., etc., which are closely responsive to public needs and in a position to make demonstrations of experimental service to these special groups. This specialized service may be conducted on the basis of peculiar problems of particular age groups, through such private activities as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, etc. The principle of specialization as manifested through these agencies really is the principle of case work applied to recreational needs. It is just as important as the principle of generalization. In our recreational department store we might call this principle of specialization the jewelry department.

The exact antithesis of the principle of generalization and the geographical corollary of the principle of specialization is found in the application of the term "localization" to leisure time activities. Not only must we have communitywide activities corresponding to the mass enthusiasms and to the special interests of people, but also we must have localized activities expressed in social settlements, municipal and school community centers, institutional churches, and playgrounds. In these activities the principle of community case work is logically applied. These centers must be established in the places where

they are needed. Moreover, their activities must be adapted, after careful study, to local community needs. The principle of localization must be carried into such detailed application that it will bring about the promotion of play activities in homes and backyards for the conservation of home life and the wholesome development of youth. The parent must be the ultimate organizer of effective leisure time activities for the whole family. Only by carrying out the principle of localization in these various ways can we adequately meet the leisure time program of the community. Localization is the principle which makes complete the working of the principles of generalization and specialization. Localization, in the simile of our "play" department store, might be considered the house furnishing department.

Vital as the principles of generalization, specialization, and localization are in the provision of an adequate and comprehensive leisure time program for a community, none of them can come to its full effectiveness without the application of the principle of coordination. Each of the principles mentioned must be carefully coordinated with the others. Generalized recreation must fit into specialized recreation, and local recreation in turn must dovetail into these other forms. We must have cooperation between these various types of recreation and between the different kinds of recreation included within these types. By cooperation we can eliminate unnecessary recreational activities, can bring into existence needed activities, allocate specific pieces of work to specific agencies, prevent duplication of service, improve standards, and educate the whole community to effective use of its recreational resources. Nothing that I have said is new. Yet the principle is worth emphasizing over and over again, that only by thinking in terms of the whole community, only by studying the community's general needs, its special needs, its local needs, and only by coordinating the activities which attempt to meet these needs, can an effective leisure time program be developed for a community. Moreover, such a leisure time program must not merely be coordinated within itself, but its teamwork must also extend to the relationship of recreation with other types of social work. Leisure time activities must interlock with community and local activities for health, for family welfare, for the treatment of delinquency, for child welfare, and so on through every other phase of social work. The recreation program must be seen as part of the community program of human service. It must dovetail within itself and must interlock on a cordial and effective basis of team work with every other social agency and give consideration to every other social problem of the whole community. Recreational cooperation, to complete our department store analogy, might be likened to the management of the store, which coordinates all departmental activities and in turn helps to develop the business policy of the community through membership in the chamber of commerce.

A completely comprehensive program of leisure time activity will provide wholesome use for every minute of leisure time of every man, woman, and

child of the community on a comprehensible, usable basis. This program can be developed only through cooperative statesmanship applied to the whole community situation and to the whole field of recreation; and within that field, through application of the principles of generalization, specialization, and localization. Recreation thus conducted as a leisure time department store, administering effectively to the needs of all, will grow in its sales of cheerful souls and sound minds in sturdy bodies. It will produce increasing dividends of wholesome life and effective citizenship for the whole community that is so fortunate as to possess such an emporium of recreational service.

PROGRESS IN COMMUNITY RECREATION IN THE SOUTH

James B. Williams, District Representative, Playground and Recreation Association of America, New York City

Community or public recreation is of very recent growth in the South. While there were isolated attempts by private groups to undertake the work previous to seven years ago, these served very largely for demonstration purposes and in no instance were they citywide in their scope.

In other fields of social effort many movements which have been significant factors in community recreation development in the cities of the north have never become very influential in the South. The social settlement movement, which in a way is a forerunner of certain phases of public recreation, has never been very strong in the cities of the South. Even the public school systems have not attempted community center work and similar activities which would help to create a public sentiment and an intelligent interest in public recreation. The cities of the South likewise have not had the advantages of many of the movements in general social work which have helped so effectively in cities of other sections of the country to bring about greater opportunities for the people along all civic lines.

Industrially, the South as a whole is young, and as a consequence there are not many large manufacturing concerns which have developed recreational programs in the interest of their employees. The South, though changing rapidly, is still largely rural in its interests, and therefore the urgent need for public recreation has not been recognized by the civic groups or by the municipal authorities. Because of this general situation there has been a lack of leadership in the public recreation movement among the citizens as a whole in most of the communities, and the recent development in public recreation work by municipalities has been a real pioneering effort.

Initial efforts.—About seven years ago the Playground and Recreation Association of America began to center more of its efforts in the cities of the South, and as a result many private organizations were started, supported very largely by contributions. Because of the lack of a general understanding on

the part of the people of the nature and value of community recreation, some of these private organizations lapsed, especially in the smaller communities. However, many of the cities that received this initial impulse and the follow up efforts from the outside have gradually come to realize the importance of the work, so that for the past six years it can be said that on the whole the South is making very rapid strides in public recreation.

Organizations interested.—While the initial impulse for the development of this work came from the Playground and Recreation Association of America, other organizations have become interested and have adopted as parts of their programs the movement for public playgrounds and recreation. Among these organizations are the parent-teacher associations, the civic and luncheon clubs, the women's clubs, the American Legion posts; and in many instances city managers and governing bodies of the cities themselves have taken the initiative.

Legislation.—Until 1923 there had been no general legislation in any state of the South on the whole question of public recreation except as limited powers were conferred upon park boards in a few of the cities. In 1923 an enabling act was passed in Alabama providing for the establishment of municipal park and recreation boards. The initiative in securing this legislation was taken by the civic clubs. In 1925 in the state of Florida a law was passed empowering cities, towns, and counties to establish playground and recreation systems. This act was more far reaching than the one passed in Alabama in that it allowed two or more cities to cooperate in the establishment of a recreation system, or a county was permitted to cooperate with one or more cities in the establishment of such a system. In 1925 a similar act was passed by the state of Georgia. It can be seen from this that there has been some progress in the recognition which the state legislatures have given to this whole movement.

Organization plans.—The plan of organization for administering public recreation work varies somewhat in many of the cities, but generally speaking a special board or department is created, known as the board or department of public recreation. In some cities the plan is to unite recreation and park work under one board, which is proving satisfactory. In several cities it is operated as a bureau of the public welfare department. In a few cities it is carried on as a division of the board of education. Generally speaking, the most successful plan of operation has been under a park and recreation board which has supervision over both parks and recreation, or under a board of public recreation which has responsibility for all recreation work on public property or on property leased or secured for public recreation purposes.

Financing the work.—Except in a very few cities, public recreation work is now financed entirely by appropriations from the municipalities in which the work is conducted. The amount of money appropriated last year by the cities in the South making reports was \$1,750,018.19. This of course does not

include money secured from bond issues for permanent improvements. In each of the state acts, provision is made whereby the people of any community may vote a special millage for recreation work. Gradually the cities are taking advantage of this, and in most instances where the matter has been placed before the people it has been voted favorably.

Growth.—There are at the present time about eighty cities in the South where recreation work is set up as a municipal function and supported by public appropriations, or about one-tenth of the total number of such cities reporting in the United States. In a few instances some of these cities were operating on a limited basis previous to 1920, but on the whole the work has been organized and developed during the past seven years. In 1920 there were very few, if any, real citywide municipal recreation systems in this section.

Typical programs.—Another interesting feature of the work is the comprehensive nature of the programs in many of the cities. For instance, in Birmingham, Alabama, the conduct of public playgrounds for children, control of park areas, administration of golf courses, municipal stadium, swimming pools, athletic fields, municipal music, and cultural activities of all kinds, including fine arts, are delegated to the park and recreation board. In Jacksonville, Florida, which is typical of the cities where the recreation work is administered by an independent board of public recreation, the program includes playgrounds for children, municipal music, municipal drama, athletic and social recreational activities of all kinds. This board has authority to operate not only on property owned and controlled by the city but upon private property as well. Much of the time of the staff is likewise given to the development of leadership and the preparation of programs for private agencies, including the churches.

As an indication of how far reaching the public recreation program can be in a small city, the work in Winter Haven, Florida, a city of 7,000, might be cited. There is a superintendent of recreation, thoroughly trained and experienced, with such part time trained service as may be required. The program in this city practically is reaching everybody, regardless of station in life, and consists of playgrounds for children, athletic activities for all ages, community drama, including such an activity as the Little Theater; community music, including the production of light operas and oratorios; and handcraft activities for children, youth, and adults. Adult recreation in this particular city constitutes 75 per cent of the program.

Special features.—In most of the cities, especially the larger ones, the work is being so organized that the people of each city may have a share and a responsibility in its development as well as a part in the activities. Many of the cities are being zoned, and in each of these zones an organization perfected, composed largely of adults, which will act for the central board in helping to promote and interpret the work in its neighborhood. As a consequence of this plan of organization in some of the cities the people have gone so far as to

share in the cost of equipment and even in the cost of the construction of community houses. By this method it is believed that many of the dangers of municipal administration of public recreation work, which tends to become more or less impersonal in character, can be overcome.

Leadership.—The growth in the recognition of the importance of trained leadership during the past seven years is very encouraging, even though today it is not what it should be. Seven years ago in no city which I visited was there a superintendent or director of recreation who had been specifically trained for the work or had had experience in its administration. Today, almost without exception, there is a recognition on the part of the cities of the value of properly qualified men and women as leaders in public recreation. Training classes or institutes for volunteer and paid workers and leaders on the playgrounds are usually a regular part of the programs of the recreation departments.

In many of the cities where public recreation work has been established there is a growing conviction that all of it should be unified under one department and that it should be made one of the primary functions of the municipality. Since the work is comparatively new, there is still a lack of appreciation of its value on the part of a large percentage of the people, and as a consequence much educational work remains to be done.

However, partly in recognition of the progress which has been made during the past seven years, the National Recreation Congress was held in the South in 1925 and again in 1927. The Playground and Recreation Association of America also maintains an office in each of three districts in this section, and the services of a district representative are provided in each of them.

COMMUNITY LEISURE TIME OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES

Ernest T. Attwell, Field Director, Bureau of Colored Work, Playground and Recreation Association of America, Philadelphia

To outline in any complete way the parks, play spaces, equipment, and facilities, and include the programs in athletics, games, and other recreational activities throughout America available to that part of its population designated as colored, or participated in by them, within the limited period permitted me by this Conference would perhaps be attempting to run a marathon race within the time record of a hundred yard dash! In the process, then, of elimination necessarily much of importance may be left out. Generalization is adopted as a means of including certain phases which I believe worthy of emphasis.

In considering the opportunities for wholesome leisure time and the needs in allied social fields, the isolated condition of the colored group in community-wide activities or opportunities for social betterment is more and more manifest. While colored people reside in close proximity to other groups, there is

little or no planning to assure their inclusion in the cultural, social, health, or public recreational activities. Even in cities where the presumption is that such activities are being promoted on the community basis this group is seldom approached, welcomed, or provided for in the general plan; nor has there been any apparent enthusiasm toward a division of facilities secured through municipal tax funds or bond issues. A gesture in some sections indicating noteworthy exceptions merely serves to emphasize this general situation.

There is an increased interest and sympathy in all parts of the country, on the part of public officials and leaders, in behalf of further development of facilities in this field. Aided by the Harmon Foundation, some communities have secured, for example, playground property in neighborhoods colonized by the colored group. Eighteen or twenty play fields for Negroes have been added to the quota in a single year (1926). In two or three cities of the South the local departments with municipal funds have provided golf courses for the exclusive use of Negroes. Additional park areas have been made available through private and public agencies. A number of cities, in connection with their municipal programs, have appointed or accepted the cooperation of colored citizens' committees to assist their recreation departments in developing a free time program, not only for children, but to include adults.

I am glad to note that there has developed among the colored leaders themselves a keener interest toward a play program for their own people and an awakening to the fact that so far as leisure time influences are concerned, the alley, the improperly conducted poolroom, the cheap unsupervised dance hall, and the vice dens are poor training schools of citizenship for colored youth, just as it is true for white youth. The basic needs of all children are the same. During the past few years there has been a noticeable increase in the development of recreation centers, not only in connection with the use of school buildings, but in the construction of buildings designed for leisure time purposes.

More important than buildings and equipment is the development of a program that will attract the participation of young people and adults. This factor is being increasingly recognized, and because of its trained leadership has recently been given greater consideration. President Coolidge said: "Our youth need instruction in how to play as much they do in how to work." Although in many communities this truth has not been clearly appreciated, there has been a slow yet steady growth in providing capable leadership. For example, in the eighty-nine cities, two-thirds of which have developed a program for colored citizens within the past decade, there are employed colored recreation assistants on part time and full time basis: four of these cities are employing workers part time, for the summer; twenty-seven, full time for the summer; eleven, part time the year round; and forty-nine, full time the year round. In one of the full time year-round cities included in this group five additional workers have been employed this year on a full time year round basis. And for this city with its sixty thousand Negro population they employ, under civil

service approval, eleven colored men and women for recreation the year round, increasing this force to sixteen for the summer season, all of them paid from a municipal budget.

Within the past decade the number of colored employed leaders in recreation has grown from approximately 35 to over 400. Cities carrying such leaders have increased from 28 to 103. These figures do not include the many physical culture instructors and play directors connected with various institutions.

I shall not have time to comment on commercial recreational agencies in every community offering opportunities, except to suggest that the type and facilities are improving. What impresses one as being the finest public dance hall in the United States is conducted in a well known colored neighborhood. A motion picture theater perhaps the last word in cost and interior decoration and comfort is also in the same locality. It will be some time before such construction and program provision reaches smaller cities and the vision of increased demands and profits is excited, but these investments are indicative of a general trend.

Community music and drama represent major interests in well developed plans for leisure time activities. An insistent demand is being made upon our national agency, the Playground and Recreation Association of America, for help in furthering such activities as a part of local community programs. Under the direction of our colored music organizer, community choruses among Negroes have been established, and in a number of cities have presented festivals of Negro music. These efforts have stimulated interracial good will, as the demonstrations have been attended by large and enthusiastic audiences of both races. As an outgrowth, choral groups and musical clubs have continued in an organized way so that many of them function as a permanent asset. In similar manner drama is being employed with much success. The Negro shows unusual talent in both these directions. Because of the rich background in these artistic fields, community leisure time movements can well afford to use such vehicles in fostering greater participation. The spiritual and cultural influences may thereby be added to the character building values linked with other phases of the recreation program.

We look forward to a larger number of leaders in communities throughout America to catch the promotive spirit needed to aid in increasing these opportunities; and in proportion to the realization of our hope in this direction we shall use these opportunities to make for a better citizenship and the continued development of good places for all to live in!

FAMILY TRADITION AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

Ernest W. Burgess, University of Chicago

Professor Freeman and his associates of the University of Chicago have just completed an interesting and significant study of the effect upon intelligence of children of rearing them in foster homes. They find that the intelligence of the adopted child is very markedly higher than if it had been reared by its natural parents, far higher than most psychologists and students had previously been prepared to admit. They also report that brothers and sisters when reared in the same foster family showed closer resemblance in intelligence than when reared in separate homes.

While the findings of this study throw new light on the old question of the relation of heredity and environment, its major significance may well lie in causing us to reconsider the rôle of family life in personal development in all of its aspects, emotional, mental, and social. The part played by the family in the emotional growth of children, particularly with reference to maladjustments, has been stressed repeatedly by psychoanalysts and psychiatrists. At the conference on family life in Buffalo last October Professor W. F. Ogburn, as a sociologist, emphasized the unique place of the family in providing for the emotional development of its members. In fact he asserted that the essential function of the family inhered in relationships of affection about which it is organized and through which it endures.

The study of the changes in the intelligence of adopted children suggests that in addition to the expression of affection, the family has an equally great function as the medium for the transmission of the cultural heritage. For certainly it is not so much in affection as in cultural level that foster homes are superior to those of the natural parents.

By family tradition is meant the handing down from generation to generation of culture within the home. The word "culture" has a well defined use in the literature of anthropology. It includes, not only customs, but material objects as well, like tools, ornaments, and utensils. But from the standpoint of personality development the so called "non-material" objects of culture are the more significant, as gestures, manners, languages, folklore, literature, social standards, art, and religion.

It is at once evident that within any modern society the differences in cultural level between families is far greater than the difference in cultural levels between societies. For example, it is doubtless true that in the United States certain individuals have lived out their allotted three score years and ten without having used one thousand different words, while there are many persons who within a year have spoken or read ten or twenty times that number. The child who is born or adopted into a 1,000 word family is certainly at a disadvantage on an intelligence test, all other factors being equal, when compared with a child who has been reared in a family with a 10,000 word vocabulary. More

important than the number of words are the meaning of words and their construction into idioms that express attitudes and customary behavior.

It is through case studies of personality development that the rôle of family tradition may be concretely portrayed. The first case is taken from fiction because it presents the interesting situation where a boy grew up in a cultureless, or practically cultureless, home, if the shack in which he was reared may be properly characterized as a home. The boyhood life of Hugh McVey is realistically described in the book *Poor White*, by Sherwood Anderson:

Hugh McVey was born in a little hole of a town stuck on a mud bank on the western shore of the Mississippi River in the state of Missouri. With the exception of a narrow strip of black mud along the river, the land for ten miles back from the town—called in derision by river men "Mudcap Landing" was almost entirely worthless and unproductive, and was tilled, in Hugh's time, by a race of long gaunt men who seemed as exhausted and no-account as the land on which they lived. They were chronically discouraged, and the merchants and artisans of the town were in the same state. Only the town's two saloons prospered.

Hugh McVey's father, John McVey, had been a farm hand in his youth, but before Hugh was born had moved into town to find employment in a tannery. The tannery ran for a year or two and then failed, but John McVey stayed in town. He also became a drunkard. During the time of his employment in the tannery he had been married and his son had been born. Then his wife died and the idle workman took his child and went to live in a tiny fishing shack by the river. How the boy lived through the next few years no one ever knew. John McVey loitered in the streets and on the river bank and only awakened out of his habitual stupor when, driven by hunger or the craving for drink, he went for a day's work in some farmer's field at harvest time or joined a number of other idlers for an adventurous trip down river on a lumber raft. The baby was left shut up in the shack by the river or carried about wrapped in a soiled blanket. Soon after he was old enough to walk he was compelled to find work in order that he might eat. The boy of ten went listlessly about town at the heels of his father. The two found work, which the boy did while the man lay sleeping in the sun. At fourteen Hugh was as tall as his father and almost without education. He could read a little and could write his own name; had picked up these accomplishments from other boys who came to fish with him in the river; but he had never been to school. For days sometimes he did nothing but lie half asleep in the shade of the bush on the river bank. The fish he caught on his more industrious days he sold for a few cents to some housewife, and thus got money to buy food for his big growing indolent body.

In his fourteenth year, and when the boy was on the point of sinking into the sort of animal-like stupor in which his father lived, something happened to him. A railroad pushed its way down along the river to his town, and he got a job as man of all work for the station master. Hugh began a little to awaken. He lived with his employer, Henry Shepard, and his wife, Sarah, and for the first time in his life sat down regularly at table. His life, lying on the river bank through long summer afternoons or sitting perfectly still for endless hours in a boat, had bred in him a dreamy, detached outlook on life. He found it hard to be definite and to do definite things. In his new place, the station master's wife, a sharp-tongued, good-natured woman, who hated the town and the people among whom fate had thrown her, scolded at him all day long. She treated him like a child of six, told him how to sit at table, how to hold his fork when he ate, how to address people who came to the house or to the station. The mother in her was aroused by Hugh's helplessness and, having no children of her own, she began to take the tall awkward boy to her heart.

Hugh got little money for his work at the railroad station, but for the first time in his

life he began to fare well. Henry Shepard bought the boy clothes, and his wife, who was a master of the art of cooking, loaded the table with good things to eat. Hugh ate until both the man and the woman declared he would burst if he did not stop. Then when they were not looking he went into the station yard and crawling under a bush went to sleep. The station master came to look for him. He was annoyed at what he thought the boy's indolence, and found a hundred little tasks for him to do. "We must keep the big lazy fellow on the jump. That's the secret of things," he said to his wife.

The boy learned to keep his naturally indolent body moving and his clouded sleepy mind fixed on definite things. For hours he plodded straight ahead, doing over and over some appointed task. One morning he was told to sweep the station platform, and as his employer had gone away without giving him additional tasks he continued to sweep for two or three hours. The station platform was built of rough boards and Hugh's arms were very powerful. The broom he was using began to go to pieces. Bits of it flew about, and after an hour's work the platform looked more uncleanly than when he began. Sarah Shepard came to the door of the house and stood watching. She was about to call to him and to scold him again for his stupidity when a new impulse came to her. Tears came into her eyes and her arms ached to take the great boy and hold him tightly against her breast. With all her mother's soul she wanted to protect Hugh from a world she was sure would treat him always as a beast of burden. Her morning's work was done, and without saying anything to Hugh, she went out at the front door of the house and to one of the town stores. There she bought a half-dozen books. She had made up her mind to become Hugh McVey's school teacher. When she got back to her house and saw the boy still going doggedly up and down the platform, she spoke to him with a new gentleness in her manner. "Well, my boy, you may put the broom away now and come to the house. I've made up my mind to take you for my own boy, and I don't want to be ashamed of you. If you're going to live with me I can't have you growing up to be a lazy good-for-nothing like your father and the other men in this hole of a place. You'll have to learn things, and I suppose I'll have to be your teacher. It's going to be hard work to make an educated man out of you, but it has to be done. We might as well begin on your lessons at once."

Professor Ellsworth Faris has defined personality as "the subjective aspect of culture." In the language of this conception Sarah Shepard proposed to remold Hugh according to the New England cultural pattern. It was, however, one thing to drill habits of industry into him and to fill his ears with tales of the superiority of her people, and quite another to win his inner allegiance. There arose the inevitable conflict within him between the two modes of life:

Sarah Shepard had come from a people and a country quite different in its aspect from that in which she now lived. Her own people, frugal New Englanders, had come west in the year after the Civil War to take up cut-over timber land in the southern end of the state of Michigan.

The ambitious energetic little woman, who had taken the son of the indolent farm-hand to her heart, constantly talked to him of her own people. She worked upon the problem of rooting the stupidity and dullness out of his mind as her father had worked at the problem of rooting the stumps out of the Michigan land. After the lesson for the day had been gone over and over until Hugh was in a stupor of mental weariness, she put the books aside and talked to him. With glowing fervor she made a picture of her own youth and the people and places where she had lived. In the picture she represented the New Englanders of the Michigan farming community as a strong and godlike race, always honest, always frugal, and always pushing ahead. His own people she utterly condemned.

Sarah Shepard looked upon what she called Hugh's laziness as a thing of the spirit. "You have got to get over it," she declared. "Look at your own people—poor white trash

—how lazy and shiftless they are. You can't be like them. It's a sin to be so dreamy and worthless." Swept along by the energetic spirit of the woman, Hugh fought to overcome his inclination to give himself up to vaporous dreams. He became convinced that his own people were really of inferior stock, and that they were to be kept away from. During the first year after he came to live with the Shepard's he sometimes gave way to a desire to return to his old lazy life with his father in the shack by the river. When neither the station master nor his wife were about he slipped away and went with his father to sit for a half-day with his back against the wall of the fishing shack, his soul at peace. For the moment he thought of himself as completely happy and made up his mind that he did not want to return again to the railroad station and to the woman who was so determined to arouse him and make of him a man of her own people. Hugh looked at his father asleep and snoring in the long grass on the river bank. An odd feeling of disloyalty crept over him and he became uncomfortable. The man's mouth was open and he snored lustily. From his greasy and threadbare clothing arose the smell of fish. Flies gathered in swarms and alighted on his face. Disgust took possession of Hugh. With all the strength of his awakening soul he struggled against the desire to give way to the inclination to stretch himself out beside the man and sleep. The words of the New England woman who was, he knew, striving to lift him out of slothfulness and ugliness and into some brighter and better way of life, echoed dimly in his mind. When he arose and went back along the street to the station master's house, Sarah Shepard looked at him reproachfully and muttered words about the poor white trash of the town.

Hugh began to hate his own father and his own people. He connected the man who had bred him with the dreaded inclination toward sloth in himself. "Well," he said to Sarah Shepard, speaking slowly and with the hesitating drawl characteristic of his people, "if you give me time I'll learn. I want to be what you want me to be. If you stick to me I'll try to make a man of myself."

This conversion of Hugh to the New England culture exemplifies a process that takes place more gradually and often without struggle in the life of the child in the family. As Professor Robert E. Park has pointed out, "man is not born human." Personality, in so far as it means one's rôle in society, is an achievement. The next case, that of Frank Radcliffe, clearly shows how the father shaped his son in his own cultural image:

After eleven years of married life, my mother introduced me into the Radcliffe family, as member number three. My parents had waited a long time, and I was more than welcome. Although my mother was only 31, my father was then 51, and this was just about the greatest thing that could have happened to him. He worshipped me from the start, and like other long wanted first born, I was king and ruler of the house.

My memories of these early days are very few, but with one big exception, and those are memories of my father. My play life, my school, and even my mother fall back into the shadows. I loved my mother, it is true, but my father stands out most clearly, and it was he who shaped my life.

My earliest memories are of sitting in my father's arms in front of the stove of an evening, and of his singing me to sleep. He used to sing "Way Down upon the Swanee River," "Darling Nellie Gray," and other lullaby songs, many with a Negro dialect added. I would lie in his arms for a long time listening, and trying to play with the ends of his long mustache. Several years later he began to tell me stories and to read to me. Most of the stories were of Indian fights, and of pioneer adventures, and I would ask for the same stories over and over again. In these early years a regular ceremony was developed. First my father had to sit and read to me, generally for a good share of the evening. Then he would undress me, and get me ready for bed. His next step was to go into the kitchen and

prepare me a glass full of weak grape juice. After having my drink he would take me to my bed, and standing beside the bed, swing me a specified number of times in his arms, and finally let me fly head over heels into bed. If he did not swing me the required number of times, he had to go through the procedure all over again. Once in bed he would lie down beside me in the dark, put his arms around me, and tell me another good Indian story. Following this I cuddled close to him and repeated the Lord's prayer. I then gradually drifted away into slumber land, but he never left me until I was asleep. This kept up until I was nine or ten years old.

How I did love my father! Even yet, he is one of my fondest memories. Sometimes thoughts of how I would feel if I lost one of my parents would come into my mind. I always thought I would rather lose my mother than my father, if it was a case of losing either of them. I loved my mother, but somehow, she was different. She never read to me or told me stories. Sometimes she would become cross, and once or twice slapped me. Most of all, she would sometimes insist on my doing things I didn't want to do. Father always did as I wished, and I became angry when opposed. It was mother who called me in at night, when I wanted to play outside for a while longer. It was mother who imposed any discipline. Father seemed more like a comrade and playmate.

Another way in which my father greatly influenced me was in the matter of family pride and of race prejudice. Despite the fact that he had lived in America all his life, father was English to the backbone. He always referred contemptuously to "dutchmen," "wops," "hunks," and "dagoes." He was proud of the Radcliffe family, and I soon became proud of it, too. While the family claimed to be entirely democratic, it was only democratic in thinking of itself as being on the same level as noble or rich man. There was much family pride, and a close family organization. The grandfather and grandmother, their nine children with their husbands and wives and children, formed a group of between thirty and forty people. Every Christmas the entire group gathered at the old homestead for a big reunion, and thus family organization remained intact. Quite a bit of control was assumed over the various members, but when it came to a quarrel with outsiders, a Radcliffe was always upheld, whether he be right or wrong.

As I look back upon these early years I see more and more the way my family environment shaped my life. From my father I acquired a taste for literature and a hungering for knowledge. Along with it came family pride, racial prejudice, and a sarcastic tongue. It was not until I went away to college that I really became "Americanized," and stopped being pro-British. According to my wife, I am still English in all of my characteristics and actions.

Both of my parents were churchgoing Methodists, and my mother was very devout. I grew up in the church, and that was the only place I was ever taken except to visit friends. I liked to go to church, for there I met other children, I was given recognition in little church plays, and I had every opportunity in the world to torment other people and make myself a nuisance. This close contact with the church turned my thoughts to religion, and I was early told of Heaven and Hell and who went to each place. I thought it over, and decided I would not be very bad or very good. I would just have a good time, and therefore would not go to either place after I died. This viewpoint toward religion lasted till I was 13.

Three weeks before my twelfth birthday, and a few days before Christmas, my father was taken sick with pneumonia. I thought there was no cause for worry, and neither did anyone else. My only thought was that probably I would not get as many Christmas presents this time. A week later my father died.

My mother to support us bought a small rooming house. For two years we struggled along, trying to make both ends meet. When all of our rooms were filled we had an income large enough to pay our payment on the house, to pay taxes, and to live. When part of our rooms were vacant we had long periods of worry, and oftentimes we wondered where the next dollar was coming from.

Just before my father had died I had begun to run with a gang, and to enjoy the company of other boys. Here in the rooming house district I found myself a stranger in a strange land. The street on which we lived was very cosmopolitan and many nationalities were represented. Rooming houses stretched from one end of the street to another. There was no community spirit, and practically no neighborly visitation. People did not buy homes on L Street to really live—they bought there to make money in the rooming house game. And people on the nicer streets a little farther south disdained to mix very intimately with the cosmopolitan group on L Street. I finally found one boy chum, and we were together quite a little for three or four years.

The high school where I attended was a very large school, and a student could very easily slip in and be forgotten. I was one of those who was forgotten. Many of the boys came from well-to-do families, were well dressed, and drove their own cars. I had none of these advantages. Being forgotten in school did not bother me during the first two years. My main interest was still in books, and I became a regular bookworm and day dreamer. After a year I got a job "hustling sheets" on a corner, and this took up my time on afternoons. I did not associate with other newsboys, but I did hear my share of dirty stories from men who bought papers.

It was impossible to live in a house with a number of men of all nationalities very long without coming face to face with sex. One roomer taught me masturbation, and I practiced it quite extensively for about a year. Some of the men would tell dirty stories of their own experiences when I was around, and these stories made such an impression that I can still remember them. I never told my mother, and she never found out my bad habits. I would ask her for information on sex matters but she would turn the questions aside. She did not seem to know just how to inform me. But I was not to be denied. I got hold of the old family doctor book, and read it on the sly every opportunity I got. Much of it was not understandable, but I picked up quite a little. My information was added to by stories told by men, out of which I would try to dig scraps of real information. Another help was in the custom of small foreign children of both sexes to appear on the streets without much clothing.

We continued to go to church every Sunday, and my religious consciousness began to reawaken. I heard preachers preach about "hell fire," and exhort people to get saved. My old plan to go to neither place became untenable, as I realized that I must go either way. I became frightened. I would listen to an evangelistic appeal and then come home and pray and try to get "saved." The question of religion was uppermost in my mind. Billy Sunday came to town and held a series of revival meetings, and mother and I went to a number of them. One Sunday afternoon I was sitting with an adult friend from our church when the appeal was given. He asked me if I would like to go forward and give myself to Jesus. I replied that I would, and up I went. This was a serious step to me, even if I was only 13 years old. I began to read a chapter in the Bible every day, and to pray more. In looking through the doctor book I found a description of something which was just like what I was doing (masturbating) and it was called a secret "sin." If it was a sin, and I had never thought of it that way before, I must stop it if I was to be a Christian. I prayed about it, and quit. I also tried to stop thinking about sex matters, and I was fairly successful. I also tried to be more kind and Christlike in every way, but it did not seem to me that I was very successful. In recent years a number of my father's folks told me that at about this time I changed from a very bad boy into quite a good boy. They never knew about my "conversion." In the face of this evidence, I believe that my emotional religious experience did have rather marked effect on my conduct.

During this period I did not go out with girls. I used to look with longing eyes at one or two, and have idealistic love affairs with them in my day dreams. I would do the same with heroines in books I read. It was a very idealistic type of love, and in these day dreams about girls sex never entered in. Most of my day dreams were about adventure, es-

pecially in soldier life. G. A. Henty's war stories were still my favorite, and I would imagine myself as a soldier leading in some dangerous adventure.

My mother and I were drawn closer together after my father's death, and I got to really know her. I found that she was not nearly as intellectual as my father, but that she was utterly unselfish, a true friend, and one that I could trust. I took great delight in earning money selling papers and in turning it over to her, though she never asked it of me. We became almost like pals during these days.

This case brings out into sharp relief the way in which the subjective life of the person, his desires, and his attitudes become culturally conditioned. It also raises the question of what is the relation between the culture of the family and the culture of the environing society. In moving into the rooming house district Frank is thrown into contact with influences in conflict with his family tradition and his former neighborhood surroundings. It is the church, and to a lesser extent the school, in this instance, that crystallize the trend of personality development into a philosophy of life and into certain governing principles which Thomas and Znaniecki term "life organization."

In the patriarchal family, as in ancient Israel and modern China, powerful factors make for the continuity of the family tradition. Even with the modern family much of this cultural continuity is maintained. In the professions especially there is the succession from father to son, as in the law, in the ministry, and in medicine.

Certain brief cases may be presented to indicate the different ways in which the tradition is transmitted and modified in the modern American family:

When I was a little boy my father's father used to take me on his knee and tell me stories of the battles he had been in, or some one of his brothers or uncles. He told how from the wars of the Seminole Indians straight down to the Spanish American War our family has always acquitted itself with honor on the battlefield. My grandfather's sword which he carried in the Civil War for four years is my choicest possession. I can see him now proudly showing me the wounds he received in the first battle of Bull's Run and marks from a terrible hand to hand sword duel at the Battle of Gettysburg. It has always been an honor in our family that we have always answered the call of our country upon first notice. When we declared war against the Central Powers in 1917 I enlisted within four days and the telegram I received in reply to my announcement from my father is one of the few things I have had from him since a boy of ten that has ever shown me the depth of his feeling toward me.

It would be interesting to know how far the potential strength of militarism in this country rests upon family tradition.

Often the cultural attitude implanted in the child is a frustrated ambition of a parent, as the mother who brought her daughter up to go to college and become a teacher as she herself had planned but circumstances prevented. Or the parent may have aspirations of a great career or noble service for the child:

Before I was born my mother dedicated me to God in case I should turn out to be a man, and she interpreted this to mean that I should enter the ministry. Going to a university widely known for its unorthodox teaching was a severe shock to this faith and prom-

ise, yet it remains unshaken. My mother is fairly well satisfied now that she knows that I shall enter some kind of educational work, though I still think she feels that her debt to the Lord will not be fully paid unless I enter the ministry. I am firmly convinced that this attitude of hers, linked as it is with my earliest childhood memories and teachings, has had a controlling effect upon my life. On several occasions I have nearly entered business, for example, and have always at the last moment given it up, my decision in each case being determined by some unconscious feeling, and not by rational considerations.

In this last case it seems plausible to infer that influences outside of the family came into conflict with the tradition implanted in his thought of himself by his mother. Often the family, or the father and mother as the guardians of the family tradition, have to meet these conflicts with outside influences. How the imputed superiority of the family, and indeed the family tradition, may be used, though not always successfully, to control the behavior of the members of the family is evident in the next case.

In the general atmosphere of our home was the feeling that we, the Kimballs, had a history and status superior to the Johnsons and Martins and others who lived near by. We had both English and Welsh blood in our veins. This fact was appealed to when Scott, the oldest son, desired to marry the Martin girl. There were certain things which the neighbors might do but which a Kimball would never stoop to do, as the drinking of alcoholic liquors and smoking.

But when Scott was fourteen he began to use tobacco, "on the side." It was the custom in this community to chew as well as smoke, and he took up both these habits. Father talked with him. One argument was that he was spoiling the family record, since neither father nor his father nor any of father's brothers had ever used tobacco. Scott argued in justification that it was no worse for him to use tobacco than for father to raise it. He also called attention to his maternal grandfather, after whom he was named, who used tobacco.

The family as an institution exists not only to transmit, but also to interpret, modify, and recreate the cultural heritage. This function and its relation to the personality development of its members is well stated by Helen Bosanquet:

The mind of the child is . . . deeply rooted in the family as its center; his earliest words, ideas, modes of thought, are those he gathers from parents and brethren; and each day he takes back to them the new words and ideas which he gathers in the outside world, and they again are molded and interpreted by the family. He recounts his exploits, tells of his companions and teachers, is subjected to praise or criticism, and listens to similar narratives from other members; and next day he returns to the outside world to collect fresh material to be thrown into the family mold. Even in families where there is less than the normal share of affection, the habits formed in this way are so strong that they do not break without some special stress being put upon them.¹

But what is the practical bearing of our consideration of these cases of the rôle of family tradition in personality development? First of all these cases show that the life organization and the character of the person take their first and often permanent form under the impress of the family cultural heritage. Secondly, these cases reveal that conflicts between parents and children, as well as mental and moral conflicts within the person, are almost always the result

¹ *The Family*, pp. 204-5.

of the clash between family and community standards. Mr. Clifford R. Shaw, of the Institute for Juvenile Research, is now engaged in a highly interesting and thoroughgoing study of just this cultural conflict between family and community traditions as a factor, and perhaps the decisive one, in juvenile delinquency. Accordingly, these cases disclose the close relation between personality problems and problems of community organization. In dealing with the person and the family it is always important for us as social workers to find out what are the cultural values cherished by the family and its members, what efforts they are making to realize them, and what frustrations prevent their achievement. Those of us who are engaged in neighborhood and community work have a special interest in the study of the interrelations and the conflicts between family traditions and community standards. For the work of all institutions with a cultural motivation like the school, the church, the settlement, and the playground deal essentially with the character formation of their members and at the same time with the social standards and traditions of the community. The fuller recognition of this cultural function will, I believe, provide the basis needed for a more vital approach to group work with persons and families.

HOW TO MAINTAIN COMMUNITY MORALE IN TIMES OF DISASTER

DURING THE EMERGENCY PERIOD

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Before describing the state of a disaster stricken community, it should be understood that this discussion deals with the maintenance of morale during the emergency period of disaster relief as distinguished from the long drawn out period of permanent rehabilitation. The emergency period is the time of mass treatment of the disaster sufferers. The disaster itself is in its early stages. The relief program is just beginning. Confusion still exists. The time has not arrived when individualized, case treatment can be given. The mass, the crowd, the group, is the unit of relief rather than the individual or family—this merely from the necessities of the situation.

The mental and physical state of the community, as well as the devices and factors in maintaining the morale of the community, are quite clearly different during this early period from the factors involved during the more orderly time of restoration and rehabilitation. Of course the length of the emergency period varies with disasters. In a great Mississippi flood, when the waters move but eight miles per day, there is a continuing emergency; while in the tornado or fire that comes without warning and is gone, the emergency lasts but for a few days or weeks at most. In any case the purpose is to bring the emergency period to a close as promptly as possible.

Now, the physical and mental state of a disaster stricken community during this emergency period cannot be fully understood unless personally seen or experienced. War devastation may be described and visualized in picture, but only one who actually saw war torn France can understand it. Imagination must, therefore, fill in the gaps of this picture. Of course, the eye first takes in the physical aspects of the community hit by disaster. War torn France is a ready comparison to fire or tornado destruction. Buildings are wrecked or completely carried off; steel poles and girders twisted like a reed; débris everywhere; flower gardens ruined; generations old trees destroyed; public works—water, gas, electricity, sewerage—out of order; dead and injured buried beneath ruins; hospitals and improvised first aid stations filled with the injured. Or, the flood that brings water to the second story or roof: an entire town deserted and quartered in tents on the levee or in a refugee camp miles distant; houses washed away; with the recession of the water an aftermath of mud; impassable roads, inadequate rail service; crops destroyed, livestock drowned, furniture and clothing ruined; a lifetime's savings gone; and perhaps loved ones dead.

Who can wonder that there is chaos and demoralization? Truly this is "after the deluge." The physical disorder confuses the mind. The immensity of the loss is deadening. A numbness affects the community as well as the individual mind. Paralysis of the nerves of trade and of communication brings paralysis to the human nerve centers of judgment, initiative, and hope. The ordinary functioning of the community is deadened. And, naturally, leadership is often affected—leadership that is strong and virile in ordinary affairs. The psychology is not unlike that during war. People move as under a cloud. The group interest becomes paramount; individual initiative and consciousness are submerged. Rumors run riot with counter rumors. The propagandist or alarmist has his inning. And at times this state of "nerves" sears the individual and community system so deeply that anniversary days of the occurrence of a disaster bring a tenseness, a jumpiness, a hush that only a frightful experience can explain.

But the first hours or days over, a reaction sets in. Often the feeling of inferiority brought by the destruction rebounds to a superiority attitude that finds expression in true Babbitt style of "No outside assistance is needed," when actually thousands are in need. Or the newspapers are ordered to play down the size or importance of the disaster. One flood ridden community even sought several years ago to minimize its losses, and proclaimed "business as usual" with full page ads in the *Saturday Evening Post*, at a time when more adequate relief to the sufferers was needed. Incorrect local news reports of the flood being "seventy-five miles to the northwest of our city when "our city" at the moment is faced with disaster are but evidence of a confused "my community first, right or wrong, but my community first" attitude.

Now all of this physical destruction, this mental confusion, may affect but a part of a city or town or rural section, or it may reach over an entire state,

and a psychological reaction of hurt, of loss, of crippling may reach out to an entire trade territory or to the nation itself. The community may, therefore, be the neighborhood or the nation.

May I pause here to pay a tribute to Memphis and many of the other cities of the Mississippi Valley for the even tempered, well balanced mental state maintained by their people during the flood of 1927. The inherent courage of the South showed itself in splendid fashion.

Before speaking of some of the devices and factors in maintaining community morale in such a situation, a brief reference to some of the basic principles of disaster relief and organization, as developed by the American Red Cross during its years of operation, may be of interest. In fact, the observance of these basic principles becomes an elemental morale factor.

The purpose of the Red Cross disaster service is to assist individuals or families suffering from the effects of a disaster. The Red Cross does not assume governmental functions, such as policing a disaster stricken area, removing debris from public streets and property, or restoring sanitary conditions. In discharging its responsibility, the Red Cross of course acts in complete cooperation with all governmental agencies—national, state, and local—and utilizes to the fullest degree possible the assistance of all voluntary organizations. It is the policy of the Red Cross always to avail itself of the services of volunteers and to associate with itself strong, local advisory committees representing all interests of the affected areas, such committees to work with the Red Cross representatives, to be kept fully advised of, and consulted in, the conduct of the work, the making of awards, etc.

The Red Cross, either nationally or locally, can assume responsibility and adequately administer relief only when funds raised for relief are placed under its direction and control and it is thereby in a position to see that all expenditures are made in accordance with its established practices and policies. The only proper basis for an award from the relief fund is need. During the emergency period immediately following a disaster there may be necessity for mass relief in the essentials of food, shelter, clothing, and medical care for a period depending upon the nature and extent of the disaster, but the Red Cross terminates this mass relief at the earliest possible date and gives further assistance upon the basis of an inquiry into the needs of each individual family. Experience has shown that need, not loss, must be the basis upon which assistance to disaster sufferers is given. Disaster relief funds may not be used to meet needs or losses, however, meritorious, not due directly to the disaster. The Red Cross does not make loans to disaster sufferers. Help is freely extended and creates no obligation on the part of the recipients.

Now with these principles of relief and organization as background, some morale devices and factors during the emergency period of confusion and chaos may be reviewed. And, singularly enough, the first morale device has been set up before the disaster comes or its approach is announced. That device is

simply a plan of disaster preparedness. The Red Cross chapter of every community should study its community's disaster hazards; survey and list its food, clothing, shelter, medical and transportation resources; and assign responsibilities for relief under these groupings to individuals and subcommittees. The community should then be informed of this preparedness plan. Confidence in the ability of the community to meet disaster, if it comes, can thereby be built up.

Of course, the basic principle of disaster organization is central authority and administration. Confusion is but confounded with decentralization, and with independent and unrelated relief efforts, no matter how well intentioned. I recall quite vividly how in the relief headquarters established in this city a year ago every governmental and private agency of relief acted responsively to one central authority in the Mississippi flood relief operation. Order can be brought out of chaos only by adhering to this principle, and thus confidence and good morale are established.

Another emergency period morale factor is the adequacy and promptness of relief. Prompt housing of the homeless, and providing of food and medical care, bring assurance and hope. Wet feet shrivel mental poise. Hunger eats at the vitals of optimism and good spirits. And this same central administration is the best guaranty of quick and adequate emergency relief.

Then a very important element is in telling the story of relief early and often and clearly. Here the publicity experts make their contribution. All the well known devices are brought into play. The radio is becoming increasingly valuable for this purpose. Meetings of disaster sufferers in refugee camps or at other gathering places are held early in the relief period. Small leaflets descriptive of the plan of relief are generously circulated. Of course, the newspapers give constant attention to relief measures. Even the aeroplane was used in the Mississippi flood operation to warn people, through the scattering of dodgers, of approaching danger of levee breaks and to instruct them where temporary care was being provided. And throughout all this publicity a square facing of the facts proves wisest.

In disaster, as on other occasions, people often think as their neighborhood leaders do. Consequently a small meeting of the community leaders in the very first hours of a disaster—now known in disaster relief jargon as a "setup meeting"—is an effective means of quickly informing the leaders of the plan of relief and thus getting the community back of the relief program. A disaster operation is often made or broken in the setup meeting. The meeting must be held as far away from the atmosphere of destruction and need as possible, so that a quiet presentation of plans and offers of administration of relief may be made and heard as dispassionately as possible. The meeting is intended to give the relief agency authority to proceed, and to furnish the backing of local leadership which will give confidence to the disaster victims.

One of the most noticeable of morale adjustments comes with the prompt

cleaning up of débris. And the sound of the first hammer in repair of a damaged roof, before the storm has barely passed, is one of the first notes in the symphony of maintaining morale. Activity toward physical reconstruction acts as a tonic. Neighbors get the habit, and soon this evidence of individual or community initiative, which can often be stimulated by the disaster worker, creates an atmosphere of self help and reliance that has far reaching effects.

And the saving grace of good humor must certainly not be overlooked. The silver lining that relief committees and refugees seemed always to find in the dark clouds of the Mississippi flood operation evidenced a sustaining courage and faith that not merely carried over the disaster sufferers themselves but seemed like a challenge to the disaster workers to be always patient, kindly, and cheerful.

Time does not permit an extended discussion of refugee camp morale. Disasters that make thousands homeless bring all of the problems of temporary care in concentration centers, either under tent or in public building. People who may always have lived apart are for the first time brought together in central eating places, at medical stations for inoculation or immunization, at community laundries. With little to occupy the long hours, with questioning about the home left behind, with concern over the return, an unhealthy group attitude may develop unless diverting occupations are devised, playgrounds for the children established, adult recreation organized—all of it as far as possible through the camp group itself. The imagination of you who have dealt with settlement groups, with camps, with community recreation projects, will readily grasp the problems and possibilities of such camp situations.

The last factor to be mentioned in maintaining morale during the emergency period can readily be seen to be the urgency of an early termination of this emergency period, this period of mass treatment, so that the more orderly processes of case treatment may follow. Oddly, the "drying up" of camps and canteens is often vigorously opposed by both refugees and community groups. But the sooner these mass treatment stopgaps are closed, the sooner will the disaster sufferer begin to think normally in his effort to reestablish himself and his family.

DURING THE REHABILITATION PERIOD

P. H. Byrns, Executive Secretary, St. Louis Chapter, American Red Cross

The mental attitude of the community during the rehabilitation period following a disaster is such that, if morale is to be maintained, the public must have complete confidence in the organization performing the relief work. This confidence must rest on the conviction that the policies and methods are sound and that the relief fund is being administered competently and with all possible speed. For at this stage the community is viewing its situation from a different angle than it did during the emergency phase of the work.

It is no longer solely concerned with the problems of food, shelter, clothing, and medical aid. The Red Cross is on the scene; the emergent needs are being met after an orderly fashion; order has been restored; and, where possible, families have been reunited. With these immediate problems well under control, every member of the community is anxious for a quick return to normal. Hysteria is less evident, but there is still evidence of bewilderment, a bewilderment due not only to the tragedy but also because no one is altogether sure just what will be done for him.

The community knows that relief funds have been raised, and that most of them will be devoted to rehabilitation, and everyone is watching, therefore, the organization intrusted with this precious remedy for his ills. Having no knowledge of rehabilitation policies and methods, knowing little of social work principles and practices, it expects rehabilitation to be effected in the same prompt and unquestioning manner as that in which the emergency situation was handled. The family, who for the asking received food, shelter, and clothing a few days previous, finds it rather disconcerting at first to be subjected to a questioning process and to see several days, or perhaps weeks, elapse with no action. To the public generally the previously fast moving machine seems to have stalled, and unless proper measures are taken the prevailing state of mind will inevitably, to a degree, change to one of doubt, criticism, and perhaps antagonism. The solution, briefly and obviously, lies in organization, an organization that requires the community itself to have a voice in the rehabilitation work, one that is high-g geared, designed and constructed to handle clients from all walks of life with expedition, and one that provides for widespread and elementary educational publicity.

The conditions which obtained in St. Louis last fall, after the tornado, and the plan of organization followed (which is the regular Red Cross disaster set-up) affords a good illustration of a situation in the average large community struck by disaster, the mental attitude of the population, and the methods used to maintain the public confidence so necessary to morale.

The tornado swept an area about two blocks wide and one hundred blocks long, running diagonally from the center of the city to the northeastern limits, where it crossed the Mississippi River and continued through a small part of Illinois. About 40,000 people lived in the path of the storm, approximately 35 per cent of whom were rendered homeless. The problem of shelter could have been met either by establishing a tent colony or by moving these families into vacant dwellings out of the storm district. As the city had adequate housing facilities, the latter plan was followed, and about 3,000 families were hurriedly moved, immediately following the tornado, to new and oftentimes to them unsatisfactory surroundings, however much more satisfactory than any tent colony could be. Here, at once, began dealing with the family as an individual unit.

On the night following the tornado a committee, comprising the leading bankers of the city, met and arranged plans for raising the relief fund, and de-

cided that the appeal would be confined to St. Louis and St. Louis County. It was not difficult to raise the money, as everyone in the city realized the horror and extent of the catastrophe and was anxious to help. As a matter of fact, the relief fund was made up of local contributions amounting to \$891,000 and a gift from the American National Red Cross of \$135,000, totaling \$1,026,000.

The tornado struck, as it usually does, a cross section of the city. It destroyed the homes of the wealthy on the south, the better class boarding house district in the center, the homes of the best element of the colored population a little farther north, a typical working class residence section farther on, and at the extreme northern end, along the river, a houseboat colony. I believe I am safe in saying that 90 per cent of the population in the storm area was not known to any social agency.

Here, then, was the situation: about 8,000 families cast, for the first time, in the rôle of recipients of public funds, rather than in that of self supporting citizenship or contributors to charitable enterprises; about 8,000 families either living in an alien part of the city or on a more or less makeshift basis, eager to return to a familiar or more normal environment; this large segment of the population still somewhat bewildered, and altogether uncertain about the extent of the help it would receive, and having no realization of the necessity for the methods that were being employed in measuring the help that would be given it; the remaining 800,000 members of the community, proud of the laudable fact that St. Louis could take care of its own, having, as they should, a strong proprietary interest in the relief fund, genuinely concerned with the methods of disbursement, frankly impatient with any delay in effecting restoration, regrettably but understandably ignorant of the need of a careful investigation of each sufferer's case, and unaware that this investigation process, in view of the magnitude of the calamity, would require three or four months' time; this group, as a result, beginning to grow somewhat impatient, somewhat suspicious, because the same prompt and decisive measures employed during the emergency were not still discernible. So we had two groups to deal with, the disaster victim and the contributing citizen. If the latter failed to understand the principles on which our rehabilitation methods were based, and as a consequence became dissatisfied with the—to his mind—unnecessarily slow process of rehabilitation, his dissatisfaction, which was highly infectious in a community with weakened resistance, would quickly and rapidly spread among the disaster sufferers, resulting in an epidemic of suspicion and criticism that would utterly rout their morale.

With these conditions confronting us, therefore, our first step was to organize the staff into a machine that can best be described in automobile parlance as having speed, flexibility, and "pick up." Speed was highly essential. In a disorganized community good social practice not only demanded it, but the public's state of mind as well. The machine had to be flexible. Our clients were a heterogeneous group, ranging from families known to social agencies to con-

tributors to the same organization. One of our clients was president of a social agency. Ninety per cent of this group had not the faintest conception of social work methods, nor of Red Cross policies. Flexibility was necessary in dealing with this cross section, comprising one minute a laborer, and perhaps the next minute a physician, a group prone to resent questioning and reluctant to discuss intimate personal affairs. Such a class of clients required from the staff, therefore, constant interpretation of our policies and methods, along with the highest technical skill. The machine had to have "pick up," quickness in getting under way, in acquiring momentum. For nothing could have a more reassuring effect upon the public mind than the news that awards were being made; and the quicker the critical period before such awards were made was spanned, the better.

I shall not go into details of staff organization here. We had, however, at our peak eighty case workers in the field, in addition to a corps of legal, building, and economic specialists, to gear the machine to the situation and the public mind. To perfect this machine required daily staff meetings at which were discussed problems of interpretation, of case selection, of technique, and of the short cuts compatible with good case work that might be employed. These staff meetings began the day following the disaster and continued until the work was well under way, when they were held biweekly. The work was organized so that we could concentrate on the cases of obvious need, those where the means of livelihood had been destroyed, and those where the nature of the loss demanded that the family be immediately restored. This case selection, based on sound case work principles, lessened the feeling of apprehension on the part of many clients and their friends and on the part of the public as well. It was necessary at the outset, however, and all through the rehabilitation progress, to reassure constantly those whose cases were not immediately adjusted that they would receive due consideration as soon as the more urgent ones were disposed of.

Concurrently with the organization of the disaster relief staff was the appointment of the prescribed Citizens' Advisory or Rehabilitation Committee. The functions of the committee were to hear the cases presented by the staff, to decide whether or not an award would be granted, and, if so, the amount of the award, the decision usually being based on the recommendations of the social worker. Great care was exercised in selecting this group. It was composed of thirty outstanding citizens of the community, each a leader in his profession or an acknowledged representative of certain interests. The bankers, the lawyers, the realtors, the contractors, the labor unions, the Jews, the Catholics, and Protestants, and the leading social agencies of the city were represented on the committee. The knowledge that such a powerful coterie of citizens, armed with such broad powers, were to have a voice in the disposition of the relief fund was not only a sound organization move, but helped much in building up the confidence of the community that the funds would be impar-

tially and sympathetically disbursed. These men and women also afforded a splendid medium for interpretation of our work to large and powerful groups in the city.

In addition to the two organization measures described—those of the staff and the rehabilitation committee, measures that provided for interpretation as well as functions—we carried on a broad program of collateral publicity in the newspapers, house organs, and over the radio. Our first story on rehabilitation was given to the leading evening newspaper in the form of answers to a questionnaire prepared by the editor. This article gave typical problems caused by the tornado and the action which the Red Cross would take in meeting them. In this and in articles released to other newspapers, house organs, and broadcasting stations we went very carefully into policies and methods, stressing pointedly our policy of making awards for rehabilitation on a basis of need rather than of loss. The first meeting of the Rehabilitation Committee was used again as an opportunity to interpret to the community in a broad way just what rehabilitation meant and how it was effected. Careful consideration was consequently used in selecting the cases to be presented to the committee, in order that they might afford illustrations of the varying problems which the tornado caused and of how they were being met. I recall that an award for rebuilding, one for vocational equipment, and one for funeral expenses were passed on at the first meeting. All of the papers carried special stories on this meeting. Care was taken to disguise the cases so that they would not be recognizable.

In our program of interpretation, and in the organization methods used to create public confidence, the social agencies of the city played an important part. Following the disaster not a single member agency of the Community Council endeavored to undertake any relief work as a unit, but all accepted the Red Cross organization as the logical agency to handle the job, and without solicitation placed their staffs at our disposal. I think there can be found no better evidence of the value of team work in a community than that displayed by the agencies at a time when unified effort was so vital. No small credit is due to the Community Council for initiating and developing this spirit. The consolidation of all these agencies under the leadership of the Red Cross was a tremendous factor in maintaining public morale, not only by this example which they set, but also because each board or executive group of these agencies was constantly in touch with the progress of the work through their workers on our staff, and therefore instrumental in better interpreting to that part of the populace which comprised their interested contributors.

The wisdom of the measures employed became more and more apparent as the work progressed. The construction of the field staff into an organization that functioned with the utmost speed, as indicated by the fact that the entire job, comprising a case registration of 8,626 families, was completed three and a half months from the date of the tornado, dispelled to a large degree the gen-

eral feeling of impatience and criticism; the drafting of a large group of responsible citizens for service in the organization, the powers which were given them and the enlightening information which they gave to the public, helped to develop the feeling that the funds were being disbursed impartially and adequately; the widespread yet detailed program of interpretation, carried on by the staff, by the citizens drawn into the organization through the social agencies of the city, and through the other channels mentioned, changed the general tendency of suspicion and criticism into a feeling of approbation, or at least acquiescence.

There were, to be sure, complaints from time to time from dissatisfied clients and from misinformed citizens. There also were isolated flare-ups on the part of clients. On the whole, however, the belief in the ability of the Red Cross to handle the situation in an adequate and prompt manner did not waiver to any marked degree throughout the rehabilitation period, and that intangible quality we call morale seemed to flow along its accustomed level.

In brief, then, during the rehabilitation period we have a convalescent community not altogether normal physically or mentally, a community that, with the crisis passed, is anxious for a speedy recovery, a community that sees what it considers the one specific remedy—the relief fund—available, and fretful and restive because that remedy is not immediately applied.

What success is encountered in preserving that state of mind best conducive to recovery which we label morale depends largely on the extent to which we can impart to the minds of the public a feeling of confidence in the soundness of our treatment, a conviction as to the efficacy of social work methods which we, as social workers, possess.

VII. MENTAL HYGIENE

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MENTAL HYGIENE TO THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE HOME AND THE FAMILY

MENTAL HYGIENE FACTORS IN PARENTHOOD AND PARENTAL RELATIONS

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In presenting the mental hygiene factors existing within the family unit two general sets of conditions must be brought to mind.

First, there are the rather obvious, superficial relations of everyday life—superficial only in that they lie on the surface, but not superficial in the sense that they are of little significance. These are the matters of handling ordinary occurrences, of training in eating and sleeping, of recreation and companionship, of food fads, of temper tantrums, of the obvious sex instruction as contrasted with actual sex instruction passed on by parental attitudes, matters of training in responsibility, of assistance or the lack of it in the usual affairs of daily life, of forcing in school, of comparison with the other children in the family—in general, the technique of child training, the external portion of training that goes into the formation of the child's ultimate attitude toward reality and his ability to meet the world and what is in it with a calm mind and a stable emotional balance. This represents the external, empirical framework on which mental hygiene relationships in the home are built. These things are fairly obvious. This is the material with which the lay literature of child training is concerned, and it can be made of inestimable value to the general public if appropriately handled. With a knowledge of the accepted technique of this procedure, a technique which is in the main based on good clinical work, it is possible to write out a training program, a behavior prescription, for a child who presents problems, or for an adult who is having difficulty meeting the demands of the world. If this outline is well carried out there is a fair probability that the difficulties presented may be removed.

Unfortunately other factors frequently enter the picture, and in spite of the best intentions the prescription is not carried out. If these factors could be made tangible, if the direction of their activity could be foreseen, and a prognosis of their effects made, much of the uncertainty of mental hygiene treatment could be removed. Examples of this are frequent enough in any clinical work. Occasionally a mother will bring a child into a clinic, stating that the

child is having difficulties in a certain direction, and, as the first step in the study, the child will be given a physical and psychological examination. For some reason, before any further study has been made, before any of the results of the partly completed examination have been reported, the mother finds that there is a marked improvement in the child's behavior and does not report for further study. When the case is followed the mother frequently reports that she has received the greatest benefit from the clinic study, that the clinic is a wonderful place, and that her child has been made over. Clearly something has happened to the child-mother-home-complex, but on the basis of clinical study, just what this "something" is cannot be stated. On the other hand, some other mother will become interested in the study of child behavior, will read all that she can find, will attend good courses, will attempt to put into practice the really excellent advice that she has gleaned, and in the end will discover that her child's reactions to the world are seriously warped. In the first instance unexpected factors have produced good results without the assistance of any technical advice, and in the other case poor results have occurred under conditions which, on the surface, seem excellent. These factors are the same as those which give rise to unexpected resistance to treatment as outlined, and cause much of the failure and disappointment in mental hygiene treatment.

Accepting the fact that the obvious technique, the surface management of the difficulties which arise in parental relations, is familiar, an attempt to analyze those subsurface influences in the child-parent-home unit might be of considerable assistance both in the original study and diagnosis of mental hygiene problems and in the planning of treatment for such conditions.

In attempting such an analysis it is necessary to formulate as clearly as possible the general drives, or tendencies, which motivate the child in its adjustment to those manipulations which have been referred to as the surface technique of family relations. In the attempt to simplify these drives there has been a tendency to coin phrases, to use catch words, and in that way to represent as conditions phenomena which are really processes. This tendency to call names is an old evil in psychiatry. We have heard too much of dementias, of manic excitements, of kleptomania, of constitutional psychopathic states, too much of symptom names and of end product names. Someone should analyze the satisfaction which goes with resounding phrases. They seem frequently to represent an ego or even a libido drive for satisfaction on the part of the inventor, rather than an addition to the clarity of scientific thinking. There are, however, certain general trends, certain more or less continuous processes, which can be pictured if they cannot be named with a single descriptive phrase. It is the relations of these drives as they exist in parents and children and as they come into contact, or conflict, with the external technique of training that constitute the subsurface factors in mental hygiene relationships within the child-parent-home unit. These groups cannot be adequately named, but they can be described in terms of the life processes of the child.

First there is the process which leads from infantile comfort and dependence toward adult self direction and its attendant compensations and deprivations. Over this road protoplasm moves because it is irritated. Organized protoplasm moves toward what "appears likely to be less irritating." Among human beings the complexity of "what appears to be less irritating" is very great and is, with a few obvious exceptions, dependent upon the training which the organism receives as it moves along this path. Calling such a process the instinct for self preservation, or the desire for security, or the drive toward adult independence, conceals part of its scope. It is of supreme importance both in regard to the child and in regard to the parent. For the child it means learning that it is less irritating to manipulate objects and events personally than to await the uncertain pleasures of others. Such a lesson presupposes that the pleasure of others in removing difficulties is uncertain to an appreciable degree. If the parent succeeds in becoming absolutely infallible and omnipresent in the face of the child's difficulties the child never learns this lesson. Successful learning of this lesson also means that the child must become aware of irritation when social conventions are broken. In a positive way it means the ability to meet change with an expectancy of achievement and with stimulation to activity rather than with fear or anxiety; it means the ability to face the inevitable with a just estimation of personal responsibility and without projection of all disaster upon the outside world. When it is remembered that these things are learned, and are not the gradual development of inborn seeds of instincts, it becomes at once evident that the parent who has never learned the lesson is a poor teacher. The parent who has been taught to dread change and who is constantly apprehensive may go through the movements of teaching his child to look forward to new conditions with the thrill of an expectant conqueror, but his movements will be merely an empty sham. Parents who feel that they have been exposed to the extreme hardships of the world, who are very conscious of the struggle that they have made, who have succeeded by hard work but without any thrill of achievement, are very prone to keep their children from having any contact with reality. One infant cannot possibly teach another infant to be adult.

Associated with the first process which leads from infantile dependency toward adult independence there is a second process. It leads out from the center of a circle. Originally this second process begins with the differentiation by which the individual separates himself from the surrounding world and thus becomes the center of everything of which he is conscious. For the infant everything with which he comes into contact is organized in relation to himself, has a personal meaning and a tendency to be subjectively identified. From this point the individual must progress to the adult point of view in which he sees himself in some sort of graded, relative position in relation to the rest of the world. Much of the original desire to remain in the center of the picture hangs on and with this there grows up a feeling of comparison with other individuals.

Possibly because of the way in which we are all conscious of a total picture of ourselves, seeing both the inner and the outer machinery, the good and the bad, while we see only the exterior of others, only that side which they wish to show us, there grows up a feeling of difference, a feeling that we have not as much as others have, a feeling that they have more ability or more desirability than we. With this process of removal from the center of the circle there grows up the desire for favorable notice from others, the desire to be more or less like these others who possess some of the things which we lack, and at the same time to have these others notice us and thus satisfy our wish to remain in the center. We may call the behavior which we see as a result of this process the effects of an inferiority complex, the drive for attention, a conflict over differences or a desire for self maximization, a desire for inflation or preservation of the ego, a desire to conform to the group or not to be too different from the group in ways of which the group does not approve, and thus explain some individual part of this general adjustment process. What really goes on seems to be an adjustment to the discovery that the world does not revolve about us as the most important created unit. Clinically it seems that this adjustment process and the means used to compensate for a shifting in relative values may be one of the most important motivating factors in determining the ultimate behavior of the individual. Very many factors are concerned with the way in which this transition takes place. Parent relations, the conditions existing within the circle composed of a child at the center completely surrounded by parents and home, play a large part in the healthy or unhealthy completion of the journey: The first adjustment at which the parents must assist is a more or less inevitable forcing from the center of the picture. This can be done cruelly, without any preparation and by force of circumstances which may seem to the child unfair in the highest degree, or it may be delayed deliberately, by artificially holding the child in the center until sudden projection out of the family group forces upon him in an overwhelming way the realization of his relative unimportance. We are all of us familiar with the clinical pictures which either of these procedures may produce both in children and in adults. In addition to the delay or acceleration of the process, the standards by which the child feels that he is judged, first by parents and later by the rest of the world, are set up in the home. False ideas of personal incompetence may be created by too severe comparisons, by criticisms, by the accentuation of defects or variations, and by the use of standards of which society will later disapprove. After the family has built the foundation on which the ability to judge one's relative position in the circle of life rests, society, chiefly the particular age group in which the child belongs, takes a hand and evaluates, arbitrarily and cruelly, the individual's attempts at adjustment. Again we are all familiar with the ways in which the individual attempts to defend himself from these judgments, the ways in which he tries to conceal from others and justify for himself these feelings of difference which have been built up for him by his family as he moves

from the infantile center of the picture to the adult position of a relatively insignificant atom in an infinitely complex cosmos. Clinical work with children and with some insane people seems to indicate that this process of adjustment to relative personal values is the most important part of development. On the one hand it certainly influences those things which irritate the organism and thus motivate it, and on the other hand it seems to be a powerful factor in sensitizing the individual to the drives initiated by his needs for satisfaction in his affectional and sex life. The difficulties in adjustment to lack of affection and to the upsetting effects of the sex drive at its physiological level may be occasioned more by the lack of ability to assign relative values, to judge one's differences in attractiveness, equipment, behavior, and opportunity, than by limitations of actual emotional and physiological needs. The affectional and sex needs give rise to direct drives which may be satisfied or not according to the dictates of a particular social group. The personal judgment of the individual as to the way in which he meets the demands of society, of the way in which he measures up to the standards and ideals which have been trained and developed within him, largely determine his ultimate reactions. It is not the lack of satisfaction of affectional needs that produces compensatory behavior in an individual, but the judgment of the individual as to how well he has met the conditions which he feels that he, as an important and central figure, is called upon to meet. In this process of moving from the center of the circle and adjusting at some point in the complexity of interhuman relations it is the standards, ideals, and training in the family group which determine the actual success of the individual much more than any specific factors in his personal equipment. Again we see that a parent who has not succeeded in mastering the curriculum of this most difficult of all lessons is a rather poor teacher.

Judging the mental hygiene relations which exist in the child-parent relations from this point of view, we see two processes active: First, the process which leads from security toward independence, a process initiated by the fundamental irritability of the organism and guided by the training which the organism receives; and second, a process which leads from the center of the circle toward a correctly evaluated position as one of many independent and comparable units, the success of this process being also determined by the training which the individual receives, in the beginning from his parents, and later from society in general.

It is quite obvious that these behavior patterns become fixed and that they influence the reactions of the individual throughout his entire life, limiting him in certain specific ways if he has not succeeded in reaching the goals of independence and of satisfactory self evaluation. The matter is, of course, not as simple as it appears on the surface because of the compensatory mechanisms which the individual may develop. For the purpose of the present discussion we are not interested in those compensatory mechanisms which affect the individual alone, but only in those which affect the relations existing between the

parent and the child. Here we see various processes in action. At an entirely unconscious level the parent who has not succeeded in reaching an adult degree of independence may dread changes in his children, may fear their breaking away from home protection and entering a world which the parent himself has always feared to meet, and may therefore make every effort to create a home situation so safe and so satisfying that there will be no incentive for the child to leave. The parent who, because of his poor preparation, had a great struggle with the world, may insist in an almost fanatical way on the preparation of his children and may go to great lengths to protect them from the hard knocks which he received. Logically you may be able to convince him that the things which he is doing are wrong, that they are destructive, and that his methods should be changed; but even in the face of this logic he may be unable to change his methods because he himself has never learned the lesson. While the too dependent parent may produce too dependent children, it is the parent who has failed to reach the goal of proper self evaluation who produces the most disastrous results. He may try to compensate for his own poor opinion of himself by demanding inordinately brilliant results from his children. Being a little unsure of himself, he may resent any possible signs of lack of respect on the part of his children, and he may therefore insist on instant, autocratic obedience, even in the most trifling and arbitrary matters. Being convinced that he was given the wrong type of training as he grew up, he may reverse every method that was used by his parents, not because of the needs of his children, but because of his own estimation of the effects which these methods produced on him as a youth. On the other hand, he may be convinced that the way in which he was trained by his father was exactly right and that his own difficulties have been due to the faults of the world, and he may therefore insist on using methods used in his childhood, regardless of their adaptability either to his children or to the conditions under which his children are growing up. It is this empirical application of methods in parent-child relations, based neither on needs of the child nor on requirements of the condition under which the child is living, that is a constant source of difficulty in mental hygiene treatment. It presents several interesting problems. There is a very large traditional factor involved, a factor which seems to be passed down from generation to generation as a sort of family inheritance. Parents practice on their children a type of mental hygiene which is influenced by the type of training which their parents practiced upon them. The relations which existed between the grandparents and the parents color the relations existing between the parents and their children much more than the actual needs of the children. It is this continuous chain of reactions, grandparents upon parents, parents upon children, which must be broken if actual progress is to be made in preventive mental hygiene. The chief element in this chain is the empirical acceptance or rejection of methods not because of their adequacy in the present, but because of their success or failure in the past. This is closely associated with our general lack of

objectivity in thinking about human behavior. In the fields of natural science we have been able to break away from the feeling that ideas are correct because they were assumed to be correct in the past. In medicine we have broken away to such an extent that almost any idea which was accepted a generation ago is now looked upon with suspicion simply because of its age. In psychology, in several directions, we have thrown over ideas which have been standard for long periods and have branched out in new directions. In the actual lay practice of parental relations we still look backward to the good old days and feel that if we could only go back to the methods which are said to have worked in the days of Solomon the world would be a much better and a much happier place in which to live.

The practical importance of this attempt to determine how far parents have progressed toward adulthood rests on the assistance which it may give in actual treatment of mental hygiene problems involving parental relations. Is it possible, in a given case, to predict in advance the probable treatment resistances which will have to be met in the parents, and to plan, as an integral part of the treatment, procedures which will tend to remove these resistances? Naturally this is attempted to a certain extent in every case, but it seems possible that, by constantly bearing in mind the two general lessons which the person must learn, by checking the extent to which he seems to have learned them, by noting the factors which made the learning more difficult, a much clearer picture could be obtained of the parental relations and their development than is usually evident in case studies. In order to get such a picture it would be necessary to obtain a developmental picture of the parents. Naturally this could not be as complete as that obtained for a child, but in the adult one would have the added advantage of being able to check suspicions founded on the developmental picture by the facts of after life, by the history of the way in which the individual actually reacted to the conditions which he should have been trained to meet. It should be possible, by checking such facts, to obtain some rather concrete idea of the point to which the individual had progressed along the journey from a dependent and centrally focused childhood toward an independent and relatively evaluated adulthood. Such a procedure should help us to plan treatment and to evaluate certain resistances.

THE EFFECTS ON THE CHILD OF AN UNSTABLE HOME SITUATION

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Unstable homes are the raw material of every case worker's job, whether we come across them in a legal aid society, a family agency, the child caring field, the juvenile court, or a child guidance clinic. An unstable home situation includes, but goes beyond, the limits of a broken home. In truth, many an unbroken home menaces the normal development of personality in equal degree, and in the same manner, i.e., by tearing down the child's feeling of security.

However, we have chosen as the basis of our discussion a group of children all of whom come from broken homes. The Cleveland Child Guidance Clinic gives a routine mental health study to every child placed in the Cleveland Children's Aid Society, a study home for dependent children for whom placement plans must be made. We have chosen this group because it offers a fairly large unselected group of children, who present an adequate cross section of all the various problems referred to a child guidance clinic, but who have this one thing in common: they can no longer live in their own homes. These have been broken by illness, death, desertion, or by what is considered antisocial behavior on the part of the parents and, therefore, have been broken by community action. Many of these children have already been in foster homes which are no longer able or willing to keep them, and study is requested to determine what further type of placement is desirable. The fact that these children are facing placement presupposes as a background an unstable home situation. They seem to offer a homogeneous group for analysis.

From the moment of birth, the individual has to fight a constantly recurring sense of insecurity. We start from the one common loss, that of the comfort and security felt before birth; from then on each one of us strives to build up his own unassailable individuality. This is built up through his contacts with the reality outside of himself, the reality of things and other persons, and is torn down through these same outside contacts. Although these experiences are grouped into individual patterns for each one of us, yet there are certain typical stresses which call forth a greater striving for recognition on the part of the developing ego. Some of these stresses are the exploits of a rival playmate, the beginning of the school career, the arrival of a new brother or sister, and anything which seems to the child to deprive him of the love and care of his parents. The way in which these stresses are met, the constructive or destructive opportunities for winning recognition open to the child, determine the pattern for many of his adult responses to similar situations, as we well know. It behooves us, then, to see that the child has plenty of opportunities to win attention for good behavior rather than for bad, to see that the experiences that build up his feeling of adequacy outweigh those that tend to tear it down.

A feeling of security is quite the opposite of a feeling of dependency, of being protected. Security is a product of belonging, of affection, of adequacy, of independence, and is not born of being catered to, of having work done for us. Normally the greatest blow to security is the entire removal from the parents, either through death, hospitalization, or community action. In this last instance there is a double blow to be borne. Not only is the child deprived of the love and protection of the parents, but these parents are considered unworthy to take care of him. They have symbolized power and goodness, and now an outsider is trying to subvert these ideals. No matter if we do try to soften the blow, to sell the idea of removal by what are really subterfuges (mother is sick and cannot take care of him, etc.), what child beyond the earliest years does not see through these arguments and, at least unconsciously,

absorb the idea that is in our own minds, with its consequent confusion of emotional values. If our conceptions of right and wrong, our conscience, and that super-conscience which some call God, emerge from our conception of the parental ideal, what is going to be the effect on a child whose parental ideal is thus overthrown in his formative years? The idea of parental authority once assailed, with the consequent confusion of moral and ethical ideas which were based on it, why should we be surprised if a "problem child" results?

Further, what is the effect on the child who has his sense of security and his conception of parental power assailed, not once, but many times? The effect of this instability of home situation on a group of foster home children will be brought out in more detail later. At present we wish to touch on an outgrowth or another phase of the need for security, namely, the child's dislike of being different from others. Although when we have reached chronological maturity we may make a virtue of emotional necessity and pride ourselves on being different and unconventional, a child has a profound respect for the conventional behavior of his group. To be secure, in his group he must be like it. And in spite of our present day discussions on the changing family, the norm of our present Western civilization is still the family consisting of child and both parents. The child in the foster home is *per se* different from his fellows. This difference may be softened, although perhaps never entirely overcome, if the foster home placement is an enduring one, but the records of child placing agencies are only too full of replacements. That even the most careful placing technique cannot entirely avoid this situation is shown by the case of one boy we know who in his eleven years of life has been legally adopted twice, both placements being terminated by the death of one of the adoptive parents. This contingency could certainly not have been foreseen, but it has just as certainly had a disastrous effect on the boy's personality. It will be seen that we are defining instability of home situation in terms of breeding a feeling of insecurity in the sense just developed and a feeling of difference.

We have stated that the children we are immediately discussing are facing their first placement or have already had to make this adjustment. In the first group, those who have just left their own homes, we come across three types: first, those who have not heretofore presented any serious behavior or personality problems; second, those whose problems are characterized by overt misbehavior which can best be defined as imitative of their environment; and third, those whose actual symptomatic behavior may duplicate that of the second group, but is complicated by personality difficulties. Although at a first glance all of the homes from which these children have come may seem to us to have been unstable, we are compelled to change our minds on a closer view. Analysis of the whole situation brings to light factors in it that made for emotional security. The children in these two groups may come from homes in the poorest, most congested districts. Their parents may have given them little supervision, but there has been affection. There may have been bootlegging,

poor housekeeping, any one of the many home situations so distressing to social workers, who judge them by the standards of their own backgrounds and conventions. But in the sense we have been developing this is not an unstable home, for it is, perhaps unfortunately, like nearly all the homes in that particular child's environment. He does not feel different from his social group; he does not feel insecure in his family group. His misbehavior does not spring from any deep emotional confusion; it is the natural product of his environment. We may make our position clearer by briefly quoting one such situation. Robert and John are brothers, sons of divorced parents. The mother has been promiscuous but the home has been physically satisfactory and the mother has kept the boys' faith in her. They are likeable, helpful, dependable youngsters. Here the boys' attachment to the mother and to each other seems to have been the stable element in the situation; also the fact that the difference between her moral standards and those of the neighbors does not seem to have become apparent to the children.

When we now come to the point of placing these children we naturally find that we have an entirely new problem on our hands. Some, of course, because of the absence of coddling and overprotectiveness so far absent in their homes, have developed a degree of independence, initiative, and self reliance which will materially help them to adjust to a new situation and not be overwhelmed by it, unless they are summarily thrust into a new way of living where initiative and self reliance in children are not highly valued. But for many placement means the removal of the security which has been at the bottom of the absence of difficulties. The child has built up a feeling of recognition; he is establishing a feeling of himself against a circle of other familiar personalities. Now he is uprooted and has to try himself out against an entirely new set of personalities; he has to win a new place for himself, for recognition he must have at any cost. The stresses in foster home life will be touched on in more detail later.

We return now to that group distinguished by personality difficulties rather than misbehavior, or rather those whose misbehavior may take the same overt form as that displayed by the foregoing group, but is more dangerous from a mental hygiene standpoint because it has its roots in a fundamental feeling of insecurity and difference. It does not impress us as a natural imitation of behavior normal to environment, but has about it that play for attention, that desperate effort to gain recognition, so integral a part of the personality striving against a feeling of insecurity. These are the children in whom stealing, undesirable gang activity, destructiveness, etc., are bound up with a resentful attitude, who have difficulty in getting along with other children, have fears, or perhaps an irritating air of superiority. Some of these children show no overt misbehavior; they are rather characterized by listlessness, solitary play, lack of initiative, and non-aggressiveness, perhaps despondency. Interestingly enough, some of these children are referred without any statement of their difficulties; outwardly conforming and obedient, they are not recognized as problem chil-

dren. In these homes we find parental desertion, family disagreements and quarrels with the inevitable inner pressure on the children to take sides, relief by a charitable agency, mental disease or a high degree of neurosis in the parents, or a reaction on the part of the child to illegitimacy.

Typical of the children in this group seen by the clinic, except that he was more articulate than many of the youngsters, is Frank, the fourteen-year-old boy whose family has been known to social agencies for the last eleven years. Both parents have a good background, but the father, twelve years the mother's senior, became a chronic alcoholic after the mother divorced him. She later married a halfbreed Indian with whom she had already been living. She was considered so unstable that custody of the children was removed by court order. There are two children older than Frank and one younger. When Frank was seven he was placed in an institution (an up to date institution run on the cottage plan) for two years, except for a short period in a foster home. He was returned to the institution and then to his own home. The necessity for the present removal has been discussed with the boy by the child placing agent and he has acquiesced, although devoted to his mother. At the institution Frank was described as unruly; after return to his home he was engaged in destructive gang activity, and was a disciplinary problem in the schoolroom, although adequate in school work. In the study home he was reported as a very active youngster, who played as much as possible with other children but often teased the younger ones, who did his work well, but often called attention to himself by annoying behavior. One attendant noted: "He thinks it smart to be troublesome." His table manners seemed to be an especially sore point with the attendants: he chatted and even sang at the table and had food fads. The matron thought that the boy really tried to please, that he tried to play with the younger children, but did not know how to go about it. He was always dependable. Frank's own story to the psychiatrist gives us our insight into his problem. He feels that his first mistake was a fundamental one: "I shouldn't have been born into such a family." He has no regard for his father because of his drinking and refusal to provide for the family. He has given all his devotion to his mother, but she also has betrayed him by remarrying. He is fully aware of the relationship existing between the mother and stepfather before their marriage. He sees many of the mother's deficiencies, but he always has an excuse for her, and nothing but hatred and contempt for his stepfather. His troubles were made worse by being sent to an institution. "That ain't no life for a kid," and adds, "If I hadn't been there they wouldn't have sent me to that home in the country." He feels that the reason he didn't get along in this home was that he was never really accepted by the family as their own, that they made more fuss over their own children; in the childish fights that occurred they always took the part of their own children; when an accident to his hand necessitated a large doctor bill, they shipped him back to the orphanage. (We must remember that these are not corroborated facts, but the boy's feeling

about the situation after a five year interval.) In regard to school difficulties he says, "Teachers say I'm too sensitive and I'm flippy. I try awfully hard not to be and try to do my best but they just don't seem to understand a kid like me." In regard to his table manners at the study home he exclaimed, "Gee, I guess I must be talking too much. I just thought I was doing the right thing in showing them all a good time."

For this boy, as for many in similar situations, his own home, unstable as it is, and however wavering the sense of security it gives, after all is the only measure of security he has known. His former experience out of the home will not tend to help his attitude when again placed. He will have a hard time unless he is fortunate enough to meet with a foster mother who, like the matron at the receiving home, recognizes his often irritating activity as springing from a desire to please and a need for securing the recognition that will prove to himself that he is not such a worthless person after all, even if he can have no family pride, is supplanted by a stepfather, and not wanted by a foster home. Unless he meets with this understanding, placement, instead of being a constructive experience, will only be a continuance of the destructive elements in his past life.

Of the group of foster home children in the study home, nearly all showed behavior and personality disorders in contradistinction to the children from own homes, about a third of whom had no manifest problem. This is not proof, of course, that every foster child is a problem. The foster children in the study home would, of course, be those who had met with unsuccessful placements. But when we consider that the average number of previous placements for the group was three and the median age of all the study home children was ten, the relationship existing between a problem foster child and the instability of home situation indicated by a succession of foster homes is brought into high relief.

The instability inherent in any foster home situation must be faced. Even if the behavior is excellent. The birth of an own child, removal to another city, an extended summer vacation, an illness on the part of the foster mother, may lead to removal of the child and the need for another adjustment. It seems almost impossible for even the most sympathetic atmosphere to be entirely without the hint that removal is imminent if behavior becomes too annoying.

Barbara, aged sixteen, seven years ago was placed in the home of a wealthy, childless couple who wanted a daughter to educate. Her own background had been poor and included an institutional placement, and she had been old enough at the time to remember all this. Her foster parents now complained that she was too interested in boys and was often disobedient. To the psychiatrist Barbara tells, after admitting all the advantages the foster parents have given her, that during all these seven years they have often reminded her that they have given her a home and that she is not duly appreciative. Although not guilty of any overt misdemeanor, they took her to the detention home for her Easter vacation "to teach her a lesson," although immediately on

her return home they presented her with an expensive fur piece. It is interesting that they have never considered adopting her, although her parents are dead.

Another fact that brings home to the foster child the instability in his own situation and deepens his sense of difference is the presence in the home of an own child or an adopted child. With the best will in the world some favoritism cannot be avoided, especially if this child is younger. Even if this favoritism miraculously is absent, the presence of the other child is a constant reminder to the foster child of what he is missing. As one boy, removed from a home undesirable in every respect, exclaimed, "Other boys can live with their mothers. I don't see why I can't." To a social worker who compares the previous home conditions and deprivations of many of these children with the advantages and real affection given them in many foster homes, their misbehavior often seems unwarranted unless we remember that they have not the wide experience of an adult or a supervisor of foster home children on which to base their comparisons; they compare their situations with those of children in normal homes.

Jane is a nine-year-old colored girl whose father is dead and whose mother deserted her three years ago. In the first home in which she was placed was an adopted girl just a little older than Jane, a precocious child who enjoyed a great deal of attention as an entertainer, while Jane is a quiet, inarticulate child. All at once Jane became very destructive of valuable articles, giving as her reason when cornered, but without any further details, that she was "getting even." After she was removed it was found that the other girl was adroit in shifting the blame for her own misdeeds, and Jane had often been punished for the other's misdemeanors. In the next home was another adopted child, much younger than Jane, and the pet of the foster parents. Jane became even more moody, sullen, and withdrawn, and removal was again asked. By this time Jane is openly resentful; she dislikes her mother, who mistreated and deserted her; she feels she was unfairly treated in her foster homes; and thinks that her teachers discriminate against her because of her race. Her life situation offers a real basis for all her resentment, but there are certain conditions she must face. Placement has not proved a constructive experience; it has helped her to form habits of evasion, of blaming others for her difficulties, and she has even carried that over to her racial position.

What makes for special difficulty in the group of children who have to move on through a succession of homes is their inability to attach the love usually given to the parents to any other substitute. Sometimes, if the placing agent remains the same over a long period, she can give the child the stable love outlet he needs. If his supervisor changes, as well as his home placement, he is poorly off indeed. Denied normal love outlets, he is driven to find more satisfactions for his ego. If, because his assets are perhaps limited and his previous training poor, he fails to find satisfactory ways of gaining recognition,

but is driven to misbehaving, he will probably need to have another home found for him; and, convinced that he is a bad boy, the vicious circle will recommence.

Not every broken home is an unstable home, nor is every home unstable that falls below the social standards set by the community. While the children from these homes indulge in certain overt misbehavior, treatment is more a question of finding better outlets, cultivating constructive interests, or giving certain habit training. It is often a problem in community work. The really unstable home situations are the ones that prevent the child from building up a feeling of adequacy, that accentuate his feeling of difference from the normal, and therefore call for an exaggerated striving for recognition in order that he keep his ego intact. These call for our best technique in individual treatment in order that an adequate love outlet and constructive ways of winning recognition be provided.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MENTAL HYGIENE TO THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CASE WORK

THE ESSENTIAL SIMILARITIES IN ALL FIELDS OF CASE WORK

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The subject of this paper takes one back to the examining room of the psychologist, where the similarities test of the Stanford Binet intelligence test is being given to an eight-year-old. "I want you to tell me how these three things are alike: snake, cow, and sparrow." And the correct answer is, "All are animals." If this were the examining room for the case workers of the United States, and we were asked, "What are the essential similarities in all fields of case work: family case work, children's case work, case work in the schools, psychiatric case work, and on through the rest of the series," how many of us would reply, "As we learn more about the place of emotional factors in the family groups, and the way in which these factors affect the development of the individual, the more it becomes evident that all case work must ultimately come to grips with the same types of situations, though often through different channels. The tools of understanding and meeting the vital situations with which these different case workers are faced must be substantially the same whether the entrée is through the doorway of giving relief, placing a child, or helping Johnny to get over his temper tantrums and stealing."

At the outset, may I make it clear that I am referring throughout only to the adequately performed case work in the various fields, carried on by case workers with sufficient training and experience to see the implications in the material they are dealing with, and to utilize these implications in carrying on treatment. I have assumed that the discussion of this subject should concern

itself with the most progressive trends and objectives in each field of case work rather than with the necessary practice in many communities at this time. In order that we may have a common understanding of what we mean by case work let us start out with our chairman's (Mr. Porter R. Lee) statement of social case work in the introduction to the *Vocational Studies of the American Association of Social Workers*. "The chief objective of social case work is to assist individuals who need such service to achieve what may be for them as complete a measure of self maintenance as possible. This objective might be itemized as an attempt to develop within the individual his fullest capacity for self maintenance and at the same time to assist him in establishing for himself an environment which will be as favorable as may be to his powers and limitations."¹

In another part of this introduction Mr. Lee has admirably stated what I should like to emphasize throughout this paper:

It is true that, until recent years, the differences among the various forms of social case work have seemed to be more significant than their common foundation. The most important evidence, however, that social case work is achieving a professional status is the fact that the scientific and technical foundation common to its various forms has steadily increased. At the present time the differences between the various forms of social case work are more largely administrative than professional. . . . In so far as social case work has developed a scientific character, it is apparent chiefly in its common foundation."²

In amplifying this point of view I should like to discuss first of all the importance of the family and its interrelationships as a basis for the carrying on of all good case work. We are increasingly aware that the difference is only one of degree between the individual or family seeking help outside of his own group and the more self sustaining family groups from which most of us have come. Sometimes this difference in degree is due to the unexpected and extreme accidents of fate, the "acts of God" in a social sense, such as long and complicated illnesses, accidents, unemployment crises, etc. More often, however, we know that this difference lies in the degree to which the family has become so integrated in a healthy way that the development and maturity of each individual within that group has enabled him to rise to the demands of unexpected turns and crises in the path of self sustaining family life. Social case work is concerned with this group which is not self sustaining in one way or another. The case worker's growing knowledge of modern psychology, added to her own life experience, gives her increasing assurance, in this intangible field of human relationships, that the key to understanding and working with these families who have had to go outside for help usually lies in the degree of lack of integration of the family as a mature, self perpetuating group in the environment in which it has found itself.

¹ *Vocational Aspects of Family Social Work*, Published by the American Association of Social Workers, p. 10.

² *Ibid*, p. 14.

To illustrate my first point, that with few exceptions the whole field of case work is dealing with essentially the same fabric of attitudes and patterns and associations in family life, I want to present very briefly a skeleton outline of three cases. One of these is from the field of family case work, one from a child placing agency, and one from a child guidance clinic.

An Italian family, now active with a family agency, is made up of a widow, Mrs. N, and eight children. Mr. N, a calm, quiet man, was the stabilizing influence in the home, though he had been ill a number of years before his death. When Mrs. N was forced into the rôle of head of the household after her husband's death she took on the pattern of her own authoritative, dominating father against whom she and her brothers had reacted. She became excitable and irritable, and her only attempts to control the children were through fear and criticism. After six years of this family life the agency finds a group in which all of the children live at home except two married daughters who have settled in the neighborhood and spend each day with their mother. The four other children of working age take no responsibility in contributing to the family budget, working irregularly or not at all, refusing all work which is disagreeable, and telling the mother that she will manage to keep them together in some way. The boys have a marked lack of interest in girls. The younger children are unwilling to spend a night away from home, even leaving camp because they are lonely. All of them have a most infantile and unreasoning attitude toward medical care. Relief and unemployment situations abound in this picture, but the family case worker's concern is primarily with the immaturity and dependence which have come out of the complicated relationships involved in Mrs. N's widowhood.

The following situation has been known to a child placing agency for some time. Mr. R, the father, born in Germany, was well educated but never self supporting. He married Mrs. R against her will, and always was cruel and abusive to her. He finally became insane and has been in a hospital for the insane for four years. Mrs. R, the youngest of nine children, took care of her father after her mother's death. Her father had always been dependent financially on his wife. At his insistence she married Mr. R, whom she did not love. She had no knowledge of sex life, and marriage was a turbulent and bitter experience. Mrs. R had two children, the oldest, a boy now aged fourteen, always having been troublesome. He swears at his mother and beats his ten-year-old sister, of whom he is very jealous. The girl is a docile, obedient child.

In order to approach the case work job with this woman and two children at war with each other it is necessary that the worker should have some understanding of the obvious immaturity of Mr. R, who continued through adult life to be dependent on his parents and finally on his wife through the use of her dowry; of Mrs. R, who has identified herself with her father in her attitude toward financial responsibility, and therefore was particularly unable to adjust to a husband who could not accept this responsibility. The infantile traits of

each accentuated the other's difficulties and resulted in quarreling and constant friction. Mrs. R's identification of the boy with his father and her resultant treatment of him has brought about a condition of great insecurity for the boy, so that he reacts by trying to get his mother's attention in the most infantile ways. The sister, whom the mother considers like herself, is in quite as difficult a situation, with the love of the mother crushing her on the one hand, and the hatred and jealousy of her brother constantly undermining any family unity. After a sufficiently long contact to be assured that this triangle of opposing forces and needs could be only exaggerated by living together, it was decided that the boy should be placed, in order to avoid a mental breakdown.

Fred H, aged fourteen, was referred to a child guidance clinic because he was unable to get along with boys of his own age, was failing in school, was seclusive, and completely dominated by his mother. Fred is an only child of parents who married in their early forties. His father had felt so responsible for the care of his own mother that he had been unable to marry earlier. Fred's mother was left an orphan when a baby, and had a troubled childhood. Her only emotional attachment was to an uncle, and she would not marry until after his death. Then she was determined to have a home and child, though the father wanted no children. He has always been jealous of Fred. The boy's examinations at the clinic are especially significant, as they bring out a recent preoccupation with sex and his interest in observing or wearing girl's clothing.

Any approach which does not consider the background and satisfactions of each of the three persons in this picture, and their interrelationships, is futile. Fred's satisfying experiences have all been in relation to his mother, who, because of her own unhappy childhood, sees herself in Fred and tries to give him what she was deprived of. She cannot share her love with her husband while he remains jealous of Fred, since Fred means more to her than her husband. And the husband, who did not want children, cannot take Fred on because he needs such a complete attachment to his wife. While the difference in the parents' attitudes toward Fred is a result of their own needs, it is responsible for Fred's attachment to his mother. And as she sees Fred failing in school and in his relationships, and begins to be dissatisfied with him, he has to identify himself more and more with her. Then his desire to be a girl and to wear girls' clothes develops. Out of this understanding of the situation the worker has tried to build up some interests and satisfactions within the boy himself. Excellent contacts with the psychiatrist have helped make this plan possible. During this period efforts are being made to get the mother not to withdraw too much from the boy until he has some other interests, but to gradually break away from the nonessential things which she has been doing for him and which have resulted in his physical dependence on her.

From these three illustrations as representative of various fields let us try to reduce the similarities to definite steps in the case worker's job. We are agreed, I am sure, that the first task of each case worker in each of these three

situations was to understand the family fabric with which she was dealing. The kernel of the case work, in each instance, lay in the net work of tangled relationships out of which a variety of end results had presented themselves. This was no more evident in one of the agencies concerned than in the others. This understanding was achieved by the processes of interviewing and observation, which required that each worker should have a working knowledge of modern psychology and psychiatry, of medicine, and of other related fields. Primarily, however, it was necessary that the worker should have so assimilated her knowledge of human behavior, in its broadest sense, that she could sort out of the early interviews the gist of the real situation. It is perhaps too obvious to mention that as this background becomes more universal there is less routine emphasis than formerly on the detail of investigation, and more on the understanding of the situation, obtained from the individuals directly concerned.

The necessity of this basic understanding and the processes by which it must be obtained are common to all case work. It is essential in a hospital social service department where there is a long time medical job to be done and where it is necessary to understand the basis of a patient's fear in returning himself, or having his children return, to the hospital. It is true in a court where a boy on probation continues to put himself into situations where he knows that punishment is inevitable. It is true of the work with an alcoholic man known to a family society, and of the foster mother who coddles to the point of dependence each child placed with her.

The approach to the obtaining of this understanding is, you may say, the point at which our greatest differences lie. The approach must, to a certain extent, be determined by the family's understanding of why they are seeking help. In the destitute family where the man has been ill and unemployed over a long period of time and where there is an immediate prospect of eviction, the worker is often forced into the position of taking action before she understands the human material with which she is dealing. The path back into a discussion of the trends in this family life is a different one from the more direct route which a psychiatric social worker is usually able to take. When a mental patient is taken to a hospital or when a difficult child is referred to a child guidance clinic, the relatives come with less resistance to the discussion of his personality and attitudes, his place in the family group, the way in which they have reacted to him, and so on through the significant unfolding of the situation from which this patient has come. Perhaps the psychiatric worker finds a quicker and more direct entrée into the understanding of the essential factors in the situation because of the nature of the problem presented to her. It would seem, however, that the differences in approach are limited to those differences in the directness of the discussion of significant material, to time differences, and to the differences necessarily dependent upon the particular phase of a

situation which is first presented to a given agency, rather than to any real differences in skill or technique of the case worker.

The approach of the family worker, for instance, must usually be to the family as a group. The psychiatric social worker, on the other hand, approaches the family first through the individual who has been singled out for study. Yet very soon we find that the family worker and the psychiatric worker have arrived at the same point of understanding. They see the individual in relation to what he is getting in the way of satisfactions from the family group, and they see the family as a group of interacting personalities.

What the case worker will do with this understanding is the second part of her task, and the one, I suspect, on which there is most difference of opinion as to the basic similarities in all case work. We have previously commented on the general practice, for administrative convenience, of separating agencies into those which have at least a common initial problem to be faced, such as the constant factor of illness in medical social work, inadequate incomes in most family work, and recognized behavior or personality problems in psychiatric work, though all three of these factors may and often do exist in a large portion of the families known to any one of these agencies.

If there is anything tenable in our hypothesis that the differences in the approach to case work are superficial rather than real, may we not extend this hypothesis to include also the administrative, or what I should like to call the incidental, part of the case work job, such as the actual giving of relief or placing of a child? The real function of the family case worker is to preserve family life, and the giving of relief is incidental, though often necessary, to the accomplishment of this. The real function of the child placing agency is to help in the adjustment of a child in a family group which is adequate to fill his emotional needs. The long time work with both the child and his foster family and the understanding of the emotional needs and expressions in that foster family are the real task of the case worker, rather than the incidental matters of arranging for commitment, payment of board, etc.

The intelligent carrying out of these specialized administrative functions is so integral a part of the plan growing out of a comprehensive understanding of the whole family unit that they have lost their flavor as having any inherent differentiating values within themselves. In the N family, for instance, it would be obvious to a good case worker in any field that relief should not be administered through the mother alone, since the essence of her case work lies in her ability to relieve the dependence and develop responsibility in the children. As our common foundation of understanding becomes more universal it is inevitable that there should be more and more individualization, even in the administrative functions of agencies, so that the manner in which relief can be handled most effectively, or the carrying out of placement with the least pain to parent and child, will be modified by the general plan of treatment for the in-

dividual situation and not determined by the administrative policy of the particular agency.

As the essential similarities in all fields of case work develop it becomes evident that no agency has a monopoly on a point of view and technique regarding a special function the frequency of which is the basis of its differentiation from other agencies. In other words, every agency is faced in the course of its case work with the problem of relief in some form, of child placing, of sickness and hospitalization, and of behavior problems in children. The family worker may work alone with a defensive, difficult sixteen-year-old boy, or she may utilize the services of a child guidance clinic and work on a cooperative basis with the psychiatrist, in quite the same way that the clinic worker would proceed. The family worker, before approaching a child placing agency, must consider the pros and cons of placement, the needs of the child, and the possibilities of these needs being satisfied in his family group quite as thoroughly as the worker in the placement agency would. Nor can the psychiatric worker keep herself aloof from any of the considerations involved in the giving or taking of money from a family. Should she accept proffered travel expense from a discouraged and irate family when she has gone to a nearby city to bring home the son who has stolen money from home and run away? In approaching a child placing agency to discuss temporary placement of a child whose family have come near to the breaking point over the child's behavior she must be cognizant of what is involved in the agency's decision regarding the payment of full or partial board by the family. Should the family pay full board, at some sacrifice to their own needs, and feel that the child has again imposed upon them, or should a payment of partial board be utilized quite consciously to relieve the strain and tension in the home?

And so with even the administrative differences in case working agencies, we find more and more individualization of these differences within any given agency. This, together with the necessity for a more universal understanding among all case workers of the general implications of these administrative differences, leave little meat on the bones of the differences except in the facility in handling mechanical routine as a result of experience. This, of course, is a very useful, but not the most essential, part of case work.

In conclusion, the first basis of similarity in all case work is the human material with which we are working. All social case work is concerned with individuals or families who have been unable to conduct their lives without seeking assistance. All social case work is concerned with assisting those individuals to become as mature and adequate and self-sustaining as it is possible for them to be. It is not possible so to assist these persons without understanding the basis of their dependence as it lies in the early network of subtle and intricate family relationships by which they were molded and from which they have developed. The necessary equipment for the understanding of this background is becoming increasingly a common foundation for the training of all

case workers in the schools of social work. Out of this understanding the direction in which the case worker will participate depends somewhat, at the outset, upon the predicament for which the individual has sought assistance and the field of case work to which he has come. This direction soon rights itself, however, after the initial reasons for seeking aid have been successfully met and as the basic needs which made it necessary to seek that aid have been uncovered. Case work, both in theory and in practice, owes a great debt to modern psychology for the emphasis in recent years on the common bases of human behavior, regardless of whether it is found in a state hospital, an orphanage, a banking institution, or a National Conference of Social Work. Each field of case work has developed and will develop in the future to the extent that it recognizes and utilizes this understanding of human behavior as the essential part of its job.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MENTAL HYGIENE TO THE DIFFERENTIATED FIELDS

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Introduction.—The term "mental hygiene" means literally the science of mental health and its preservation. In practice, the term has come to stand for a number of types of activity of quite different sorts.

Thus there are mental hygiene activities having to do with such diverse projects as the improvement of facilities for the care and treatment of those mentally diseased or defective; public education respecting these disorders and their prevention; the early detection of those in need of special care, treatment, or training; and clinical work with cases presenting habit, behavior, and mild personality difficulties, especially in children. Mental hygiene clinics concern themselves particularly with individuals who, in their social attitudes and activities, show a lack of adaptation or adjustment to themselves, their environment, or both. Furthermore, differing somewhat from the usual routine of psychiatric practice, the mental hygiene clinic must deal with all sorts of environmental factors, as well as those presented by the patient; whereas pathological factors in the patient represent the chief points dealt with in the usual psychiatric treatment approach.

These mental hygiene clinics, then, are the organizations which are working in the field of social psychiatry, i. e., the psychiatric study of people involved in social difficulties, and the treatment of patients in their ordinary environments. Since all social situations involve matters of the psychology of the individuals who produce or are a part of the situations, the mental hygiene approach has developed as a well rounded study of the total individual in all his aspects—physical, mental, and social—in his total situation, including all the environments to which he must react.

Mental hygiene factors in social case work.—The needs of social workers for understanding the personality problems of their clients, and their requests to psychiatrists for studies which would illuminate the questions, were prominent among the early stimuli to the development of social psychiatry and the application of more precise methods to the diagnosis of personality deviations and their significance in social treatment.

To do only "relief" work would appear to require very little knowledge of personality deviations or clashes between temperaments; instead, there is a situation, often emergent, which must be met by emergency measures. Relief work alone has never been satisfactory to the social worker because it does not represent a constructive contribution to the development of a stable type of organization of the lives of those to whom relief must be given. In other words, back of every situation in which relief is necessary there lie factors of various sorts which must be reached if relief itself is to be administered intelligently or some kind of solution worked out which would tend to prevent the recurrence of the need for relief. It is precisely when the social worker steps beyond the problem of relief giving to a consideration of causes and treatment looking toward the prevention of recurrent situations that the great need begins for studying the personalities involved in the situation. The social worker turns to many agencies for help in understanding the problems with which she is confronted. Where there are factors of physical health there have always been facilities available for study and treatment. For many other types of factors also there have been agencies of one or another sort in the community to assist in dealing with the problems, but facilities for the adequate study and understanding of the mental life of the individual have been, until within the past fifteen years, far less available than facilities in other fields. Yet increasingly social workers have shown in their writings and discussions, not only the need for understanding the personalities of their patients, but a real development of techniques of their own. As psychiatry and psychology began to emerge from the asylum and academic hall respectively and to consider problems in human makeup and personality as related to the living of ordinary life, social work was quick to grasp the opportunity afforded by the more extensive and more precise formulations which were permitted by those techniques.

Aside from the personality makeup of individuals and pathological mental factors which influence treatment there are several other reasons why modern mental hygiene technique is of considerable value to the social worker. In the first place it is clear that limitations in the individual, such as mental disease or defect, psychoneurosis or psychopathy, will definitely determine the type, the limitations, and the results of treatment. Furthermore, however unsatisfying they may be in individual instances, the lines of treatment for these more marked deviations from the normal are fairly well established and involve some form of specialistic treatment which is ordinarily beyond the limits to which treatment by the social worker may effectively go. That is to say, the

social worker is no more expected to be a psychotherapist or a skilled educator of the feeble-minded than she is expected to be an obstetrician or a police officer. On the other hand it becomes clearly necessary to recognize the limitations on the results of social treatment when such handicaps are present. Again, the social worker deals with several individuals in any given case situation. Even if the client be an orphan child there remain people in social agencies, foster homes, institutions, and schools to be dealt with in regard to the placement and treatment of the orphan. Any or all of these individuals will inevitably demand some sort of technique in management, whether that be an appeal to reason or to sentiment, persuasion in any of its manifold forms, or the use of authority.

Also, the adjustments to be effected are usually to be made while the individual pursues the ordinary tenor of his life. That is to say, the family which is in need of reconstructive measures is the family which will in some way continue to exist as an independent social force. Should institutional treatment be necessary, as in the case of the commitment of a psychotic mother or father, the social worker's responsibilities with reference to that particular individual usually cease with the use of this special measure, but she must work with the other members of the family who continue as part of the general social order.

Doubtless there are other reasons that could be advanced to show the needs of the social worker for mental hygiene technique, from whatever source procured; but this brief sketch will at least indicate that problems of personality in all the different individuals with whom she comes in contact may be, and frequently are, the outstanding factors to be considered in any plan of treatment.

Psychiatric services available.—It is, I think, a fair statement that in the earlier days of the application of psychiatry to social case work problems almost the only service available was a diagnostic one. Furthermore, these diagnoses were phrased in typical psychiatric formulations in which the endeavor was made to present the total picture as seen in the patient in a single term. This was satisfying to the psychiatrist, and, for certain well defined types of disorder, was equally satisfying to the social worker. Such diagnostic statements as "Not insane; psychopathic personality," or "Not insane; feeble-minded," or "Dementia praecox" represented diagnostic formulations of value to the psychiatrist and to some others, but they are not particularly helpful to the social worker if she must continue to deal with the individual to whom these and other terms might apply; that is, if the client is to continue in the community. One can well understand the impatience of the older group of social workers with formulations of this type which did not assist them to see the elements in the problem or give any very well defined leads concerning a possible social adjustment for the individual.

I think it is also fair to say that in the period of which I am speaking the major therapeutic tool of the psychiatrist was to shift the patient to a con-

trolled environment in hospital or training school or wherever. After all, the psychiatrist had not been trained to visualize his problems in other than those of individual pathology and direct treatment of the pathological states by the psychiatrist himself. To be sure, we talked a great deal about the history of the individual and its possible meanings in terms of the evolution of his disorder, but most of the finer implications of the life experiences of the individual were missed. Furthermore, no special attempt was made to study the assets of the individual.

Very rapidly, however, in the *liaison* between psychiatry and social work, new therapeutic possibilities began to appear. Then, as dynamic psychology and psychiatry made rapid strides forward and individuals began to be seen in terms of their total life experience, a whole new series of relationships began to emerge whose implications have frequently been very puzzling both to psychiatrists and to social workers.

At the present time dynamic psychiatry is very much to the fore and problems in human behavior and human relationships are approached from the standpoint of the study of the whole individual and his total social setting, past and present. Behavior and personality are recognized as products of an equation, instead of a simple sum. The individual we deal with at any given point is determined by his biological makeup and all of the various factors which have modified that; with a constant cross play of environmental stimuli and reactions of the individual. As I have outlined in a previous paper, there is a constantly advancing relationship between the techniques and interpretations of dynamic psychiatry and social case work, as well as an increasing number of mutual problems.

Contributions in the differentiated fields.—Within the field of social work various specialized services have been erected. So far as I can see, this has come about because of emphasis on particular types of situations, rather than because of any essential differences in techniques to be applied. In different communities one finds a considerable variation in emphasis on different phases of work. Certain fields, however, seem to stand out as major divisions. In relationship to these, I propose to discuss briefly certain possible contributions and certain problems which confront us.

First, family welfare. Aside from the question of unrecognized mental disease or defect which, in one or more individuals important in the family situation, may have operated to produce the problems which lead to the entrance of the social worker, there are many subtler points which demand attention. The estimation of capacities and disabilities; the recognition and treatment of emotional complexes and conflicts; "obtaining cooperation"; the problem of dependence on the social worker as an outlet, in the sense of an emotional transfer; the effects of family interrelationships in determining attitudes and behavior; and past experiences in relationship to present difficulties, these and many other points demand attention. What is most important is to

approach the situation genetically, not only in the sense of a record of the superficial, external facts concerning the past life, but with regard to the deeper psychological effects.

Many interesting attempts are being made to meet these problems. In certain instances agencies, either singly or in conjunction with others, are establishing mental hygiene units composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychiatric social workers. These units work in various ways, sometimes chiefly with the clients, but sometimes adding to this direct clinical work a kind of "workers' consultation service," such that the record of the case is analyzed for its mental hygiene implications and further study and treatment plans are based upon these conferences.

In other instances the agencies have added one or more psychiatric social worker to their staff to stand in a supervisory or advisory relationship to the district case worker. Here again the major task is the evaluation of the material contained in the record through conferences with the worker. Furthermore, when either of these types of service is established, there is usually a certain amount of some formal educational work in the sense of lectures and case conferences.

My personal experience with attempts to provide the three types of service here mentioned, namely, direct clinical work with the patient, workers' consultation service, and education, leads me to the conclusion that it is best to make progress slowly, and work first of all with the secretarial and supervisory group of the agencies. In this way a larger number of workers and a larger number of clients may be influenced in a shorter time than would be possible if direct contact alone were depended upon.

It seems to me too early to evaluate the results of these procedures. It is, however, certainly true that the workers find in this type of approach a new stimulus to facing the routine of their day's work, and a new type of understanding. Using the data ordinarily available to the case worker, and interpreting them from a psychiatric point of view, usually pushes understanding of the issues involved to deeper and deeper fundamental psychological levels.

Second, children's work. Where children come into the hands of agencies for more than a short time placement, plans must be made involving a long period, usually for the most plastic and constructive time in the child's life. Adequately to make such plans and to avoid the risk of failures it becomes necessary to know the individual child thoroughly from the standpoint of his physical and mental makeup, capacities, and liabilities. The result is that what is called the "mental health study" for children is being rapidly developed to help in planning at the time the child becomes an agency charge. So far the mental hygiene group has been chiefly willing to analyze the vocational and educational possibilities of the child and the emotional and personality difficulties which may need specialized management, together with an estimate of the assets which may be used to assist in carrying out the treatment for what-

ever personality difficulties may be present. This leaves to the agencies of primary responsibility the decision as to the type, or types, of placement which may most effectively meet the mental hygiene issues presented. Here we come face to face with the fact that the definite formulation of the mental hygiene principles involved in the group life of children in institutions and in the selection of foster homes is still not very far advanced. Again, however, this is a project in which the cooperation of social work and the mental hygiene group, patiently seeking the facts and evaluating each situation with which they may be confronted, seems the only hope for reaching an eventual solution. The estimation of foster homes from the standpoint of the personalities already there, the evaluation of emotional interrelationships, and so on, becomes a particularly important problem, because understanding of the underlying tensions and urges of those who take children for foster home placement seems vastly more important than the physical equipment of the home itself. So far as I know, no simple scheme has been evolved to give a clear picture, readily analyzed, of the mental hygiene of foster homes, though this is a problem often raised.

Three, group work. So far we have been considering very largely the problems of individual mental hygiene in the family setting. In the settlement houses and various types of organizations for boys and girls we have to do with group life and its effects. One of the most important social resources for the treatment of problem children is the group which is organized under guidance to carry out various forms of activities. So far as the influence of the group itself is concerned, we have all too little precise information, although many general points are clear.

The most important point in group work seems to me to be the leader, since the atmosphere of the group will be determined by his attitude and understanding of individual and group psychology. Training in mental hygiene and the application of mental hygiene principles to individuals and group life seems quite essential. This has not, however, as yet progressed very far. One important point lies in the utilization of the long time camp as a means for the development of new habits of reacting to social life and regulations. Here the psychological approach through the counselors to the boys themselves is highly desirable. One project of this type was planned in such a way that boys should come from the same neighborhood, so that a small group might be organized which would carry back into the ordinary life of the youngster after the camp was over. This seems highly desirable and essential inasmuch as the influence of the group experiences may rapidly be dissipated otherwise.

Fourth, correctional and protective work. I should include in this group various protective associations, probation workers, and correctional institutions. For the most part the children to be dealt with are those who have come sufficiently into conflict with society to demand some sort of legal intervention. The application of mental hygiene understanding of the individual seems to

many to tend to come into conflict with society's desire for its own protection from the offenders. This, I think, is a fallacious line of reasoning, since the mental hygienist is concerned about society as well as about the individual. To be sure, the mental hygienist is not interested in the revenge motive as such, unless punishment is a valuable psychological tool for the reconstruction of the individual in social life.

When we consider that probation and correctional institutions exist for the purpose of assisting the individual to live his life in conformity with the laws, it would appear to be obvious that we need to understand everything we can know about the individual before adequate plans can be made. Judges, probation officers, and the forward looking superintendents of institutions are all well aware of this; yet the pressure of work, and the routine lines along which it tends to be conducted under such pressure, make it more difficult to develop. Certain correctional institutions have installed psychiatric clinics, which are gradually beginning to influence the attitude and working methods of the institutional personnel in the direction of greater understanding of the children. Courts have psychiatric clinics also, and gradually we expect to see a wider diffusion of the mental hygiene approach. I do not mean to imply that the mental hygiene approach is not used even where no clinic exists. On the contrary, there are many excellent pieces of work in this field which go forward without any clinic at all.

Conclusion.—This account of the present situation is very sketchy, because of limitations of time and space. It will suffice, I hope, to indicate two things: first, that mental hygiene has in the course of the last few years evolved some principles and techniques which have illuminated not only psychiatric, but also certain social case work problems in ways which had not been previously possible, and in ways which are valuable to both; second, that there are many problems for which neither mental hygiene nor case work have the answer. Above all things else, there is need for the closest cooperation, tolerance, mutual understanding of points of view and problems, and patient experimentation. There are many zones of resistance in both groups. These must be overcome, and this can only be done by maintaining an open minded point of view which meets the problems fairly and squarely and develops them mutually.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT OF NON-
INSTITUTIONALIZED FEEBLEMINDED
AND DELINQUENT
IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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For years psychiatry has believed that the so called "feeble-minded" person differs from the "normal" person only in learning ability. The principles of mental hygiene apply to the feeble-minded as to the rest of society. Good social adjustment is dependent upon the same factors in experience. The same emotional problems are found in those of very superior intelligence as in those whose mental development is retarded; the causation and psychiatric treatment of such problems is the same. Psychiatry is interested in assisting the feeble-minded to good personality development and to success which makes full use of their ability.

What are the school experiences of the child of poor learning ability that influence unfavorably his personality development? How can the school provide that day to day experience which will give him the self respect and self confidence which is essential to mental health?

Self respect will not be gained easily if he lacks the respect of teachers and other pupils. One of the first items to consider is the use of the term "feeble-minded." Are we justified in picking a certain point in the range of learning ability and saying that all above this line are normal and all below subnormal? If there is only a difference in degree, and not in quality, is it not misleading to "diagnose" those below the line as "feeble-minded"? The giving of a name seems to influence teachers more than other groups to a feeling of hopelessness and disapproval, but social workers and physicians too often accept the diagnosis as explaining much more than mere difference in mental ability. Any convenience that there may be in the use of the term is outweighed by the fact that it not only prejudices but distracts attention from the sole characteristic of the group, and that is their relative learning ability. Especially in educational work the use of such a diagnosis should be abandoned. So also should mental hygiene refuse to refer to any child in school as subnormal or defective; they are pupils of slow learning ability, and having been recognized as such, should be placed in ability groups and not defective classes.

Group methods of instruction require pupils of a narrow range of learning ability and mental development to be placed together. But, aside from this requirement, it is necessary to adopt certain lower limits of ability for these special classes. The public schools are training for citizenship, and a child who, because of very poor learning ability, will never be self supporting or able to participate in civic life is an institutional, and not a public school, problem.

(If we adopted the medicolegal definition of feeble-mindedness, "unable to maintain himself in the social level to which he was born," then we could say that the public schools have nothing to do with the problem of the feeble-minded.) Such exclusion of low grade cases is necessary to maintain the morale of the special class. Children who can be recognized by other pupils as markedly dull stigmatize the special class if allowed to attend. Certainly cases with stigmata, mongolian types, post-encephalitic defects with neurological or marked behavior disorders should not be admitted if the class is to maintain a reputation which allows the pupils to have the respect of other pupils.

For the reputation of the class it is necessary also that pupils should not be referred to the class usually only after they have attracted attention by misconduct. The pressure from teachers of regular classes is to get rid of their troublesome pupils, and an active policy of selecting younger, non-delinquent children must be maintained if the class is to escape being known as a "bad boy's class." The percentage of pupils under ten years of age and the percentage of girls (dull girls are seldom really troublesome, it seems) gives an idea of how much the class represents an educational rather than a conduct grouping.

To benefit fully from the special educational opportunity, a child must be entered in the special class as soon as he begins grade work. This early admission is necessary also if we are to prevent the development of the discouragement, the resentment toward school and toward authority in general, with all the associated personality handicaps, that follow years of being the "dummy" of the class, repeated failure, compulsory attendance at classes where impossible tasks are assigned. Little of educational or mental hygiene value remains in special class experience for a pupil of twelve years and over.

But the child of poor learning ability may be enrolled in a special class on school entrance, he may be spared unpleasant labels, he may be associated in his class with only normal appearing children, and yet be deprived of an opportunity to develop self respect, self confidence, initiative, unless there is a curriculum suited to his mental ability and his interests. He may not have the mental ability for first grade reading until he is nine years old, but his family and his playmates will not allow him to be happy during three years of school without anything which will pass for reading. When he is nine or ten years old his self respect is undermined if his reading is from the baby books of first grade. Interest in what he is doing is more necessary to him than to the average pupil. I would like to relate my experience in two special classes in regard to this matter of interest. In the first class several boys of about eleven years were reading from a first grade reader the story of the three pigs. They were embarrassed when I looked at the book they were using. The boy called on to read was more than ever embarrassed and resentful as he read the sentence beginning "Wee, wee, said the pig." None of the boys had ever seen a live pig. None had seen straw, which the story said was used to thatch the

roof. They had been through that book the year before. Two other readers they had used also contained the story of the "Three Pigs." The teacher said she knew they hated their reading; but that there were no readers for boys "of this type." Boys and teacher were discouraged and irritable. In the other class the teacher told a boy to explain his reading work. This ten-year-old boy told, with animation, how a few days before he had brought his dog to school. The other pupils asked him its name, its age, where he had got it, the cost, its breed. They had then dictated eight sentences about it to the teacher, who wrote on the blackboard. He had then copied the sentences by a printing outfit on a large sheet of paper, illustrated it, headed it "Angelo's Dog," printed his name at the bottom, made a chart of it by glueing a stick to the top, and it was being used for class reading. If a child did not know a word the child came to Angelo, as it was his chart. Every child in the class had made several charts, and all were anxious to demonstrate. They were proud of themselves. A new dress, a football, a baby sister were subjects of other charts. There was a decided difference between the two classes in the matter of educational value of the classroom procedure, but there was more difference from the standpoint of mental hygiene for teacher as well as pupils.

To meet the interest and needs of the pupil of poor learning ability as he grows older, the curriculum must become prevocational and then vocational. Vocational training must be followed by placement upon graduation and follow-up if the full responsibility of the school is to be met.

If the special class is to be organized so as to make the pupil feel he is in a "normal" class and his self respect and interest are to be helped along by evidence of progress, then the advisability of having these classes ungraded must be considered. As soon as a child says "I'm not in any grade" he is marked as inferior. The general emphasis on age and grade placement supports the policy of arranging school systems so that all children of nine are in fourth grade, all children of twelve are entering junior high school, etc., however far apart in difficulty the work of the different groups may be in the same grade.

The psychiatric needs of a child of slow learning ability who is forced to struggle along in the regular class are so masked and complicated by his school maladjustment that efficient psychiatric treatment must await treatment of his educational needs. When the slow learning pupil is entered at six years in a special curriculum which will carry him to graduation, then the psychiatric clinic can be of service in helping such a pupil overcome those emotional handicaps which he brings to school from the home.

It is interesting to consider in passing the problem of organizing enough classes to care for those "feeble-minded" pupils who can be regarded as school responsibilities. I know of no city that has enrolled all of these pupils in special classes. It seems doubtful that such complete enrolment will be attained if the limit of fifteen pupils to a class is maintained. The cost is too great, especially

when we consider other needs in education, for instance, provision for pupils of superior intelligence. Is it possible, when pupils are entered in special classes at six years old and there is a curriculum which fully meets their interests, that special class teachers will feel able to supervise a class of practical size?

When we come to consider the delinquent child and the school we have changed our problem only a little. According to our Newark figures, which are consistent with experience elsewhere, about a quarter of the delinquent pupils could be classified as "feeble-minded." The remainder (with few exceptions) are in the ability group below average, dull normal. The delinquent pupil is usually either a truant or has been suspended as "incorrigible" (we might well remark here on the desirability of giving up the use of such a discouraging word as "incorrigible"; and anyway, pupils called incorrigible seldom are). The typical delinquent pupil enters school over a year retarded in mental development. He almost always begins his school career with a failure and grade repetition in first grade. He often has a half dozen grade repetitions and perhaps a demotion or two on his record by the time he is twelve and has attained incorrigibility. He is overage for his grade; his classmates are a "bunch of babies"; his younger sister may be in his class; he is often convinced that he is "dumb in school." School has brought no satisfaction; he has seldom if ever had the thrill that comes from "success after effort"; discipline is increasingly severe and impatient. Clinic study monotonously leads to the recommendation that he be given a prevocational program with a minimum of academic work. Few schools offer such adjustment. This boy of twelve is interested in preparing to earn his living, for he knows he will drop out of school as soon as he reaches the legal age limit. Prevocational courses are seldom available unless he is delinquent enough to get into a special boys' school, and few of these schools meet his educational needs. If he were so fortunate as to land in a well equipped boys' school, it would be overcrowded and he would be returned to his unpleasant placement in the regular grade as soon as he showed improvement.

We know that there are many causative factors, immediate and remote, which lead a child into delinquent behavior. The lack of adequate recreational opportunity has been an important item in many cases. Clinics have regularly advised better use of play time in planning treatment of delinquent children. The dearth of recreational facilities as noted in studying causation prevents treatment plans from being carried out. Where the city recreation program is under school control, as in Newark, it is possible for the schools to take an active part in building up outlets for play, thus assisting prevention and treatment of delinquency. The extension of the junior high school movement, with its emphasis on extracurricular activities (junior and senior orchestras, athletics, dramatic and debating societies, science clubs, glee clubs, etc.), promises much in recreational opportunity. But in the main, a community's lack of recreation is not a school problem.

Most studies of delinquency have emphasized the unfavorable conditions in the homes of delinquent children. Broken homes are frequent; there is conflict between parents in discipline; child training methods are all wrong. Aid in a few cases has been given by school nurses, by attendance officers, and by visiting teachers in an increasing number of cities. But the majority of cases has not been helped, and there has been little falling off in the numbers of school delinquents. Better cooperation with the home in treatment of problem children should be the constant effort of every school. The general improvement of home conditions is a community problem.

What we need is to affect the epidemic conditions which in a city of a half million, for example, produce 5,000 truants yearly and 300 suspensions. Work with individual delinquents cannot even hold its own with such a sweep of problem cases, to say nothing of forcing a steady reduction in numbers.

A psychologist in a junior high school reports that 80 per cent of the conduct problems referred for study ceased to be problems when their educational needs were met (the remainder of the cases seemed to be clearly psychiatric problems with little if any relation to the school situation). All schools have seen their problem pupils show interest and good behavior when transferred to the special class where success was possible. Such experiences reinforce the belief that the school's best opportunity to effect a real reduction in delinquency is by a wholesale correction of educational maladjustment, by making it possible for the dull pupil (as for the very slow learning pupil) to progress through school from the first grade to completion of vocational training without failure, spared the discouragement of too difficult tasks, and with a curriculum suited to his ability and his interests. Prevocational junior high schools will give the pupil at the typically delinquent ages of eleven to fourteen the active, practical program which appeals to him partly because it prepares for job holding. He would have the satisfaction of completing his course, passing along in grades normal for his life age. Twenty per cent and over of our urban school population is in the dull group and is failing to get an education because the school program was mapped out in a different age for children of higher learning ability and different social status and educational future. The great majority of delinquents in the schools belong in this group of educationally underprivileged pupils. To aid in the reduction of delinquency, as well as from the standpoint of good educational procedure, an immediate need is for the placing of dull children in ability groups with a special curriculum.

We know, of course, that the child who is of dull intelligence has emotional difficulties not related to school maladjustment. We know that psychiatric study would show ways of helping him to better personality development. We expect to find that most of these pupils, as with any group of pupils, are unfavorably influenced by a variety of undesirable situations at home. But the public schools with their multitudes of pupils must consider the practical issue of costs involved in treatment, and must therefore provide that the resources

of the schools shall be used first of all in determining and meeting group needs. With the present low per capita cost of education, and with group methods of education, not much time can be spent in study and treatment of an individual pupil. The questions are often "How can we, with a minimum of time expended, help this pupil to return to behavior which is not disturbing?" "How can we most easily help him to become a comfortable member of the class?" If he will "behave" after his recreational program has been improved, then we will be glad to regard him as no longer a problem, and we will hurry back to the attempt to meet some needs of the grade of which he is a member. It may be that establishing a better relationship with teacher or principal brings some delinquent boy back into the fold with those whose behavior is acceptable. If so, we may be unable to inquire further into the background of his difficulty because there is so much we can do to help in the large school where he attends. If the problem pupils are numbered by the hundreds, then no school clinic or department should continue if it influences for improvement only by the tens (this failure to aid can result from either extreme, too much time on a small number treated intensively, or so many problems dealt with briefly that few problems are relieved). When the "dull normal" pupil has been properly placed throughout a school system, receiving special treatment from the time he enters first grade, then the "real" psychiatric problems among delinquent pupils will be more easily recognized by teachers and principals. By that happy time (if progressive education has been made available also to the other groups of the school population) it will be possible to devote to the pupil with his psychiatric problem enough time to aid him with all his personality problems. Since there will be time to reflect on the idea that education is personality development, educators will consider not solely or mainly the academic progress of a pupil, but the effect of his school experiences upon his emotional development.

In the meantime, there is much to be done in extending through the schools familiarity with mental hygiene. Intensive study of a delinquent pupil is justified if his teacher and principal gain, from the consideration of the findings, aid in regarding conduct as a symptom, with an interest in finding underlying causes. The intensive study of the one pupil thus influences the school experience of many pupils. Here again it is the group that we are interested in helping. At the present stage of development of the public school we can regard the proper treatment of the individual delinquent in the school as awaiting educational progress which will give the type of pupil he represents a day to day experience conducive to the development of self respect, self confidence, initiative, and an ability to gain satisfactions in a socially acceptable way.

SOCIAL SERVICE SUPERVISION OF THE FEEBLEMINDED

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The feeble-minded have for a long time been our social scapegoats; we have talked so loudly about the feeble-minded criminal and the feeble-minded pauper that we have almost persuaded ourselves that we have captured in these terms the cause and effect relationship which we seek in any discussion of crime and poverty: The story of the Kallikak family has enjoyed in the past, not only the rôle of a "best seller," but a classic prescribed for sociology students. You will remember that Martin Kallikak, back in the days of the American revolution, was said to have mated with a nameless feeble-minded girl, and started a long procession of "degenerates"; later he reformed and married a "nice" girl, and so began a line of good and intelligent descendants. Dr. Meyerson attacks the investigation outlined in the story of the Kallikaks by questioning the ability of social workers to know at a glance that a person is feeble-minded, and above everything else to know that a nameless girl living over a hundred years ago was feeble-minded. He also considers it strange that feeble-mindedness, syphilis, and mental disease did not appear among the "legitimized descendants of the sex offender Martin Kallikak." Perhaps, as he humorously suggests, we have in this tale of the Kallikaks, not a study of feeble-mindedness, but rather a moral tract on the protection afforded by marriage.¹

Let us take a few moments to examine a few of our traditional beliefs regarding the feeble-minded. These beliefs are important because, on the whole, they determine the attitude of the social worker toward the feeble-minded. First, there is our belief that the feeble-minded not only always have more children than their so called normal neighbors, but that their children are invariably feeble-minded. The Walter E. Fernald State School for the training of the feeble-minded made a study of 1,537 patients discharged from that institution in twenty-five years (1890-1914). Of this number 646 individuals were in the community and could be studied. In this group were 176 women, of which number 27 had married and had as issue 50 children. This scarcely bears out the statements so often made as to the "remarkable fertility of the feeble-minded." It is highly probable that what we really mean when we talk of the fertility of the feeble-minded is the fertility of people of low economic status, or of people unsophisticated in the trends of modern society. These 27 women had also advanced socially, in that they had married men above their own social status and the status of their parents. The report states further that the children of these feeble-minded "seemed normal," this statement being made in the light of the child's school record and a history of his behavior.

The second outstanding belief that we social workers have regarding the feeble-minded is that the feeble-minded are always potential criminals. Here again you will find in the literature on this subject widely divergent differences of opinion. Goddard in 1914 stated:

¹ Abraham Meyerson, *The Inheritance of Mental Disease* (1925), pp. 77-81.

Every feeble-minded person is a potential criminal. This is necessarily true, since the feeble-minded necessarily lacks one or the other factors essential to a moral life—an understanding of right and wrong, and the power of control. If he does not know right and wrong, does not really appreciate this question, then of course he is as likely to do the wrong thing as the right.²

Carl Murchison, in summing up the results of the application of the army Alpha scale to several thousand convicts, states:

It would seem that statutory crime and crimes of physical injury are causally related very slightly to intelligence, but more than one-half of the individuals who commit crimes of fraud are superior individuals according to the same standard.³

In a study of the convicts in the state of Illinois made by Dr. Herman M. Adler and Myrtle Raymaker Worthington, it was found that so far as intelligence was concerned, by test the prison population in Illinois was a fair sample of the community, and that there was no correlation between crime and intelligence.⁴ If one can generalize from the numerous studies on this subject one might state that it may be quite true that every feeble-minded person is a potential criminal because of the fact that every person of any intelligence whatever is a potential criminal.

Another current belief regarding the feeble-minded is that they are as a general rule paupers, not capable of being trained to support themselves, and consequently it is always necessary to support them at public expense. I shall not belabor this point, but shall only refer you to the work histories of many of the late Dr. Fernald's pupils, and to "A Study of the Careers of 322 Feeble-minded Persons" which was made in 1923 by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. This study gives material on the work histories of 177 ex-students of special classes for defectives in Cincinnati, and it shows that approximately one-half of this number were in industry earning wages which varied from five to thirty-seven dollars a week. Arthur Pound tells us:

The machine is the friend of the defective. Just as deafness is an advantage in certain industrial occupations, so mental lacks may be assets for certain industrial purposes. Given enough sense to master simple routine occupations, and enough appreciation of duty, or fear of relatives, to come to shop regularly, the below average person can soon be adjusted industrially. . . . The less mind one has, the less it resents that invasion of personality which is inseparable from large scale and mechanized enterprises. I have heard industrial engineers and welfare workers say that industrial efficiency, as working out in our day, puts a premium on mental deficiency.⁵

Another belief which we may have is that certain underprivileged classes, such as the colored, because they have a higher rate of feeble-mindedness (by

² H. H. Goddard, *Feeble-Mindedness* (1914), p. 514.

³ Carl Murchison, "American White Criminal Intelligence," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* (1924), pp. 239-316.

⁴ Herman M. Adler and Myrtle Raymaker Worthington, "The Scope of Delinquency and Crime as Related to Mental Deficiency," *Proceedings of the Forty-Ninth Annual Session of the American Association for the Study of the Feeble-minded* (1925).

⁵ Arthur Pound, *The Iron Man in Industry*, pp. 53-54.

test), than the whites, are inferior. Bernard, in his *Introduction to Social Psychology*, stresses the fact that the reasons for the more frequent occurrence of feeble-mindedness among the Negroes are primarily social.

Negroes undergo more physical stress before and after birth. Infections are more numerous, malnutrition and undernutrition, toxins, drug addictions, bad housing conditions, sanitation, and the opportunity for the practice of normal hygiene, all show up less favorably for the Negroes than for the whites and tell upon their general biological organization and predispose them towards retardation and acquired feeble-mindedness. If we add to these more physiological influences of environment the fact that the Negroes have less cultural opportunity it is not surprising that they show up to a disadvantage in intelligence tests.⁶

And finally there is the belief that feeble-mindedness is an entity and that one has said all that can be said when one has said "feeble-minded"—which is as absurd as though I should state that I have said all that could be said about woman by merely uttering the word "blonde."

It is not, of course, necessary to tell social workers that the intelligence quotient is not the most important factor in determining which of these feeble-minded can be given a fairly hopeful prognosis for adjustment through social service and which will have to be institutionalized at least for a period of training. In this respect the social history of the behavior and the emotional drives of the individual are the important factors. Someone has said: "It is not her mental level on which the moron stubs her toe, but rather on her lack of social adjustment." It is probably true, as Thomas has pointed out, that from the social standpoint "we shall not know what conditions to call feeble-minded until we have determined the limits of the social influences which we can apply."⁷ If we accept this, as social workers, instead of our too common state of hopelessness when the clinic sends us back our client tagged with an I.Q. below 70, we shall not be too overly insistent upon institutionalization. (I am speaking here of the group of institutions where segregation is the one thing for which the institution is equipped, and where training such as will enable many of the feeble-minded to go back into the community is neglected.) I would recommend that social workers should become more interested in the institutions to which they often clamor to send their clients. The old adage "out of sight, out of mind" is too often true of the social worker's attitude toward this problem of the institutionalization of the feeble-minded. It is quite true that we need special classes in our public schools and state training schools for the feeble-minded; but it is equally true that we need fewer institutions devoted to merely custodial care.

We need more social workers who are able to view the psychological rating and the findings of a psychiatrist, not as an excuse for not doing social work, but as an indicator as to the direction their social work should take. The feeble-minded child is like any other child in that constant failure makes him feel inferior, and makes him lose all of his incentive so that he does not even

⁶ L. L. Bernard, *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (1926), p. 233.

⁷ William I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl* (1927), pp. 251-52.

do work up to his capacity; whereas praise, and an opportunity for successful achievement, not only brings out his abilities, but makes him an individual capable of social adjustment.

It has been found that many children, because of fears, build up such definite inhibitions upon expression that they develop what Burnham has called "pseudo-feeble-mindedness." Robert was such a child. We found him being cared for in a "baby farm," and at the time of the first examination he could not talk, although he was five years of age. Robert is an illegitimate and unwanted child, his mother, up to the time he came to the attention of the Institute for Juvenile Research, having always kept him in cheap farm boarding homes, paying for his care no more than three dollars a week. She finally placed him in a "baby farm," where he was living when he was brought to us for examination with the statement that he was very defective and should be institutionalized. You will get some idea of the care Robert had had when I tell you that his mother considered the "baby farm" the best place he had been in, and that three Chicago social agencies considered this "baby farm" one of the worst which they had ever come across. We did not institutionalize Robert, but instead we placed him in a carefully chosen boarding home. Six months have passed since this placement, and recently he again visited the psychologist. This time he attempted spontaneously to repeat words after the examiner. On the first demonstration he did not grasp the idea of color matching, but he did by the second demonstration, and completed this test, correcting his mistakes in some cases several seconds after he had made them by saying "No, no" in imitation of the examiner. Six months previously he had made no successes in the three year tests; this time he successfully completed all of the tests at the three year level. The social treatment of Robert is not unique in any way; it merely has followed the standards for good social work treatment, that we as social workers follow in dealing with all of our clients. Had the Kallikak investigators looked at Robert on the day he was first brought to the Institute for Juvenile Research they undoubtedly would have dubbed him hopelessly feeble-minded, and would have devoted endless paragraphs to his potential danger to the community.

On the whole I think it might be well if we as social workers turned our fears away from the feeble-minded and to the much larger group of individuals who are adult in physical and intellectual development, but who are emotionally feeble-minded. You will remember that Dr. Williams in addressing this group (which unfortunately includes the most of us) said:

You have reached physical adulthood and you have an unusually keen intellect. You could be a very useful individual. Your decisions in important matters are made, not in accordance with the facts, but in the light of the unsolved emotional problems of your own personal childhood. You act honestly enough, but you see the facts presented to you, not as they are truly, but as they are distorted through these personal lenses. You cause difficulty and confusion. Your keen intellect makes it possible for you to defend ably your improper decisions and your weak causes. Many problems which are brought to you could

be fairly easily solved if they did not get mixed up with your own personal problems which have nothing to do with the issue at hand. Therefore you hinder rather than help. You need to grow up. Retire from the world of pursuits for the present, have your own personal problems solved, and, when you have succeeded in reaching adulthood in all respects—physical, intellectual, and emotional—return to these important activities you have in hand. You are not useful now; you are only a disturber. The fact that your high order of intellect has brought you to such prominence and position of power in the community does not alter the situation. It only makes you a greater disturber. The world needs you; but the world can use you only after you have grown up.⁸

I believe that these people, these emotionally feeble-minded, present more danger to the community than do the group of intellectually retarded individuals which we commonly know as the feeble-minded. And I rather look forward to the time when we shall have a conference session devoted to the topic of the social adjustment of the emotionally feeble-minded social worker. I look forward to this time because in my opinion she presents far more difficulties in the way of social adjustment than do the feeble-minded which we have been considering in this paper.

PROBLEMS OF INSTITUTIONS AND FOSTER HOMES

WHEN SHOULD THE FOSTER HOME BE PRESCRIBED FOR THE PROBLEM CHILD?

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"Foster home" is a term that has been used with various meanings. In many parts of the South and West it is understood to describe a home in which a child is to become permanently a member of the family, either with or without the legal form of adoption.

The home, however, that has been most successfully used for problem children is the boarding home, which we feel should be dignified by the term "foster home" since the services rendered by the foster parents have been to a remarkable degree unselfish and disinterested, comparing favorably with those observed in free homes. A boarding home is chosen for a difficult child because, to begin with, he has reached the point where his own family is no longer able to manage him and he promises to become anything but a pleasant addition to a happily functioning household. He is certainly not the sort of child that is desired in the adoption home where the foster parents are looking for an attractive boy or girl who will conform to the ways of the family and to society—one of whom they may be proud.

The problem child has failed so conspicuously at nearly every point that he is often unwelcome anywhere. He may have grown up in foster homes,

⁸ Frankwood E. Williams, "Putting Away Childish Things," *Survey Graphic* (April, 1928).

even in an adoption home, and have failed there. At all events, whatever the background may have been, he is now in serious trouble and a new environment must be supplied. The foster home placing is in this instance therapeutic in nature and should be under constant supervision and control of the agency if favorable results are to be obtained.

The foster parents in the boarding home are really agency workers, and their motive in accepting remuneration for the board of children in their care is no more mercenary in nature than is that of the salaried social worker. The sum received for board barely covers the actual expense involved. It does, however, keep the family from running behind financially and opens for use by the agency a large number of excellent homes of people whose financial resources are not large. A cross section of boarding homes in use by a good agency would represent fairly the best in the community, if by best we mean the homes of steady, working people who are good citizens. The contribution made by these foster parents is great. They share their home life, their relations with their own children, their leisure, their interests, and themselves with those who are placed in their midst.

Other types of homes are sometimes used for problem children. It may be that after a period of training in a boarding home sufficient improvement has been achieved to make possible the use of a home where an older girl may earn her way by giving help of some sort. Wages may even be paid for services to both girls and boys. These instances are comparatively few in number, and the boarding home remains the most fruitful resource for difficult children.

The home may be designed definitely for temporary use, and a monthly subsidy paid to the foster parents in addition to a rate of board higher than in other homes. Here the foster mother gives intensive care, even custodial, and studies the child, making valuable reports which are of use to the psychiatrist and of help to the agency worker in making plans for permanent placing. Since discriminating selection of exactly the right home for the child is of paramount importance, some actual experience with him in a home environment serves as an important guide. Two sisters, maiden ladies of high standards, have been of inestimable value for ten years, having cared for in their home 146 different girls suffering from venereal disease. They have kept the girls, often through the infectious period, supervising treatment rigidly, and have in many instances been instrumental in stimulating in the girls a new attitude and greatly improved behavior.

Since each child is an individual coming from his own particular environment with his own mental equipment and experience, it follows that the surroundings in which he will fit and improve will be only those that are exactly suited to him. For this reason foster home care has much to offer. Homes are available in infinite variety, supplying families differing in personnel, temperament, relationships, and opportunities. In other words, there is possible great flexibility and plasticity. The child finds himself among adults and chil-

dren whose lives have progressed with the natural give and take. The fluctuations have been experienced by this foster family that occur in any group of human beings, but there has been no excessive stress and strain. When evidences of this are found in any home under consideration, close scrutiny should be exercised in making sure that warped attitudes on the part of the foster parents have not been the result. In this new situation the child ceases to be the storm center. He may from habit or with a desire to attract attention show some of his unpleasant traits, but in a surprising number of instances this exhibition is short lived and he then forgets himself in new interests that have been substituted for the old. By having his own room and his own possessions, he often learns his first lessons in regard to property rights. He becomes for the first time part of a community life, engages in sports in which he may excel, thus gaining tremendous satisfactions which finally replace the former delinquencies. The new environment may fail even when the wisest supervision has been exercised, but this need not mean discouragement. One home has not served the purpose, but another may. If there is not one at hand already investigated, a special search may be made and continued until a promising home is unearthed. The ever present possibility of making the right adjustment keeps hope alive and stimulates enthusiasm for this subtle and exacting task. Persistence in the face of seeming discouragement will usually be rewarded by improvement in the behavior of the child. The gain may be so gradual as to be almost imperceptible, but if it can be detected at all there is ground for hope. The phase through which the child is passing is analogous to convalescence following a long illness.

A sense of security is one of the fundamental needs unsatisfied in most children who come to an agency for placing, and objection to foster home care may be made on the ground that for a variety of reasons replacements are often necessary. This is without doubt a very real drawback, although in actual practice in the agencies doing thoughtful work it is not so serious in its effects as might be supposed. There is, of course, the danger that children who enjoy the stimulus of change may behave badly for the purpose of being moved. A wise visitor will soon perceive this motive and circumvent it. The placing of problem children is a piece of work calling for wisdom and foresight of a high quality. Training and experience are essential if a worker is to do more than follow after the child and pick up the pieces.

Equally important is most efficient and resourceful home finding. There must be either enough homes to choose from at the start or a worker whose express task is the making of special searches for homes.

The question arises as to whether all types of behavior problems respond to foster home care. It has been found that race and religion offer no serious obstacles, although in some instances the finding of a home may, because of these considerations, become a more arduous task. Race prejudices exist to a surprising degree in various parts of the country. In one section, for instance,

a home for an Italian child is almost impossible to secure, while in other places there is no difficulty whatever. Chinese children have been easily placed. In one agency nineteen nationalities were represented among the children in care during a single year. Children whose behavior difficulties were complicated by nearly every sort of physical condition have been placed. In fact, many of the problems have been directly traceable to a background of ill health during which the child was indulged. Or the behavior may have been the result of undernourishment. It is not unusual for a child to be fifteen or twenty pounds under weight when coming to an agency. With proper food and an increase to normal weight, the behavior has sometimes straightened out. In certain instances equally good results are observable when an overweight child has reached the normal mark. Orthopedic conditions are found, and in these instances it may happen that the child is compensating for a feeling of inferiority by conspicuously bad behavior. These children often make marked improvement in foster homes. When there is an especially well equipped school for crippled children, it is sometimes advisable for a child to live there. It is, however, possible for a crippled child to live in a foster home and attend a special day school when transportation is provided by the school. Children with choreic conditions are often benefited by foster home care. Provision may be made for them to remain in bed for a time and later to have frequent rest periods. In other words, a quiet place and expert care may be provided and the situation modified from day to day to suit the changing needs of the child. In the same way heart cases may be taken care of or children who are pre-tubercular. Venereal cases may, as we have said, be placed, although difficult and costly. The peculiar behavior problems resulting from encephalitis lethargica have not, so far as I know, been handled in foster homes with any marked success, although the experiment has been tried a number of times. Dr. Earl D. Bond is making, at the University of Pennsylvania Hospital, an experiment under the most favorable conditions for study, and his conclusions may later help us to understand how foster homes may be made available for this most difficult kind of behavior case, or, on the other hand, may show that improvement may be looked for only under hospital conditions.

A child guidance clinic endeavors first of all to help a child in his own milieu. There is every advantage when this can be accomplished. The parents have been given an understanding of the underlying causes back of the behavior and have been taught how to remedy them and how to deal with the child. But many family situations exist that are past remedial measures or where the child's condition is so acute that a complete change of environment is the first necessity. The child and the parents may then be helped separately with a view to uniting them later. Frequently children come to the attention of the clinic who are without families or who have already been permanently separated from them. There is then no family situation to be reconstructed. It is evident that there must be some outlet, so to speak, for the clinic. Some provision

must be made, often hurriedly. A child placing agency, well equipped and flexible in policy, can best meet the demand. The clinic may decide in what surroundings and under what circumstances the child may be expected to improve, and may look to the agency to supply these. The psychiatrist finds his plans at a standstill when there is no agency to carry them out. We have seen one instance recently where there was a boy unable to remain in his own home, who was not actually dependent, and for this reason not suitable for a public agency. The only private agency at hand was too overcrowded to take him. The clinic, therefore, was forced to borrow a home from the public agency and assign the supervision to one of its own clinic workers who was already pressed for time because of her own work. The task was one for which she had not been trained.

Time after time this same situation is arising. The clinic should not be forced to do its own placing, that is, if we believe that child placing has its own technique and that the workers in this field should be especially trained. The organization of an agency which can meet the various demands of child placing is of necessity somewhat elaborate. There must be provision for case investigation and home finding, as well as for the supervision of the child. There must be special medical supervision, provision for purchase of clothing, an elaborate system of bookkeeping, and so on. The clinic, with its exacting demands, would find its task too heavy if all this complicated machinery were superimposed. In places where there is close coordination between the clinic and existing child placing agencies excellent results have been obtained, notably in the work of the Judge Baker Foundation. A recent study, now in the hands of the publishers, has brought out some interesting and convincing data. Five hundred one children, all serious personality or behavior problems placed by the New England agencies, have been considered. Some of the findings obtained bear so directly upon our discussion today that I have secured Dr. Healy's consent to quote directly from the manuscript. The portion selected concerns the 355 children placed by the private agencies. The records were studied in great detail and the analyses made with care, resulting in conservative estimates of success and failure.

Treatment by foster home placing was considered a success "if the individual immediately or gradually ceased his delinquency and if unfortunate characteristics or habits improved to the extent that he became and remained an acceptable member of an ordinary family group." It was found that the children had been in care from one to nineteen years, and that the median age of the group was twelve years.

As the Judge Baker Foundation follows its cases continuously, it was possible to obtain subsequent histories on most of the children who had been discharged from agency care, 169 in number. Of the whole group, 90 per cent came from city homes, so that the problems were largely the product of city life. Every type of delinquency was found: stealing, running away, truanting,

sex offenses, setting fires, excessive lying, cruelty, unruliness, staying out late nights, etc. Of them all, stealing was the most common form of delinquency, and those who engaged in it were placed in foster homes with much success. Ten individuals were given up by these child placing agencies merely on account of stealing propensities. In the vast majority of cases, if there was stealing in the foster home, it was cured there, or the individual ceased this form of delinquency when transferred to another home.

Of the 65 runaways, 78 per cent of those who were classified as of normal personality and mental characteristics were successfully handled in foster homes. Twenty-nine per cent of those showing abnormal mentality traits did poorly.

Of the girls who were placed, 46 had histories of sex relations. Of these 28 were successfully dealt with in foster homes. Among the 18 failures only 3 classified as of normal mentality. Two were defective, 13 otherwise abnormal in mentality or personality characteristics.

During adolescence girls with psychopathic or other mental characteristics show themselves to be lacking in powers of inhibition and self control.

There were 24 cases in which the problems were habits uncomplicated by delinquency, and of these 22 were successful in placing.

Enuresis appeared as a frequent cause of difficulty. There were 46 cases. This follows the general trend of findings elsewhere: the causes that lead to the production of delinquency, whether in the makeup of the individual himself or in his upbringing, are often allied to those at the foundation of the habit of enuresis.

It was found that smoking, even when excessive, did not contribute markedly to failure, and that there were only seven cases in which children took alcohol in any form.

No one delinquency, among ordinary offenses committed by juveniles, appears to stand in the way of success in placing. Polydelinquency offers no valid basis for rejecting applicants for placing.

Repetition of offense did, however, cause some greater likelihood of failure. The chances for success did not vary greatly between boys and girls, and there was little difference in age groups; nor was there any marked difference between legitimate and illegitimate children. What is ordinarily called poor heredity appeared to play little part.

Among the 355 children, 65 were of superior general intelligence. Of this group 20 per cent were failures, but the mental capacity was only part of the story, for no less than 11 per cent were of abnormal or peculiar personality in spite of their good mental ability. It thus becomes at once clear that treatment of the mentally supernormal is not to be considered in terms of supernormality alone.

Only 20 were mentally defective; 5 were psychotic, and 2 of these were successfully handled. Ninety per cent of the mentally normal succeeded. Of those who showed abnormal mentality, only one-half as large a percentage succeeded.

The most difficult group for child placing agencies to handle undoubtedly is that of the abnormal personalities who are delinquent, and particularly those who show full blown traits of psychopathic personality. We should not conclude, however, that their problems will remain insoluble. Psychiatry and social work made little headway in handling this type. It may be that the only remedy is colonization under the guidance of educational and psychiatric experts. We are convinced that some such measure is necessary, because in the community, whether in their own or foster homes, such individuals are very costly by virtue of their erratic behavior and misconduct and the bad influence they have on others.

In summing up, Dr. Healy says:

We see plainly that delinquent children, even the severely delinquent, can be treated with great assurance of success through placing. For normal children we have found no conditions or factors, whether of sex, age, heredity, type of delinquency, or anything else, that proved great obstacles to a favorable result. For normal personalities the success is five to one. . . . At least, successful results may be obtained under the conditions this study represents, namely, a cooperative endeavor between child guidance clinics and private agencies with fine standards. . . . The fine promise of foster home placing is most certainly dependent upon the introduction of scientific methods and discriminations.

WHEN SHOULD THE INSTITUTION BE PRESCRIBED FOR THE PROBLEM CHILD?

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The attitude of well informed social workers is to condemn institutional care for problem children. Having exhausted all his own resources and those of others, the conscientious worker in despair and defeat gives up the problem child's record—a record of his offense, of his family and personal history, including the contacts with other agencies, of his home and school environment, of his physical condition, of his intelligence quotient, and in a few instances an attempted estimate of his personality traits. The worker fearfully and reluctantly gives over to another a record which is apt to be regarded as voluminous and cumbersome. Particularly true is this if the other is an institution, walled off from social and industrial life, supervised by an itinerant class of dormitory masters and matrons, directed by an executive staff cherishing the unsustained hope of an increased budget and harassed by the politically astute. Little wonder is it, then, with a child in conflict with himself, with his home, with his school, or with his neighborhood—a problem child—that workers see themselves in defeat, that institutions feel imposed upon, and that the problem child is unreformed. From a strictly physical standpoint, to have changed an institution from an overcrowded dormitory mess hall plan to an individually cared for cottage scheme has not lifted the ban from institutions. From an intellectual viewpoint, to have changed the name from a "Sheltering Arms" or a "Brookside Reformatory" to "State Industrial School" has neither altered popular prejudice, invariably transitional and uninstructed, nor enticed the alert professional worker to accept this pseudo-intellectual hoax.

Believing that another factor, long overlooked and ignored, has served to discredit institutional care for problem children, it seems justifiable to point out and briefly outline herein that factor. Figuratively, if recognized or administered, that factor may be as potent in its action and as specific in its effect as the administration of quinine is to malaria. If unrecognized or shunned, it may be as violent in its action and as devastating in its effect as the flash of the lightning bolt is to an exposed, undeveloped, sensitive photographic plate.

What is this powerful factor which acts so rapidly and specifically and in variability can be equally constructive or destructive? It is not the physical or the intellectual aspects of life. It is the emotional factor commonly known as "temperament," less commonly referred to when restricted to its moral elements as "character," and more technically considered as the effective or conative qualities of the mind.

This emotional factor is vital in its application and broad in its scope. It is an integral part of all human behavior, and therefore it must not only be seen as a part of the child's problem but it also must be faced in the relationship between worker and child, between worker and institution, and between child and institution, if institutional care—however excellent in kind—is not to be always unsuited to the needs of growing children, problems or not.

If institutional care has come to be universally looked upon with disfavor by the professional worker, we have ourselves to blame. We have asked of institutions too little, have been content oftentimes to receive less than little. Or we have been pleased to consider a problem settled when an abstract of our case report was listed as "received" along with the court order, the checked off clothing list, and the itemized personal possessions at the admitting office of an institution. But, in fact, the disfavor is more deep rooted. We are reproached by our own indifference and negligence. Why? We have seen hygienic methods go into institutions. We have seen them mopping and scrubbing the woodwork, cooking fresh vegetables, baking wholesome bread, and heating, ventilating, and reducing fire hazards of the buildings. We know institutions do change thus. Although a malnourished and ill kept child is a problem in that he steals, steals food or money to buy food, we hesitate to prescribe institutional care although the institution can give him his primary need, i.e., three well balanced meals per day, a biweekly bath, and satisfactory sleeping accommodations for a prolonged period. Until recently that is about all the institution would give him, for that is all we have asked. Some institutions, true enough, will not even weigh him regularly once a month to note his loss or gain in weight unless we too are interested. It is easy to see the shortcomings of others. If the juvenile thief is brought to an institution from a home in which the father is unemployed, or marital disharmony reigns, or rivalry between siblings is awry, what is being done by the worker in the interval prior to the child's return home? The ordinary institution today does not do much in the home; it has not the requisite staff. Or if the child is of school age and stole the lunches of classmates, money from the lockers, or the pocketbook of the teacher, and even did it, not in hunger, but in resentment for a grade repetition or a reprimand for classroom infraction of rules, in what way has the worker assisted the institution to give the child adequate instruction to make up the scholastic loss he himself unknowingly incurs? We asked only that that malnourished, unkempt child first be bathed and built up physically. Even so, we give half heartedly to the institution the findings of a routine physical examination and are uncertain that

the physical defects will be corrected in this simple case wherein the primary urge to steal was traceable to an undermined physical state. Willing in the past to bring about our own despair, and confident that the responsibility should be borne alone by the institution, we have asked for little and received less.

Problem children have been classified by offense into two large divisions: incorrigibility and truancy. The incorrigible child is one who is rebellious or unmanageable in the hands of an adult. There are children of robust physique and of normal intelligence who are incorrigible in the hands of irresponsible and exploitative adults. For these children to react other than rebelliously would be to react abnormally. A truant is one who absents himself without permission from a place of work. A child truant is one who without permission between the ages of six and sixteen is absent from school. Let that child be one who fears to return home from school with his monthly report card of failures and he runs away from home and is gone until apprehended. Let it recur and his parents may swear in court that he is incorrigible and the attendance officer will testify that he is a truant. It may be only a bud-scented breeze bearing the repeated lure of wood lots through the open classroom window that calls him out, as a southerly breeze called you last weekend. It may be he seeks shelter from an impatient teacher's cold drizzle of correction day in and day out, which reminds him of his ever complaining mother who is going to nag him about the large mouthfuls he gulps down at supper time and berate him for the caresses he gives his hair-shedding and mud-tracking dog. It may be a bully classmate who has misappropriated in play his top, his marbles, or smashed his tree-hung kite that causes him to dread to meet at evening time his boorish older brother or his brutal, assaultive father. In truth, by his truancy he may be leaving these home factors, and not school at all. Sound bodies and active minds, unless interested, unless pent-up energy is released, and unless sympathetically tolerated, will run from miserable homes and skip from the autocratic monotony of "Class, attention!" "March!" "Line straight there!" etc. Incorrigible in the presence of injustice or absent without permission from school, whether or not you prescribe it, the child will be sent to an institution to be corrected or reformed—of what?

The institution does not know of these emotional factors; and many institutions, understaffed and budget stunted, are concerned only that their routine work is done. If the boy or girl be robust and fourteen or fifteen years of age, and even be sent for truancy from school, the likelihood is that in the institution he or she will attend school for only half a day and then go into the kitchen, the laundry, the dairy barn, or the fields to work manually. They obtain easily then that which they have been heretofore denied—part time freedom from school. Furthermore, with little more excuse than institutional convenience or overcrowding, they are assigned to classes a grade or more above their achievements, or a grade or more below their actual standing, and upon their release or reformation their institution academic record is not accepted by the

public school, for it is known not to have been of equivalent standard. Has the truant been taught then to love his irritating home and not run off from school? Has he been aided to crave school attendance upon his return? Has he been given a vocation in which he would care to give all his strength and skill? An example is cited.

An adolescent boy has truanted from school many times. He is the only child of a squeamish mother who will not have a household pet about and a petulant father who is a mechanic. The boy is bright, and in one year attends three different schools, due to change of parental residence. Behind in his school work, he becomes discouraged. In the autumn he is made to repeat his grade. He begins to truant from school. In the summer holiday he had loitered with others on "trespass forbidden" property and had had the first thrill of being chased by an indifferent policeman. In his own words he states, "It was fun to be 'shagged.'" In fact, he has come to feel that to succeed at any endeavor one should be pursued; indeed, he would not have been the swimmer he now is except that once last summer a large turtle came between him and the shore and "shagged" him and another, an older boy and better swimmer, all the way across the Mississippi. Even a turtle which later became the idolized pet of another had seen fit to "shag" him who at home was denied any pet.

This boy is examined physically at the suggestion of a social worker and found to have enlarged tonsils. He is sent, not to a reformatory, but to a state school. The worker sends a report of the case to the institution, but does not tell the boy of the desirability of a tonsillectomy, and after two weeks' observation period, virtually in unsupervised isolation in the company of three other boys of extensive experience and ignoble conduct, he is taken to the operating room without reasonable explanation but with ample warning from vainglorious offenders. There, held down by four staring and grinning delinquents, his tonsils, inadequately anaesthetized locally, are forcibly removed with much struggling, and coughing, and spitting of blood, and shedding of tears.

A week later he is assigned to the tin shop, whose overseer is a mechanic whose overalls are oil begrimed. This tinsmith has the same ill humored abruptness, similar oil smeared overalls, as the boy's father who has sworn to his son's incorrigibility and has approved the attendance officer's statement of truancy. The boy runs away and is returned; he is punished; his merits are taken away; and he is charged with ungratefulness, as though the state had given him a chance of a lost birthright to be a tinsmith.

The needle of reform is now threaded with correction. His chum, a boy who befriended him from the first, is in the institution band. He too had signed up for practice, but his name is now stricken from the roll. He is assigned to a distasteful task, one of which other boys have complained. He is to carry garbage and swill to the swine and care for their sty. Two months later the herdsman reports that never has he had one more dutiful or more pains-taking. The housemaster replies: "Of course, what more can you expect of

one like him, a runaway?" They never have taken pains to learn that to him the sow and her litter of six are his yearned for pets. There is a day of ringing the snouts, for the shoats have been rooting at the loose clapboards of the sty. He is one of four to hold the squealing, squirming pig—not unlike a day four months earlier when tonsils were taken from him with much the same efficiency. He is nauseated, but who cares? Are his cottage mates or the appraising herdsman concerned? Does the cottage master really care when he begs off from his noonday lunch? Has the superintendent ever truly read the history which was filed upon his admission and referred to only to note his home address when he ran away three months ago? The superintendent at that time did note, however, that for some unexplained reason this refractory boy was a "bad egg" in that instead of going home he had been "hobowise" and set out in the opposite direction and had been apprehended "headed for the city." To the superintendent it is always a wayward trend for the incorrigible "to be headed for the city" to be happily lost and let alone therein. Why should this bright boy return to that home from whence he was sent? If he will but bide his time he will be glad to return ere he has been reformed. But what of the worker in the meantime? Did she ever know this boy except by record? Has she been to see him once in his institutional treatment, or has she even been to his home in anticipation of his homecoming? It is hoped she has.

He will survive the nausea and distress caused by the care given to young swine. The herdsman, a kindly, interested, and forgiving man, will make a stockman of him yet. In February a pig is butchered. This boy sees it stuck and allowed to get to its feet, to meander about in the enclosure to write its death struggle in crimson on the snow. Dragged back to be hung up, it is. The pulley of the block and tackle drops into the congealed blood, and this boy is commanded to pick it up. He faints. He is laughed at by companions. He is scorned by the butcher. And later he is threatened by the superintendent. A month later he is released and taken home by his father who begrudges the half day's inconvenience caused by having to come after him. Unseen and unencouraged by the worker, he has been returned reformed and industrially trained.

He is returned to school. New teachers have heard of him from the old. He is tried a week in one grade and is unequal to the work. Disgruntled, he is reassigned to a lower class. In the corridors he is now institutionally sly in breaking rules. On the playground he is rough. In his play he tears the clothes of his companions. Has he not had for six months clothes in cut and quality just like two hundred other delinquents? An open scratch or a "bloody nose" won't stop him. Has he not faced in greater torment the sight of blood elsewhere?

His home is dull. He is robbed of the competitive by-play of his twenty cottage mates at the table. He is cheated of the scramble for his shower. If given a task, he is unaided and alone, whereas before there was a squad or a

detail of four to ten. In his neighborhood there is not a baseball nine unless the younger sisters of another boy will play. He is bewildered by the suggestion and the admission of such a weakness—girls to play with boys! He had heard much of girls when in the institution. When he fainted the other boys had taken up the slur of the butcher who cursed him for being "a sissy." Girls were to be seen only far off across the grounds, and only by cunning subterfuge or deceit dared one answer a note by the laundry chute or the food cart or the milk pail.

To review this homely common day illustration, one may say this boy's prescription has been filled. Under excellent hygienic conditions he has grown in height and weight. He has had his infected tonsils out. He is cleaner physically than ever before. He has been given more. At home now he longs to be back where school is a half day, where one plays and works with many, where dependence and allegiance are a stultifying virtue, and most of all where the domestic animals seem to like children. A young athletic theological student, an older brother he had been denied, had told him much about the fear and faith in the God of man. It had been a simple, serviceable creed while he was yet in the institution aloof from the world. In his second week out, though, he had been short-changed at the store, and at school his fellows were pitted against him and forgave him not for having been a reformed truant. He has even committed an act and boasted of it so as to be returned to the institution. He would have been had not the social worker checked up the tonic but bitter effect of the prescribed institutional treatment. Indeed, it had acted specifically, rapidly within a course of six months, and actually had been more constructive than destructive. It was felt that the constructive must be retained and the destructive corrected. Hers was an emotional reaction. She said, "I'd hate to let go of him now after what we have done to him." To her, he had become a boy overwhelmed, and not a case record. Perhaps the filled prescription had included this too.

A half hour interview was sought for the boy. It was learned from him directly what he loved and what he hated, what he craved and what he detested, what he feared and what he met courageously. The sanguineous experiences of the institution were discussed informally as being those experiences not uncommon to and faced by many less well endowed physically and mentally than he. From that thirty-minute interview came the following: His parents permit him to have a dog and to breed and market carrier pigeons. He is allowed to practice in the home on a tuba horn. His teacher and principal, when the facts were outlined, let him know that in him they had great confidence. Today he is passing his grade, is one of twenty in the school orchestra, and is liked by classmates. A Big Brother, a hearty, sympathetic, easy going, dependable, and athletic fellow, has taken him into his home for Sunday dinners with his family of three daughters and has gotten him part time work at a filling station—for all of which the lad is grateful. In fact, his parents are relieved and have

come, with the assistance of social work, to see him creditably enterprising, not incorrigible and a truant.

In conclusion, an institution may be prescribed for the problem child when social workers with an attitude of obligation come to share the responsibility of institutional care and not anticipate the closing of a case study when the child enters the institution. That treatment which is hoped for may be by social service assistance brought to fruition readily at an institution. As elsewhere, supply is closely dependent upon demand. Institutions will serve as a "dumping ground" if so considered and so used. If the demand for their contribution is greater, they will supply more—serve better. Even the problem child by his ultimate triumph will redeem for the alert social worker a confidence in institutional care, and workers will be loath to ask only of the institution care and hygienic measures for the body alone. If the emotional features of the problem are realized, the personality traits of the institutional staff recognized, and the attributes and limitations of the institutional equipment known, much of the social work with the problem child will be beneficent. It will be permanently effective if social workers fail not in their endeavor to be tolerantly helpful to the child, who is not a case record to be closed, but a living being, growing physically, expanding mentally, reacting emotionally, and withal striving to be independently self expressive. Unlagging interest with evaluation in the homely, daily events of life will insure with impunity the specifically indicated institutional care for the problem child.

VIII. ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

THE COOPERATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND PRIVATE BUSINESS IN SIMPLIFYING STANDARDS OF MANUFACTURE

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The Department of Commerce, since its reorganization during the first year of Secretary Hoover's administration, has afforded American business, commerce, and industry a means whereby it might, through self regulation and self control, solve its mutual problems in a sound national manner. The advisory committees made up of industrial spokesmen and the joint conferences held under the auspices of the Department are the means by which this has been done. There are now some 343 such committees cooperating with the Department, and upward of 1,400 conferences with business leaders have been held.

These advisory committees, possibly all of which served without remuneration, are appointed by Secretary Hoover from lists of names suggested to him by the particular industries concerned. Once appointed, the members or their successors form a connecting link with the work of the government and make collaboration easy and constant. This is the Hoover plan of "organizing areas of common interest"; and of the work of these committees Secretary Hoover, in his annual report of 1926, said: "To them and their predecessors is due in considerable measure the success of the Department's activities." Whether these committees have been organized to consider one problem or another makes no difference; they serve a double purpose. They feed into the Department of Commerce economic information and views of industry as to government policy and at the same time take back to industry a great deal of scientific information and group decisions as the result of group discussions of common problems.

In the case of the conferences held under the auspices of the Department, a formidable amount of facts are usually gathered beforehand, either by the members of the staff of the Department or by specialists hired by the conferees, or both. In general, representatives of business groups predominate in the makeup of these conferences. One of the first was the President's Conference on Unemployment. It was attended by some seventy-five manufacturers, distributors, bankers, and labor leaders, as well as some ten or twelve economists, statisticians, engineers, and social scientists. The conference devised a decentralized plan for dealing with the unemployment emergency of 1921, and then organized a subcommittee to report how far it was possible to prevent or

minimize the dangers of general unemployment in the future. The unanimous findings of the conference in both directions emphasized action by industry, repudiated the notion of paternalistic governmental action, such as a dole, and stimulated an astonishing amount of sound thinking and action on both the emergency and the permanent problems.

The entire program of waste elimination, as developed by American industry in collaboration with the Division of Simplified Practice of the Department of Commerce, depends upon national conference under Hoover leadership. Over a hundred of these conferences have been held yearly since 1921. At these surveys of commodity varieties are set in motion; results or other surveys are studied, and recommendations for the elimination of uneconomic lines are made; the success or failure of simplification work is reviewed, and when necessary items are added or dropped from the program.

When continuous work is necessary, standing committees have been set up by various industries and other groups to work with the Department. In determining policies with reference to the promotion of foreign trade, in developing statistical services, in devising codes of practice, in improving marketing methods, and in dozens of other ways these committees are invaluable to their industries and to the government. All serve to keep open the channel between the Department and the articulate, organized groups which it serves. In the textile group there are 38 committees; in boots and shoes, 8; in automotive equipment, 9; in commercial laws, 3; in transportation, 4. The Bureaus of Foreign and Domestic Commerce together had the advice and support of 82 committees; the Census, 5; the Bureau of Standards, 80; the Bureau of Mines, 41; the Division of Simplified Practice, 125; the Division of Building and Housing, 6; and the Bureau of Fisheries, 4.

There is a National Committee on Wood Utilization designed to promote more complete and effective use of each tree which is cut. This Committee is really a standing conference of 132 members representing lumbermen, fabricators, distributors, wholesale and retail pulp and paper manufacturers, wood preservers, railroads, contractors and builders, architects and engineers, etc.

A study of "Recent Economic Changes in the United States" is the most recent of this sort of extra-departmental work which has been undertaken under the leadership of Secretary Hoover. This study will be undertaken under the auspices of the National Bureau of Economic Research, funds for which have been furnished by grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, and will, it is expected, be completed by the spring of 1929. It is proposed to determine facts with regard to such questions as shifts in employment, changes in methods of production in industry and agriculture and in distribution, shifts in relative price levels and profits, movements in the business cycle, shifts in the standard of living, foreign trade and foreign credits, and other allied subjects bearing upon an understanding of the general business situation of the nation.

This is, in brief, a summary of what the Department of Commerce did, how it was gotten at, and the philosophy of its procedure. There are certainly parallels between this program and that of the social agencies. In the first place, the Department of Commerce is a service agency, and with one or two exceptions has no power of enforcement. It is in itself an experiment in democracy, and represents a new kind of thinking in government. Business men are being asked by the Department what it is they want done, a method which has not heretofore been applied by a government agency. It may be as well at this point to speak of certain movements that have been taking place in industry and which have had a part in the success of the work which has been undertaken by the Department of Commerce.

There are four forces today influencing and changing industrial and trade opinion and so having their effect on trade, industrial and professional practice. Schools and colleges are turning out young men each year who go into business with a deeper and more intimate knowledge of conditions from a scientific, technical, or business point of view. Young men are being taught to think of business in the professional sense. Some forty-two of our schools and colleges have organized departments for the teaching of marketing and advertising, for example, and these particular universities give men a professional groundwork for forming opinion with regard to the distribution and marketing problems and business.

A second group movement influencing and changing industrial and technical opinion is the trade association. Several hundred such organizations have been developed during the last twenty years. Committees of these organizations set up objectives in the way of making the best practice of one or more members of the association the universal practice of all. Great progress has been made in this field of self improvement within industry. Individual action has been supplemented and extended by cooperative or group action. Areas of waste have been explored. Large objectives in terms of policies toward labor, new conceptions of management responsibilities, foreign trade, and many other far reaching conceptions have been discussed and developed by group action, forming the groundwork for the development of new policies and new methods for individual merchants and manufacturers.

A third factor in the changing and developing of industrial and trade opinion is the government, not only through the passing of state and federal legislation, but by establishing service bureau activities which are conducted in such a way that they form the center point for discussion, decision, and collective action on the part of industrial, professional, and trade groups in many areas of business activity. The income tax administration of the Treasury Department probably forwarded cost accounting practice in industry and trade more rapidly than any other single force. Business men were required to keep books in a definite way. The many divisions of the Department of Commerce are all examples of service relation which have had a marked influence on the develop-

ment of problems involving foreign trade, technical standardization, commercial simplification, and so on.

The fourth force in the development of this industrial fabric of ours and in the making of opinion in trade practice is the business and technical press. Those who are familiar with the sweep of industry from the mine to the retail counter realize that every important industry and trade is served by a publication or publications engaged in the coordination, interpretation, and dissemination of factual information. Dr. Hollis Godfrey, of the Engineering-Economics Foundation of Boston, has stated in the report of a research which that institution has made into the creation of wealth in the United States that the increase in wealth is preceded by the increase in factual knowledge, and that the great transmitters of organized knowledge, trade by trade, industry by industry, are the business journals. Concrete evidence of this is shown in the recent series of awards offered by the Associated Business Papers for service rendered in the field. The award in one case was won by the editor of a coal journal for an editorial pointing out the immediate need of that industry. In a second case the award was won by a Canadian journal in a hardware field for an outstanding analysis of a government subsidy unfairly administered, and in the third case, to a journal in the electric railway field which had literally acted as the center point for the modernizing of the electric railway system of transportation.

These forces were behind and a part of Secretary Hoover's program for cooperative action and service by the Department of Commerce. Let us consider his method of procedure in developing this program. His first task was to find out what the people in the various bureaus in the Department were already doing—an essential step in any program of working together. There were strange inconsistencies revealed as to the activities of these bureaus and, on the other hand, important possibilities of exchange of information and correlation of activity. The Department of Commerce had not gone very far in its plans before it began to call into conference the leaders of organized industry. Committees in various fields were appointed, and to them Mr. Hoover outlined what the Department was doing, while they in turn presented their ideas of what it might do. A plan was then worked out determining those tasks which should be attacked first and those which could best be put aside until some future date. In any such program, choose at first those tasks that in themselves have some chance of being brought to a successful conclusion. Mr. Hoover also required that any proposal for action should be backed by at least 80 per cent of the volume of sales in the industry involved. In other words, do not start any line of action unless a majority of the interested group is behind you. Success in Washington was also achieved by limiting proposals to those which were practical, in which it was possible that action could be achieved. Mr. Hoover has a great gift for taking a proposal that looks visionary and giving it a handle so as to make it practical. At the start it was evident also that

most business discussions had taken place around very little factual material. Most oratory is not sustained by facts. Take for instance the much discussed matter of distribution and its effect on prices, about which, now, almost no facts are available. A committee was appointed, under the chairmanship of Mr. Owen Young, to survey the field and find out what facts were available. The census gets full figures about manufacturing, but not about distribution. We found, as we began to discuss the problem, that we had not even a defined nomenclature as a basis for a study. What is a drug store? What do you call an undertaker? It was obvious that it would not be possible within the time allotted to make a complete study of the extent and cost of distribution. With the assistance of the chambers of commerce in fifty cities a preliminary study is being made which will serve as a basis for definition and analysis for later inclusion of this field in the regular census. This suggests the method and approach which is being adopted in our studies.

Another type of problem is that growing out of the work of the Bureau of Standards. This bureau was established to define weights and measures and its scope has gradually been extended. One of the largest of the projects undertaken by Mr. Hoover was an effort to simplify the variety of sizes and styles of various manufactured articles. This simplification would result in economy to the user as well as economy in manufacture and distribution. Let us take as a concrete illustration the matter of the sizes of beds, say of a three-quarters bed. There is no definition of size, different makes varying sometimes by the fraction of an inch. If a definite size could be adopted, it would simplify the problems of the manufacturers of springs, mattresses, and sheets. Furthermore, if the length of sheets as compared to such a standardized bed were increased, it would result in greatly increased comfort to everyone! The few additional inches would hardly alter the cost to the consumer, but would add a very appreciable amount to the total amount of cotton sheeting manufactured. To secure a demand for such uniformity from the unorganized households of the country would be almost impossible, but there are wholesale buyers of sheets, hotels, and hospitals, and an effort is being made to bring them together on this point. The first commodity standardized by the Department was paving brick. It was discovered that there were different sizes and styles of bricks. A conference was called of all manufacturers of paving brick at which it was suggested that a study be made of these varieties. The Department of Commerce simply acted as a center point for this discussion to bring out discussion from all angles. When the report of the study was made, one of the conferees got up and suggested that the number of sizes be cut to 33. Then a committee, appointed for further study, cut the number to 11. One manufacturer who made a particular kind of brick under a patent came to the meeting ready to oppose the change, fearing it would put him out of business. In the discussion he got a new picture of himself and his business in relation to the situation as a whole

and cheerfully adopted the recommendations, even though they would require a radical change in the set up of his business.

To summarize: The success of the work of the Department of Commerce in meeting problems of unemployment, elimination of waste in industry, the development of a wider statistical knowledge of business, the coordination of government purchasing and private manufacturing, and many other programs, all have been developed in cooperative undertakings with groups. It is not too much to say that a new kind of procedure has been established between industry and government—a contribution, in fact, to government—a procedure that may well be followed by semipublic bodies interested also to advance social and economic programs for national welfare in relation with specific problems.

FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES OF A COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

Homer Folks, Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City

The fundamental objectives of a council of social agencies, or a welfare council, are very simple, and are two in number: To find out what services (existing and new) the people of the community need from its social agencies; and to bring it to pass that the social agencies are so coordinated, equipped, and supported that they actually do render these services to the community.

In any American community, especially in any large city, we are likely to find two outstanding and parallel sets of social agencies: First, a group of public institutions and activities, completely centralized under one administrative head; and, second, a group of voluntary, non-municipal, or so called private welfare agencies, each of which is independent of all the others, whether public or private. The problem is to find out what the community really needs in the way of health and relief activities, and to bring it to pass that all these existing agencies, public and private, pull together and produce a unified effect for the benefit of the people of the locality, without loss of motion, loss of money, loss of mutual understanding, or loss of clarity of objective.

Centralization does not always coordinate.—This is easily said, but it is not easily done. One's first impression is apt to be that centralization of control is necessary for team work, and that centralized control is certain to secure team work. It is a mistaken assumption. Centralization offers opportunity for coordination, but by no means assures it. The outstanding instance of this is the frequent lack of coordination within some of the great municipal or state departments of public welfare or public health, the subdivisions of which sometimes not only are not coordinated with each other, but are occasionally antagonistic, suspicious, and hostile toward each other.

A community chest, through its control over allotments to the various social agencies, has a somewhat similar opportunity to enforce some degree of coordination. Social conditions inevitably change, and these changes call for

the enlargement of certain agencies and the diminution of others. No community chest has to deal with a static situation. Much as it might prefer not to, it is obliged to face and deal with situations involving the development or the restriction of various social agencies and their adaptations to one another.

Financial control.—Here again, however, there is the same question as to whether it is really practicable to use this power of financial control in such a way as to enforce coordination. It is inherent in the situation that a community chest will be indisposed, just as individual agencies are indisposed, to offend the sensibilities of any large group of potential givers who may be particularly interested in some particular social agency. A chest will be disposed naturally to make the most of the more appealing and popular types of social work, just as social agencies are, and less inclined to the slow process of educating the community to the underlying and essential value of more solid and enduring types of social work.

Education and voluntary coordination.—We are driven back, therefore, under any and all systems of control and support, to the slower, but perhaps more certain, methods of education and of voluntary action by the various agencies. You cannot commandeer coordination. A man coordinated against his will is uncoordinated still. You have to get people together to arrive at a common understanding. Coordination is an attitude of mind, in particular an attitude toward other people and other agencies and toward the entire community. It has to come step by step. It means hard thinking as well as right mindedness. There is no short cut to it.

Conscious self coordination, on the basis of a continuing knowledge of community needs, and with a conscious and determined purpose that these needs shall be met, is the fundamental objective of any council of social agencies, or welfare council, which is simply a shorter name for the same thing. Coordination by this method has passed the experimental stage and has produced outstanding results in numerous localities, in some of which there are community chests and in some of which there are not. It can be accomplished with or without central financing, though undoubtedly more rapid progress in team work is likely to be made with the readjustment and reconsideration which is involved in the introduction of any new system.

New York's complicated situation.—In New York City we have a most involved situation. We have great centralized municipal departments of public health and of public welfare. We have something like 1,200 voluntary social agencies. Some of them are already in community chests, notably the great majority of the Jewish social agencies. The Catholic social agencies receive a portion of their support from central financing. There were already in the field several non-financial federations. The plan of the Welfare Council is to bring together all these agencies, public and private, in a thoroughly representative organization, into a central body, for the purpose of research, conference, program making, and voluntary adjustment to a common program.

Accurate knowledge imperative.—The most essential factor, if not the starting point, in any such undertaking is provision for an adequate, authoritative study of community needs. Nothing has such attractive force as a clearly demonstrated community need, crying to be met. Such a consideration will pull where coercion would fail to push. Nothing so tends to the laying aside of prejudices, misunderstandings, and disagreement as the clear perception of a larger program, adequate to the community's present need and calling for the utmost resources and efforts of all the agencies, working, in effect, as a unit.

Steps to secure team work.—The steps, therefore, are: first, efficient research as to social needs, preferably under the direction of the various groups of social agencies themselves; second, free and open conference as to how these community needs can best be met; third, resulting therefrom, a spirit of emulation and of renewed effort, in the inspiration of joining, not simply in promoting the activities of a particular agency, but in meeting in man fashion the recognized total need of the people of the community.

ORGANIZING THE COMMUNITY FOR CITY PLANNING

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City planning, which includes zoning, deals with the whole physical environment of the community, and consequently affects the whole life of the community.

Definition.—There are many definitions of city planning, no one of which has been accepted as fully satisfactory. For our purpose it may be defined as planning for the physical development of the community, and it may be divided into two parts: first, planning for the development of public spaces such as streets, parks, playgrounds, sites for public buildings (schools, libraries, recreation centers, as well as city hall, courthouse, police and fire stations); second, planning for the development of privately owned areas. The first contemplates the expenditure of public funds; the second contemplates the expenditure of private funds under public regulation.

Purpose.—The purpose of city planning is to produce a community in which work may be carried on more efficiently, with less cost of time and effort, with less interference and friction; a community in which life may be lived more abundantly.

Method.—To achieve this double purpose city planning seeks to so guide and regulate the development of the community that facilities for carrying on its work, for living an abundant life, may be provided adequately without waste of the community's resources. It designs a street system which should provide for traffic needs and seeks to relate the permitted development of private property to that street system. Areas for heavy industry, areas for light industry, areas for trade or commerce, areas for residences, have each their traffic re-

quirements and therefore their street requirements. It designs a park and playground system related to the development of private property. A playground within half a mile of every home is an ideal some cities have achieved; a playground within half a mile of every factory has not yet been urged because not needed. It indicates the proper location of school buildings, branch libraries, recreation buildings by forecasting the future development of residential and business areas. It distributes population, reduces overcrowding by providing means for orderly urban expansion. It stabilizes the character of neighborhoods, thereby stabilizing values, and in so doing checks, and may in the future prevent, the blighting of large areas. Because of it the day may come when the unfortunate (a term more inclusive than "the poor") will not be sheltered in the abandoned mansions of the past, makeshift tenements of today, but, for lack of such, must be provided with dwellings fitted to their needs. These are objectives, ideals, of city planning—in no city fully realized as yet; in every city requiring for their full realization a keen, constant interest on the part of a group that so far has held aloof.

Who are interested?—Because city planning deals with the whole physical environment of the community, and so affects the working and living conditions of the whole community, it is of concern to everyone. Because of this some of the better organized groups in the community take a very active interest. Builders, realtors, architects, engineers have found that for them city planning is of very immediate and direct concern. It, through zoning, allocates districts to certain uses, or, more accurately, sets aside districts in which certain uses are prohibited, as industry in commercial districts, industry and commerce in residential districts. In many cities it also classifies residence districts and forbids the erection of multifamily houses in areas set aside for one-family dwellings. It also regulates the bulk of buildings and the percentage of the lot which they may occupy in order to distribute population and to assure adequate light and air. At the same time it makes provision for adequate public services in accordance with the permitted development of each district. Such regulation necessarily is of very practical concern to those who design, construct, own, or manage buildings. The most spectacular effect has been in the development of the setback or tower buildings that have become a feature of the business sections of New York, Chicago, and other large cities. Business men whose interest in a building may be no more than that of a renter are nevertheless concerned because of the value of city planning in facilitating the activities of business. The most spectacular feature from their point of view is the effect upon traffic. A well planned city which segregates industry and provides it with its needed traffic facilities (ready access to railroad, wharf, through highway) not only reduces the operating costs of its industries, but by reducing industrial traffic (trucking) through retail commercial districts makes the latter more valuable to merchants who desire street space for their customers. By regulating the bulk and use of buildings in the commercial districts and

providing facilities (streets, water, sewer) in accordance with permitted construction, city planning reduces congestion and so facilitates business movement. Incidentally it also reduces waste in expenditures for public services. These groups, who already are expressing an active interest in city planning, are actuated by the profit making motive. It affects their business, and if business does not yield a profit it ceases to be business.

But while business is the foundation upon which a community is built, lacking which the community would cease to exist, it is not an end in itself, but is only a means to the end, that we may live more abundantly. So, while the needs of business must be met, they must be met in such a way as not to spoil the community as a place in which to live. Unfortunately the "living" side is not as effectively represented in city planning as is the business side. This handicap is somewhat offset by a strong emotional appeal. Many zoning ordinances have been adopted solely to prevent invasion of residential districts by industry or commerce. The business men themselves are owners or occupants of dwellings, and consequently have been susceptible to this appeal. But the emotional appeal alone has serious weaknesses, as is illustrated by the adoption of zoning regulation without the other parts of a city plan. A zoning ordinance alone is in the nature of a dike against the rising tide of city growth. A real city plan will also provide channels through which the waters of that tide may flow. It does not check growth or development, but provides for and regulates it. In most of our cities the organizations which represent the "living" interest are neighborhood associations whose concern is with only a small fraction of the city's territory and whose efforts consequently cannot be effectively constructive. The day is about gone when a real estate subdivision could determine a city's street system, could give us the dead end streets, the misfit jogs, with which most of us are familiar. Instead, from now on the street system will in large measure determine the character of new subdivisions, even the character of existing neighborhoods. Dikes alone will be of small and temporary value, for the channels (streets) will determine what development takes place along their course. And the main channels at least will be part of a carefully planned citywide system. A main arterial highway carrying a constant stream of traffic, carrying a constant succession of heavy trucks, will not long continue to be bordered by fine residences, whatever its present development, whatever a zoning ordinance may prescribe.

The social workers' interest.—I would not minimize the power of those who represent the "living" phase of city planning. City planning must be carried out by the city government, and the "home" element in the community usually is potent with the government. Witness its power even in tenement house New York as illustrated by rent regulation. Moreover, it is supplemented not only by the fact that the business element also has a strong "home" interest, but by such organizations as the women's clubs, which tend to throw their weight upon the "living" side. And supplementing these are the city

planners themselves who are keenly sensible to the importance of residence districts.

But they lack the consistent driving force of those groups whose livelihood is affected by city planning, and who, consequently, study more deeply, present more convincingly, their interest. These groups are not hostile to the "living" phase of city planning; they are simply more concerned with its "working" phase, and consequently inclined to minimize the former and to magnify the latter. In the long run they will prevail against the obstruction of mere dikes, will overcome the power of uninformed emotion.

In this lies opportunity for the social worker group whose interest in promoting good living conditions is as insistent, as constant, as compelling as that of the business groups in promoting good business conditions. But, curiously, the social workers as a group have not seemed to sense this opportunity. Members of one of their divisions, the housing workers, have sensed it, have realized that progress in their field must be in harmony with the development of the whole city. Members of another of their divisions, the recreation workers, have sensed it more dimly, have partially understood that a real playground system must be made in accordance with a city plan. Yet it should not require argument to convince those concerned with the relief of dependency, with reduction of crime and prevention of delinquency, with child welfare, with family welfare, with the promotion of health, with the right use of leisure time, that the creation of a favorable environment will be a large part of their battle. And city planning creates this favorable environment.

Apparently our difficulty, as social workers, has been twofold: we have concentrated too nearly exclusively upon technique; we have consciously or subconsciously considered ourselves a group apart from the rest of the community. These are natural results of our history. But has not the time come when they should cease to bind us? If it has, then city planning offers an almost perfect means for our taking our part in the life of the community. Technically we shall never be perfect, any more than are the professors of other callings. But we have made enough progress to have assurance as to the validity of our point of view. In our early days we were intermediaries between two groups in the community, the contributors and the recipients. But already there are wide breaches in the wall between these two groups; one merges into the other and an intermediary is no longer so necessary.

Housing workers long ago realized that all dwellings were their province, that concentration upon the slum meant merely the creation of new slums while they were making slow progress with the old. The rich, the moderately well to do, concern them as do the poor, for today's mansion may become tomorrow's tenement. Recreation workers have recognized the fact that while the most insistent need is in slum areas, the children of happier areas also need playgrounds. Visiting nurses have expanded their work from care of the indigent poor to care of those who can pay. The settlement, like the kindergarten

which began as a charity, has been translated into a community asset valued in well to do neighborhoods. Even family welfare workers, who long have proclaimed that material assistance, shoes, and Christmas baskets is the least part of their service, dream dreams of serving those who have no material needs but have great need of the best part of their service. Social workers are ceasing to be a peculiar group, set aside from all others, and are taking their places as integral factors in the community, rendering service of interest and of value to all their fellow townsmen, rich as well as poor.

It is a long road we have traveled since the days when our predecessors were almoners of the rich whose function was to distribute alms among the poor, a road as long and as beset with difficulties as those traveled by the lawyer and the physician. Having now arrived at a significant milestone where the road takes on a new character, we must adjust ourselves to the next stage of our journey.

It may sound strange in these days of community chests to suggest that the first adjustment required is that social workers should become community minded. But there is significance in the repeated reminder that social work has not been "sold" to the community. May it not be that the community has not been "sold" to social workers? Are we not still thinking in terms of fragments instead of in terms of the whole? While we believe we are thinking in terms of humanity, are we not, in fact, thinking in terms of a selected list of social maladjustments? Because of our absorption in ourselves, in our technique, in our immediate tasks, have we not failed to profit by the experience of other groups?

Only a few years ago a new industry appeared, the manufacture of automobiles. It encountered not only the usual difficulties of production and distribution, but also lack of facilities for the use of its product. Many of us can remember driving round and round on the few paved streets of our city, can remember when an excursion into the country involved hardship and adventure. And more than this, the new industry encountered violent opposition from an outraged majority of the public who felt that it was a dangerous intruder upon highways dedicated from the beginning of time to horse drawn vehicles. Perhaps it was the very multiplicity of difficulties that made the automobile industry community minded, which made it see its future in terms of a saturation point, a community goal, that was constantly advanced as one objective after another was achieved. Perhaps it was this multiplicity of difficulties which made its various rival firms cooperate in solving common problems and which led it finally into an effective campaign to make the community motor minded, with the result that today we are a rubber-tired nation.

The more recent aeroplane industry has profited by this lesson. It is just as intensely interested in technical improvement as is any group of social workers. But at the same time it is quite as keen to make us all air minded. Not only does it make the most of its Lindberghs, but it concerns itself in questions of common interest, such as city planning.

Method.—I believe it is recognized among social workers, as among other groups, that the success of a dinner party or of a conference attended by people of varying specialities depends upon finding a topic of common interest to which each person can contribute from his experience, from the discussion of which each will take away new information or a new point of view of interest to him. Shop talk outside the shop is a synonym for boredom, but a contribution based upon experience is a stimulant. The specialist who knows nothing but his specialty is to be avoided. But the specialist who can give new light, who can give a new meaning to a subject of common concern, is an acquisition. City planning offers this opportunity to the social worker who knows city planning, who can, out of his or her experience, interpret the significance of a playground, a community center, the effect of traffic upon a neighborhood, the value of building setbacks in terms, not of "another half" which lives in a distant section of the city, but in terms of the lives of those with whom he is conversing. If he can help them solve their problems, if he aids them to live more abundantly, he has won a confidence, secured an influence, beyond the reach of the more or less sanctified missionary to the poor.

I intentionally used and emphasized the word "conversing," for it is my impression that the community regards the social worker as a lecturer rather than as a conversationalist, as one who constantly propagandizes for his own interests rather than as one who participates in the interests of others. We have been so absorbed in building up our own organizations that mentally we seldom get off the platform; even more seldom do we merge ourselves in an audience where the platform is occupied by others. We seek recruits, but we seldom offer ourselves to other recruiters. We have a cause so great, so fine, that it blinds us to the value of other causes, and thereby arouses against us a needless resentment.

What I am proposing is a conscious revision of our method. We shall become more active citizens, more active participants with our neighbors, our fellow townsmen, in matters that interest them. We shall join chambers of commerce, neighborhood associations, the hundred and one organizations that represent the varied interests of a cityful of people, not with the intention of getting social service topics on their programs, of securing new workers for our own agencies, of securing indorsement for our particular legislative measures, but simply as neighbors, fellow townsmen, interested in the community, in the purposes of the organization we have joined, as participants. Obviously we cannot join all the societies, clubs, associations which the American genius for organization has called into being in our city, but each of us has some interests outside our profession which will give us fresh contacts. Through these contacts we shall not only convince the community that the social worker who deals with the problems of humanity is himself human, but we shall make for ourselves a broader and a richer life.

Of course there is the immediate objection that social workers already be-

long to too many organizations, to too many committees, that life for them is now a series of meetings. But as the cure for democracy is more democracy, so the cure for too many organizations for social workers is more—and different—organizations. We can, however, greatly reduce the burden by systematizing, by saving waste time and effort.

In this there is no decrease of loyalty to social service; quite the contrary. This new relationship offers new opportunities. The lawyer who serves on a committee of the Associated Charities does it with no thought of advancing the legal profession, yet, if he is a good lawyer, he not only wins increased respect for his profession, but also, and more important, through the occasional use of his legal knowledge he may modify the method of a social program so that it will become more substantial. Incidentally he acquires a knowledge and acquaintance that is often of value to him in his profession. So the social worker in a chamber of commerce, in a neighborhood association, through occasional use of his knowledge and experience may modify some project in a way that will increase many fold its value to the community, may himself learn much that will make his professional work more valuable.

The value of city planning.—For the community minded social worker city planning offers one of the best mediums for establishing contacts with neighbors and fellow townsmen, a medium as good in some respects, and better in others, than that offered the friendly visitor by material relief. It is a subject of common interest; it is a subject upon which the social worker has a real contribution to make, a contribution which today in many cities is not being made. I have spoken of the interest that professional city planners have in residence districts, yet one city plan classified residence districts by the cubical content of buildings, with no consideration for the number of families in each building. Evidently the social workers of that city had no part in making its plan. Perhaps they failed to realize the importance of that plan to their work.

For several years the National Association of Real Estate Boards has had a committee on city planning through which the realtors have been instructed in city planning, through which they have exercised considerable influence upon city planning. For a greater number of years the American Institute of Architects has had committees on city planning. Local chambers of commerce and the United States Chamber of Commerce have long listed city planning among their activities. Perhaps the time has come for the National Conference of Social Work to follow suit, so that its members may be informed as to their opportunity to help mold our cities of tomorrow, to help produce an environment more favorable to abundant living. Such a committee would have a real task, for the social values of city planning have not been thoroughly studied and are seldom effectively presented. For us a city plan is not merely a printed volume, a series of maps; it is a living, growing conception of how our cities should be built in order that they may be good places in which to live.

The principles of city planning may be constant, but their application varies with each community. Today's study must be supplemented by tomorrow's experience. The way in which the city is built determines in large measure the cohesion of its family units, the health of its people, the well being of its children. All the range of social work is affected by the character of the city. Here, then, is a subject for councils of social agencies.

But as other groups are interested in city building, the social worker must go beyond his group if he would be fully effective. City planning gives him a subject of common interest with these other groups, a subject upon which he can make contributions of interest to them, a subject upon which they will make contributions of value to him.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE COMMUNITY CHEST TO COMMUNITY WELFARE PLANNING

Rowland Haynes, Secretary, University of Chicago

The theme of the entire program of meetings of Division VIII this year as set down by the program committee is a discussion of "the ways in which groups of people can be brought to think harmoniously and to act unitedly in matters of common interest." The purpose of this paper is to indicate what contribution has been made by community chests to the ways of getting people to think harmoniously and to act unitedly in matters of community welfare.

The paper will first give five illustrations of aid by community chests to community planning. We shall then try to see what elements there are in these contributions which are peculiar to community chests as distinguished from councils of social agencies. We shall then discuss the contribution of community funds to the tools of community organization. And lastly we shall try to see what is the significance of these contributions to planning and organization for community action in other fields.

Illustrations of contributions of community funds to community planning.

—First, community chests have contributed much to the analysis of community resources being used for the welfare programs. They have in many cities drawn up with approximate correctness an estimate of what is coming out of the community pocketbook for welfare activities. They have analyzed the amount coming from voluntary contributions, from earnings of such agencies as hospitals and Young Men's Christian Associations, from endowment, and from tax support. For a really comprehensive plan for community welfare we need to know the amount of work needed, the amount of work being done, the financial resources of the community, and how much of these resources is being used for welfare projects. This analysis of the use of community resources has helped to give comprehensiveness to planning for community welfare. Not only have individual agencies seen that their budget problems and needs for

contributions were only a part of the needs of all social agencies, but that in many cases governmental agencies were putting in more from tax support than all of the contributed help combined.

Second, community chests have greatly advanced the analysis of the relationship of capital account needs to current maintenance needs. This analysis grew out of the practical situation which arose soon after the war when many cities had a flood of demands for buildings for philanthropic agencies. This led to various efforts to spread these capital account campaigns and at last to the accumulation of experience as to how much these campaigns for buildings cut into the money available for maintenance. Out of this experience and analysis has come the recognition of the fact that a larger percentage of contributions to capital accounts must come from the wealthy, namely, from accumulated capital, than is the case in maintenance campaigns. In maintenance campaigns we are justified in seeking a contribution from all incomes, large or small. In other words, it is possible to increase the number of givers and somewhat spread the load. It has, however, been found that for capital account expenditures the load cannot be spread anywhere nearly as much as with maintenance campaigns. This analysis has further shown that appeals for capital cannot wisely be linked with appeals for maintenance. This conclusion has arisen from the fact that appeals for capital must be for a more restricted purpose—for a single type of work and often for the expansion of a limited part of the program under that type of work. A community fund maintenance appeal, however, includes a considerable variety of causes. Apparently it is not successful to link a restricted cause with a very broad and widely appealing cause.

Third, community funds have helped in the analysis of the factors influencing the relative urgencies of different types of welfare work. Because budget committees have had to sit down before the whole welfare program and its financing, or at least before the financing program of a considerable group of agencies, and because the amount of money available is always less than the amount of money needed, budget committees have been forced to reckon with the problem of relative urgencies. While these practical committees have not run off into social philosophies, they have considered quite directly such questions as the effect of the number of persons reached by the different agencies on the relative urgency of their work. They have considered the bearing of the age of persons benefiting by given charities on the relative urgency of different charities. Thus they have seen that the work for children is frequently more important than that for the aged. They have seen clearly that the bearing of the help given to critical life needs determines relative urgency. Thus they have easily stressed hospital and relief work ahead of certain types of recreation work. Yet to their credit it should be said that the character building appeal, so long as it is based on performance and not on sentimentality, has always been strong, and they have seen the importance of such character building as determining the relative urgency of appropriations. The effi-

ciency of service rendered by the agency has been quickly recognized as a factor influencing the urgency, not of the type of work needed, but of the type of work actually done.

Fourth, the three foregoing illustrations have been from the work of community chests in various cities. Let us turn now to two activities of the chests working together through their national organization and contributions made by this joint action to community planning. The chests together have for the last four years been studying the statistics of social work, particularly those having to do with the amount of work done and the costs. This has gone through the stage of a preliminary survey, the stage of discovering what cannot be reasonably expected at this period from such statistics, and has now entered upon the stage of a definite cooperative enterprise between the national Association of Community Chests and Councils and the University of Chicago, whereby it is hoped to get statistics based on accurate monthly reporting in certain selected cities. Just as birth and death statistics over a period of years have been the basis of much of our public health planning, so these studies are likely to be the basis of future intelligent improvement of social work. They are likely to be used much more widely than by the particular group of chests collecting them. They are likely eventually to give us hints for methods of studying quality as well as quantity of social work.

Fifth, this national group of chests has this last winter held in Washington a Conference on Community Responsibility for Human Welfare. This conference had many things which are common to all such meetings, that is, the study of the practice of different chests in regard to specific problems. In this the conference was not unique; it was not unlike many other conferences where people get together to compare notes on their different methods. It seems to me, however, that the conference was unique in the two following respects: First, it put a new emphasis on the fact that responsibility for human welfare is a community responsibility. Just what do we mean by this? That welfare work is everybody's business? No, not exactly, because what is everybody's business is nobody's business, and not felt as the responsibility of anyone. During the opening years of the twentieth century we heard much in the discussion of corporations of the phrase "Guilt is always personal." In the same way responsibility is always personal and individual. By saying that responsibility for human welfare is a community responsibility we mean that it is a responsibility resting on an individual from the fact that he lives in a community, not merely from the fact that he happens to come in contact with persons in need. The older idea of responsibility for welfare work was summarized by the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" It was a responsibility which came from contact. This conference was unique in its emphasis on the fact that responsibility for human welfare is a responsibility of the individual from the fact that he is a member of the community. With the growth of large cities and the breaking up of opportunities for personal neighborhood contacts, the

strength of this source of responsibility needs to be clarified. Emphasizing this source of responsibility was a real contribution of the chests.

In the second place, the conference also made a contribution in catching the significance of the national relationships of the welfare programs of individual communities. For instance, it recognized that community work in an individual community is influenced by its relationship to national agencies which are organized, not on a community basis, but on the basis of specialized interests. The conference also discussed the relationship of national corporations giving to local community welfare work. In other words the conference caught problems, not merely of local practice, but also two significant relationships with two groups of national organizations, one a welfare group, the other a business group.

Elements in these contributions which are peculiar to community chests.—Since Mr. Homer Folks has covered so effectively the aims of a council of social agencies, not related to central financing, it is appropriate that I confine myself to those elements that are peculiar to chests or to councils that are tied up integrally to central financing. Many of the things which Mr. Folks has said on the objectives of such a council I should be glad to reiterate, but I shall confine myself to the other phase, namely, the contribution of community chests as such.

First, community chests have added the important element of a definite time for reaching decisions on social welfare questions. A campaign has to be put on at a definite time. The budgets have to be prepared, or at least the total askings have to be indicated by a certain time before the campaign. In other words, decisions in regard to social welfare questions for the ensuing year have to be made by a definite date. There is a great difference between deciding a thing some time and deciding it by a definite time. Councils of social agencies may reach decisions, and often do, but they rarely have a definite period when decisions have to be reached. This necessity for an annual time for decisions has made social work advance step by step more certainly in chest cities than in non-chest cities.

Second, similarly community funds have given definiteness to decisions of relative urgency. You all know the old story of the peddler's cart which is upset by a passing vehicle and all his wares left dirty or ruined. The crowd of onlookers is sympathetic and full of verbal regrets. One of the bystanders pulls off his hat and throws in a dollar and says, "That is how much I care. How much do you care?" Similarly, without central financing we may go through hours of committee meetings and discussions as to the relative urgency of different types of social work without coming to a definite decision as to how much more urgent, measured in the terms of dollars and cents of the funds available, one piece of work is than another for that particular community at that particular time of its social history. With chests this judgment of relative

urgency has to be clearly stated. Such statement is a real contribution to understanding and progress.

Third, another contribution, and perhaps the most important one, of community chests has been found in the fact that they have interested more and bigger people in welfare projects. They have not only secured more contributors and more publicity on the welfare needs of the community, but they have enlisted more of the sort of people who are influential in the community to consider welfare needs. There have always been a choice group of thoughtful citizens who have given loyal service on the boards of charitable agencies, but the community chest movement has swept into this service, not only this restricted group, but a very large number of other men and women of intelligence who have devoted hours of time and work on budget committees, campaign teams, and the like. A striking illustration of this was noted during the last winter by a welfare worker who has occasion to travel a good deal through the country. One week he attended a committee meeting in a community chest city where the question of unemployment was being canvassed. At this meeting were many business men in close touch with the unemployment situation. They definitely voted money to help in the situation and worked out a way to get this additional money. In another city visited two weeks later there was a council of social agencies unrelated to a central financing organization. They too met to discuss unemployment. No business men were present; only a small group of social workers met, and they came to the sapient conclusion that every business firm should employ 5 per cent more workers; in other words, that jobs should be created by fiat not by economic conditions. Business men are not much interested in advisory committees. Experience with the community chest shows that they are interested and willing to give sacrificing service on committees which have real decisions to make. The community chest has made a real contribution by interesting not only more people but also more of the responsible people in the welfare program.

The contribution of the community chest to the tools of community organization.—There is a difference between community planning and community organization. It is indicated by the theme for this group of meetings set down by the program committee when they spoke of both "thinking harmoniously and acting unitedly." Community planning has to do with thinking harmoniously. Community organization has to do with acting unitedly. What has the community chest contributed to the tools of community organization? We know, for instance, that political parties organize whole communities and have developed special machinery therefor. We know that public service corporations and business groups, like chambers of commerce, have organized whole communities and developed their own type of machinery. It is significant for the task of community work to note where the tool developed by community chests is different from the tool developed by these other activities.

For definiteness in comparison let us ask ourselves with regard to a polit-

ical party, a public service corporation, and a community chest three questions: First, whom are they organizing? Second, what do they want the people organized to do? Third, what peculiar tool have they contributed to the general art of community organization?

Turning to the illustration of political parties, we find that they are organizing or attempting to organize all registered voters, that they are trying to get these voters to vote their ticket, and that their peculiar tool is the development of the precinct and ward leaders with ward and city committees of the party. Turning to public service corporations, we find that they are organizing the general public in order to get the support of public opinion to the projects of the service corporations in such utilities of common use as gas, electricity, street transportation. They organize public support for franchises, rates, and regulations. We find that these public service corporations have developed the tool of paid advertising and propaganda publicity to a very effective degree. Turning to community chests, we find that they are organizing, or attempting to organize, all who are able to give to charitable enterprises, that they are trying to get these possible donors to pledge and give. We find that the peculiar tool of the community chest is the campaign organization, involving teams, house to house canvassing, and group solicitation.

What are the unique features of this contribution of the campaign organization to the tools of community organization? The team method was used long before community chests were organized. The special contribution of the community chest has been the perfecting of this tool by annual use and the adaptation of it to strategy of the occasion in the use of personnel. For instance, a given community chest city which had long given a high per capita found itself with its agencies inadequately supported. The director of the community chest was able skilfully to assemble a small group of influential men who came to the conclusion on their own initiative that more money must be raised. They were not told this was so; they discovered it and rose to the challenge. The director of the chest was then able to get a prominent citizen, who had not before taken a position of leadership in the chest, to head the forward movement. This illustrates the perfecting of the campaign method. When a campaign is used once only it assembles a group of workers a good deal like the untrained militia of colonial days. Where the campaign method is used year after year the workers resemble the trained militia of the annual officers' training camps.

Because of this actual use, the campaign method has been developed so that nearly every city has a division handling major gifts secured on the basis of the solicitation being done by the best person to reach a given donor. Very many cities also have a division organized on a geographical basis and handling smaller gifts. Many cities have also some form of group solicitation, either among the factory workers, school children, or both. This development has enabled us to make a comparison of the different types of solicitation and

to study their adaptation to different uses. It is no exaggeration to say that the student of social organization who studies a hundred years hence this last decade will recognize that the community funds have contributed in their campaign setup a method and tool of community organization as valuable in its field as the tool contributed by political parties and public service corporations.

Significance of these contributions on community action and consciousness.—We do not realize the contribution community chests are making to the renaissance of community spirit. The growth of cities has revealed the divisive power of sheer size and deadening inertia of numbers who do not know each other. Twenty-five years ago Jane Addams pointed out that in a big city neighborhood feeling is often weak or nonexistent, while group or class feeling is often strong. She was emphasizing the divisive tendency which comes inevitably with the growth of a city.

On the other hand, the community chest has counteracted this divisive tendency by bringing back a consciousness of the common interests of the whole community. It has developed, not an interest of the north side or of the west side, but of the whole community fund area. It has a call, not merely for the rich or the pious or the cultured, but also for the man of moderate means, for the man who has no religion or hides his religion, and for the man whose only literary interest is the newspaper. It has thrown a strong hoop around the barrel which was falling to pieces. In certain cities the habit of working together developed through the community chest has been effective in influencing civic action. The community chest has not gone into politics as such, but the habit of working together developed in the community chest has helped common recognition of common needs for civic improvement. On the train coming here I was reading William Bennett Munro's little volume of lectures under the title of *The Invisible Government*. This phrase, as you probably know, was coined by Elihu Root to describe certain sinister forces in American political life. Professor Munro recognizes these sinister forces, but points out that the phrase "invisible government" may be applied to certain forces which are not sinister and which work behind the visible government forces which the visible government does not create but obeys. In this sense community chests are creating conditions of community thought which make the chests real influences in this invisible government. They are opening the door to social workers to mold the life of their community more effectively than they have ever been able to do before.

ORGANIZING THE COMMUNITY FOR LEGISLATIVE REFORM

Edith Rockwood, Public Affairs Secretary, Illinois League of Women Voters, Chicago

I have been asked to describe the legislative work of the League of Women Voters as an illustration of one method of community preparation for legislation.

The League and legislation.—The National League of Women Voters and the state and local leagues are organized for citizenship education and "to seek needed legislation."

This concern for legislation brings the League into two legislative fields. First, laws relating to the structure and operation of government, such as election laws, civil service, taxation, reorganization of city, county, and state government. The second legislative field into which the League enters we include under our public welfare committees. It includes the adaptation of government service to human needs and the progressive legislation designed to meet newly recognized needs. Examples of this are child welfare legislation, the women's eight hour day, the women's state reformatory, which we secured in Illinois, and other like measures.

Deciding on a legislative measure.—In dealing with legislation, the League of Women Voters never works alone. Practically no law is passed until it has the support of several organizations, nor should it go through unless it has a reasonably wide public opinion back of it. In the process which I am describing, therefore, the League is one of the cooperating organizations and takes more or less responsibility for the measure in proportion to the League's own interest in it.

A proposal for new legislation grows out of the experience of some group which is dealing with a particular situation. When such a proposal has been made by one organization, it is necessary to call into conference groups handling similar situations to see whether they agree that legislation is needed and what kind of legislation it should be.

In Illinois the state organizations are at present uniting in a tax conference for this purpose, and it is our practice from time to time to have similar conferences on election laws. The next step consists in studying the Illinois law and in learning what the best practice is elsewhere. For this purpose we turn to our research agencies such as our Legislative Reference Bureau, our Chicago Bureau of Public Efficiency, Citizens' Association of Chicago, and, if the legislation is in the social field, to the social agencies. Nationally we rely upon the information supplied by the federal bureaus and by national research organizations which send us material concerning other states. When the bill itself is to be drafted we usually have some attorney formulate the first draft of the proposal, and before introduction it is submitted to the Legislative Reference Bureau to be sure that in its drafting it conforms to Illinois law and

practice. After a proposal is very well formulated by the groups most concerned, it is ready for submission to other organizations to enlist their support.

The League's preparation for supporting measures.—The League itself, in formulating its program, adopts at its national conventions a program of work involving proposals for state and federal legislation and a considerable group of items for study. The adoption of this program nationally makes it possible to coordinate the support of League members throughout the United States on federal measures and also stimulates effort in the different states for bringing state legislation up to a more uniform standard.

Similarly the states, including the Illinois League of Women Voters, at state conventions adopt programs of work so that the effort of every League and of every League member throughout the state may be directed toward the support of the measures which the state League considers of most immediate importance. The support of such programs is provided through discussion at League meetings, citizenship schools, study courses, state League news bulletins, special pamphlets on certain measures, and all the other means of bringing facts before League members and other groups in the communities.

Public interest advantage.—In working for legislation and improvement in government, the League, like the social service groups, has at once an advantage and a disadvantage. Our disadvantage consists in the fact that no one has anything economic to gain by the success of our programs. A lobbyist for a group of insurance organizations once said that he never approached a member of the legislature to ask him to do anything. His function is to listen. If anything needs to be said to the member, he writes to the insurance agent in his home town who sold him his policy and asks him to say it. The groups seeking economic legislation have this enormous hold over their members in asking them to do legislative work. However, on the other hand, the League and social groups have the advantage of being credited with working for what they believe to be the public interest, with no hope of personal gain. Every member of the legislature appreciates the significance of this public interest and responds to the appeal for it. However, our groups do not have the hold over their members in asking them to see or write legislators that the economic groups have.

Organizing support for a measure.—In Illinois the women's organizations have organized an Illinois Women's Joint Legislative Council, including nine state organizations, which serves as a clearing house to consider legislative measures proposed. When five organizations have acted favorably, a joint committee is organized for the particular measure, which conducts the campaign for it. We now have eight such committees initiated through the Joint Legislative Council. They are on child labor, maternity and infancy care, women's eight hour day, election law revision, motor drivers' license, women on juries, state reformatory for women offenders, and educational legislation. The list, of course, includes a rather wide variety of measures. Most of our organiza-

tions do not indorse all of them, but only those in which they are especially interested.

These campaign committees have devised a plan to meet a difficulty which we face in Illinois. Half the population of the state is in Cook County, and in the past it has happened that many legislative programs have been worked out in Chicago, and other parts of the state have not been adequately consulted as to the proposal itself nor have they been sufficiently informed of the plans for the campaign so that they could really participate in securing the legislation. To meet this, the joint legislative council has arranged for a series of one day legislative forums in different cities of the state for the purpose of informing the women in the state of what is proposed and to give them the necessary information so that they can help in securing it. Each one of these joint committees publishes a folder on its measure, and these are widely distributed throughout the state. Such folders are of almost greater importance than conducting a speaking campaign, because they are left when a speaker goes and they can be distributed by mail so that those who are sympathetic have material to which they can refer for information in expressing to their neighbors and to legislators their interest in, and support of, such measures as they advocate.

Handling a measure before the legislature.—Legislation should be secured with the least possible effort. However, it should not be expected that any measure, particularly involving a new principle of legislation, should go through in less than two sessions. In Illinois, on our taxation proposals, we anticipate working for at least ten years, and probably longer. However, often a measure which is an amendment of an existing law may be secured at the first session where it is presented if it is introduced by a member who has the confidence of his fellows. We secured an amendment to our school law, authorizing school boards to spend school funds for adult education, at the last session of the Illinois Legislature because it was introduced by a much respected woman member. Of course, in addition, it was adequately presented to the committee and appealed to the common sense of the legislature. However, it went through with comparatively little effort.

It is of great assistance in securing the passage of a bill to have the backing of the administrative departments, particularly if it concerns state government, and of county and local officials if it concerns local government. Naturally their recommendations have great weight with the legislators. Sometimes a state department is willing to make one of our measures an important part of its legislative program and to put a great deal of effort behind it. However, often our measures, in the social service field particularly, do not seem of first importance to the departments, but they are willing to give their approval, which is helpful.

The support of the governor also goes a long way in securing passage, because legislators are not likely to put much attention on a bill if they think the

governor is going to veto it. It is, therefore, desirable at the earliest possible stage in the process to secure the approval, and if possible the active support, of the governor.

If it fails the first session, or if it involves a new legislative policy, it is necessary to have a widespread educational campaign to develop the public opinion necessary to justify the legislators in passing the measure. This involves securing action by state and local organizations, joint conferences to inform different groups, speakers sent to local meetings, distribution of printed material containing the facts, and newspaper publicity. When this educational work has been thoroughly done throughout the state, if the proposal is sound, the day will come when its passage can be secured.

Presenting to legislators.—Perhaps the most unique contribution which the League of Women Voters has made in this process which has been followed by many organizations is the emphasis which it has placed on the preprimary and preelection portion of the process. We consider that the best time for presenting a legislative proposal is before the primaries when candidates for the legislature are most eager to know what their would be constituents want so that they may know how to win the nomination. The second most important stage is before the election. After that, letters, interviews with members, petitions, and representation in the legislative halls are all important.

I have placed little emphasis on representation in the assembly itself, lobbying, because while it is important, the expression of opinions in the districts is of greater importance. However, any organization which is concerned with legislation will wish to have a competent representative present during the session to give information to the members. Many of our state organizations in Illinois perform such service; for example, the Illinois Agricultural Association, the Illinois Chamber of Commerce, the Illinois Federation of Labor, the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, the Illinois League of Women Voters, and the Illinois State Teachers' Association. Members learn which organizations present programs to which they are sympathetic and present facts which justify the support of their programs. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that any organization concerned with government activities should be represented at the state house by one or more individuals who can command the respect of the members for the information they have to offer.

May I add a word about the legislation which social workers propose? These observations are drawn from our Illinois experience. We have an Illinois Committee on Social Legislation which gives an excellent service after the session has started in analyzing bills in the social service field and advising as to whether they should or should not be supported. However, this work is too late to be of the greatest service in initiating legislation.

Social workers' legislative proposals.—It has been our experience that social workers fail to consider the legislation they want to see proposed until just before the session or until it is already under way. This leaves no time for

building a supporting public opinion. They seem to feel that the fact that they believe it is needed should be sufficient for the legislators. They even fail first to consult and inform their own group of social workers throughout the state. They often bring their measures to our general membership organizations asking for support after we are already committed to responsibility for other measures. Many times their bills go through because they are sound proposals which commend themselves to the legislators, and minor measures—amendments to existing laws—may be secured in this way. However, any legislative change which is significantly progressive needs more preparation than the social workers in Illinois have of late been making. This needs to be done in order that the general membership organizations, which are inclined to be very sympathetic to suggestions from this source, may have an adequate opportunity to give the support of which they are capable.

FACT FINDING AND RESEARCH AS A BASIS OF PROGRAM MAKING IN SOCIAL WORK

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Since the beginnings of social work, when organized humanitarian duties were so obvious that most people missed them and inspired leaders needed no special study to find them, many of the worst abuses have in large measure been cleaned up. The present job of positive enhancement of the value of life is of a different kind. It presents much more subtle and difficult problems than those with which our pioneers had to cope. We are far less sure of the action to be taken. We have fewer spectacular abuses, and a declining number, we hope, of those hardships which startle public opinion and indicate immediate action. Arousing people to rise up and do something drastic is now less needed than getting them to sit down and think hard about ways to secure steady upward progress.

To make systematic advances requires indicators which will register gains or losses from year to year. The getting of indicators depends in turn on wider cooperation to secure more extended knowledge of that with which we are attempting to deal. Success, now as always, depends in large measure upon gallant individual service of workers and agencies, but more and more we are coming to see that that service must be performed within the framework of a larger picture. In such situation the demand for facts of several kinds is conspicuous and continuous, and in response to this demand agencies and foundations are providing permanent research services. Among these the veteran organization, the Russell Sage Foundation, heads the list. The United States Children's Bureau, the Institute for Social and Religious Research, the Bureau of Jewish Social Research, the research services of the Federal Council of

Churches and the National Catholic Welfare Council, the bureaus of municipal research, the Community Research Committee of Chicago, the Helen Trounstone Foundation of Cincinnati, the Research Bureau of the Womens' Educational and Industrial Union of Boston, the demonstrations financed by the great foundations, and our own research bureau of the Welfare Council of New York comprise only a part of the list. A recent bulletin of the American Council of Learned Societies on *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences*, by Professor Frederic A. Ogg, catalogues them in an impressive array.

As one reviews the requests for research services which arise from the needs of social agencies, and as one sees the stream of studies which issues from these research bureaus, a rough classification of the kinds of inquiries takes form. Most of the output would fall in about seven main categories. Some studies would come entirely within one class; others spread into two or more classes: first, inventories of social machinery; second, delineation of social problems; third, continuous measures of incidence; fourth, studies of techniques; fifth, working demonstrations; sixth, demographic studies; seventh, study of causation.

Inventories of social machinery.—While it perhaps stretches the term "research" to include inventories, they unquestionably constitute a considerable proportion of the fact finding now necessary to effect community progress. This audience hardly needs to be reminded that as the number of social agencies increases and as each one exercises its privilege of modifying its services as it sees fit, or of refusing to do so as local community changes occur, there is a more or less constant need for stocktaking if rounded and systematic service is to be assured. The type of service each agency renders, the volume of it, the costs involved, the source of support, and the relationship to kindred agencies must be known. Illustrations of current studies of this kind are the Jewish Communal Survey of Greater New York, carried on by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research, and the New York Welfare Council's inventory of health services by agencies other than the city health department. The Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation has recently compiled a list of community surveys which shows no fewer than 132 main headings in its classification and reports of a total of 2,700 inquiries of this type. Surveys in the field of health (458) and education (582) top the list.

It seems to be a growing conviction that we cannot run the social welfare services of a large community without some system of inventory and check up of the resources at hand. The smaller communities often have help in making such examination from the national organizations.

Delineation of social problems.—A social problem has been defined as "a social situation which attracts the attention of a considerable number of competent observers within a society and appeals to them as calling for adjustment or remedy by social, i.e., collective, action of some sort or other."¹ When we

¹ Clarence M. Case, "What Is a Social Problem?" *Journal of Applied Sociology*, VIII, 268.

come across circumstances which incline us to wonder if we have not stumbled upon the existence of what may be a social problem, we never can really know whether we should enter it in the competition for public attention until we have studied its nature and the extent of its manifestations. Still less can we set up rational plans for amelioration without accurate knowledge. Analysis of the factors entering into social problems and measurement of their incidence in terms of cases are the most widely practiced of our social research endeavors. Studies of child labor, of work accidents, of family budgets and distribution of income, of the social aspects of tuberculosis and other diseases, of the employment of mothers of young children, of juvenile delinquency, of old age dependency, of child dependency, of the different varieties of physical, mental, and social handicaps and of child marriages are examples which come readily to mind. Both governmental bureaus and private organizations undertake inquiries of this kind. Such studies have come to be regarded as necessary precursors to almost any form of community action.

A subject that recently has aroused interest in several American communities is the provision for the care of the chronically ill. As the average length of life increases, a proportion of those whose lives have been prolonged are added to those who are the victims of chronic illness. They become serious burdens on family budgets; they are not wanted by general hospitals expensively equipped and staffed to care for the acutely ill; they overtax the resources of the simply organized institutions to care for the aged; they tend to absorb an undue proportion of time of the visiting nurses, who see opportunities thereby lost to carry forward their educational and preventive services. Meanwhile they themselves are not receiving the attention which in many cases their condition requires. Cleveland, Louisville, Cincinnati, Boston, and New York have recently made or are now making inquiries on this subject. On the basis of such studies should come both better care of those who need it and a wiser use of the means at hand.

Such studies not only aid in administration; they raise new questions in community planning and the evolution of the community's care of its members. They give great push to measures of prevention. They serve as rough maps which indicate promising areas for detailed research. They pave the way both for action and for further study.

Continuous measures of incidence.—The private social agencies in the United States have been criticized as slow to set up accurate systems for gauging the incidence of social maladjustment and the volume of their services. They are now undertaking to contrive "measuring sticks."

The critics of the social agencies are apt to draw analogies between measurement of the incidence of cases of disease and that of the social hardship or personal inadequacy which engage the attention of social workers. It hardly needs to be pointed out that the validity of such record keeping depends on the one hand upon devising a system of reporting which will cover a large proportion of the cases, and on the other hand upon good diagnostic work, whether

medical or social. Medical diagnosis is at least a generation ahead of social case diagnosis. In the early stages of health work we were able to count little more than deaths with any degree of accuracy, and even at that there were technical problems in the case of still births and of deaths of non-residents. Gradually we have been able to secure reporting of further details, such as the cause of deaths, color, sex, age, and home address of the decedent, his occupation, and other items. Fairly reliable statistics in this field have, however, involved the setting up of some descriptive categories in which international co-operation has been required. In contrast, in the field of social maladjustment there are a few examples of such basic and objective units as the number of deaths in a given place and within a given period with which to start. Social ills vary imperceptibly, in their individual manifestations, from the most conspicuous and troublesome to the most subtle and elusive. The definition of units to be identified and counted is an infinitely more difficult scientific puzzle than presented itself in developing morbidity and mortality statistics. It is also plain that with many of our social problems there is no social machinery corresponding to the services of an organized medical profession and authoritative health departments. It is difficult to secure even continuous sampling through social agencies because changes in administrative practice or financial resources may upset the amount of work which an agency can undertake and undermine its knowledge of the extent of a problem.

Our American social agencies are, however, rapidly coming to the opinion that whatever the difficulties, their stewardship demands that they strive to report facts of the incidence and volume of the work. There are accordingly several schemes in operation and in inception which are designed to measure the fluctuations in the amounts of work of different kinds going on in the community.

Perhaps the earliest and best known of these efforts at measuring incidence was Dr. I. M. Rubinow's *Dependency Index of New York City, 1914-17*. Two years ago Dr. Ralph G. Hurlin, director of the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation, inaugurated a plan to measure the changes in the volume of work of the leading family welfare societies throughout the country. The American Association of Community Chests and Councils has recently established a joint enterprise with the University of Chicago Social Research Laboratory to measure the volume of several different kinds of social service work in as many communities as will cooperate. The Welfare Council of New York City and the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania are also setting up current reporting schemes to count cases coming to the various types of agencies. Mr. Maurice Hexter, of Boston, Professor Stuart Chapin, of Minneapolis, Dr. Dorothy Thomas, and Professor William Ogburn have worked in this field.

It is thought that gradually as such work progresses better definition of units will be worked out, more accurate counts will be made, ways will be

found for determining the relationship between the work of social agencies and the need for service in the community, and gradually true and sensitive indexes will be established. These will serve, not only as measurements of progress or regress, but also as a basis for short time forecasting of community needs. They will supply rich stores of statistical data in confronting new problems.

When the necessary experimental and organizing work has been done, the keeping of such indexes may become a function of local, state, and national governmental agencies established to promote the various phases of community welfare. It must be clear that with such instruments of measurement we shall be able far better both to lay plans and to make the public understand them.

Studies of methods of social treatment.—Study in the field of methodology in care and treatment of individuals and families is still embryonic. Naturally it awaits good diagnosis, which is often difficult to secure. More often it is prohibitively expensive to supply what appear to be the appropriate remedies. Moreover, as we do our work we are forced continuously to revise and modify our methods for a number of extraneous reasons. The confusion of motive which attends some of our community enterprises adds to the problem. Uncontrollable variants play in and out of the picture.

The difficulties are so numerous that nowhere is imagination more willing to supply results and the intellect more reluctant to face the exacting task of trying to establish a clear relationship between what we do for others and the improvement or deterioration of personality and character of the subjects of our attention. When one sets himself not only the question as to whether a given measure has been helpful in some degree but also whether it has been the most helpful that could have been undertaken, our minds balk and invent a thousand excuses for delaying the job.

Consequently the field of methodology is perhaps the least cultivated of all the realms of social research. Social treatment in all its varied aspects, whether through communitywide measures or through individualized forms, is not yet sufficiently articulated or consistently practiced to give much material for research purposes. We are not, however, without some examples. *How Foster Children Turn Out*,² published a few years ago by the State Charities Aid Association of New York, was a brave attempt to measure results of foster home placement for children of different ages and types. Recently an attempt has been made to measure the results of treatment by the Child Guidance Clinic of New York, which was maintained on an experimental basis for five years. At the last annual meeting of the American Statistical Association Porter R. Lee presented an analysis of the method by which measurements were attempted. It is with gratification that we learn of the plans of the New York

² Sophie Van S. Theis, *How Foster Children Turn Out* (New York State Charities Aid Association, 1924).

School of Social Work to inaugurate an inquiry into the method of measuring the results of social case work.

While there have been few studies to set forth precisely the relation between methods and positive results of social treatment, there are many examples of studies which have exposed the evils of poor and slipshod methods. The administration of relief, the practice of the indenture and adoption of children, and the management of institutions of different types have been studied, and failures and weaknesses of many kinds demonstrated.

For the general improvement of method, as distinguished from the measurement of results of method, there have been notable contributions. Mary E. Richmond's *Social Diagnosis* is an excellent example. Others are the reports of the Committee on Dispensary Development of New York, which has studied problems, machinery, and techniques of clinics and the outpatient services of hospitals. Methods in disaster relief, employment service, recreational work, and other forms of social work have received attention.

One does not need to elaborate the relation between knowledge of improved method and program making. While we may not be able to instal the better method immediately, few forms of knowledge act more powerfully upon us.

Working demonstrations.—In searching for clues in improving health and other conditions through community action, the sequence of first intensively analyzing the situation and then applying what have seemed to be the lessons derived has been reversed in some of our most interesting research projects. These are working demonstrations. Prominent among them are the health demonstrations, in some cases comprehending the health of all the members of the community and in other cases restricted to the health of children, or to the prevention or treatment of special diseases, such as tuberculosis or hookworm, or in still others to the testing of a special method, such as public health nursing of a specialized or generalized type.

For the health demonstrations, communities have been selected on the basis of their interest, cooperative attitude, and general representative character. The method has been to establish a health service which provides the best we know at present and then to watch the results over a period of years. In Framingham, Massachusetts, an experiment was started in 1917 to see if through the expenditure of sufficient funds under expert direction the problem of tuberculosis could be met in a typical American community. The Milbank Foundation has established demonstrations in the improvement of general health in a rural county, a medium sized city in New York, and in a populous section of New York City itself. The first effort of this sort in the child health field was made in Mansfield, Ohio. Since that time the Child Health Demonstration Committee of the Commonwealth Fund has been conducting demonstrations in four communities—Fargo, North Dakota, Clarke County, Georgia, Rutherford County, Tennessee, and Marion, Oregon. The results of these dem-

onstrations are measured in several ways. Reduction in mortality both from general and preventable causes and heightened interest in health and health promotional activities are taken into account. Increased public expenditure for health purposes is one of the more obvious indexes of the latter result. Progress is also measured in terms of the improved community health machinery both under public and private auspices and in the better working of parts. Much stress is laid upon the improvement of cooperative procedures.

Beside the health demonstrations have been those in the field of school counseling and visiting teaching. Recently it has been proposed that the baffling problem of destitute, homeless men in New York City be studied by means of a five year experiment. This would concern itself with providing more thorough, extensive, and better coordinated service in attacking the problems which the men present as individuals and in learning about the community problems which the concentration of such men brings to certain sections of the city.

Demographic studies.—Perhaps nowhere else in the world has community thought and life been so deeply influenced as in the United States by basic population changes. Shifts in age composition, density, and nationality background are taking place rapidly all over America, and both social workers and investigators are hopelessly handicapped without up to date data. To know the population of our great cities and their neighborhoods requires constant research. Equally the rural community needs to keep constantly informed of its population changes.

The gathering of facts on population is largely in the hands of the United States Census Bureau, but local health departments and public school systems occasionally supplement this information, and in a few instances privately supported research enterprises add to the fund of knowledge. An outstanding example of demographic research under private auspices has been that of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research on the Jewish population in our communities. The study of intermarriage in New York City in 1921 by Julius Drachsler, well known and loved by the people of this conference, is one of the rare examples of a large demographic study accomplished by a single individual. Items of information as to 171,356 marriage licenses were tabulated and interpreted. Studies of block population by Hull House in Chicago and the University Settlement in New York, later by the departments of sociology at Columbia and Chicago and by that of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago, are other examples of privately conducted demographic studies.

Enterprising business organizations are also entering this field. Population studies by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the American Telegraph and Telephone Company are adding to our knowledge of demographic changes.

It almost insults the intelligence of this audience to point out the relation of this type of knowledge to program making in social work.

Study of causal factors.—In studies of causation, the fact finding process,

though necessary, is secondary in importance to the analytical and interpretive processes. This approaches what we like to describe as "pure research," though it might be well to remember that it is harder to keep impurities out of this product than out of some of the more modest contributions. A social scientist has recently said that it is of importance to recognize "that social science is for the most part concerned . . . with laws about the relation of very complex patterns of events to one another."³ Similarly social workers are interested in watching the complex interaction of factors in the lives of persons and communities. But both scientists and social workers have much to do before they can establish scientifically any relations between these patterns. Social workers are, however, in a favored position to find many of the smaller elements which enter into the making of the larger complex patterns. Their minute examination of situations in human life should enable them to find new components in social relationships and to see the operation of social factors not apparent to other observers.

In the study of causation it is well perhaps to distinguish between immediate causes of occurrences and those ultimate causes toward which we so earnestly yearn but never find. Birth rates decline, population shifts, prices rise, crimes increase or decrease, presumably as the results of long chains of complex circumstances, inquiry into which might, if there were data, be pressed back indefinitely to innumerable antecedent circumstances. But there is little data, so we are left with these questions largely unanswered. Life does flow on, however, and what we are living now is also a link in the long chain of causation. We are now beginning to keep records of social facts, and we are becoming sufficiently conscious of our social patterns to bring some detachment to our observation.

Does this not bring us then to the place in this paper where we can turn the title around and speak of program making as a basis for social research? By that is meant the process of viewing our own enterprises as links in the chain of causation. As has been pointed out earlier, the more we know about our own business, the better we shall be able to serve those whose interest is exclusively scientific.

In this connection it is also to be remembered that science, like social work, needs not only technique, but also imagination. Perhaps the best contributions which social work can make to social science is first in knowing its job thoroughly, and second in helping to set the problems to which scientific study should be applied. Program making should, it seems, always contemplate the necessity for the collection of the ordinary "raw" facts of the enterprise and for setting new questions to be answered.

Program making based on facts.—After this flight into the territory of

³ Morris R. Cohen, "The Social Sciences and the Natural Sciences," Ogburn and Goldenweiser, *The Social Sciences*, p. 463.

our friends, the social scientists, it is well to return to our home country of social work.

The subject of this paper refers to program making based on facts. It leaves to the speaker the job of telling what kind of program making is meant. As we all know, there are many sorts which range all the way from that which seeks immediate expression in action and studiously avoids all facts, through that which is satisfied with the facts of the situation of ten years ago, to that which demands all that can be secured of unbiased and recent information.

John Dewey points out the futility of expecting social facts to operate automatically.

Many persons seem to suppose that facts carry their meaning along with themselves on their face; accumulate enough of them, and their interpretation stares out at you. The development of physical science is thought to confirm the idea. But the power of physical facts to coerce belief does not reside in the bare phenomena. It proceeds from method, from the technique of research and calculation.

In other words we must get our facts as scientifically as we can and then must exert ourselves to use them. We must understand something of their possibilities and their limitations and must not rely solely on them to move us in the direction we should go.

Facts perform several kinds of work. There are some which, when brought to light, seem to demand immediate action. It is never too soon to mend our ways when we find that we have been doing detrimental or unwise things. Facts which indicate, for instance, that children are badly treated should see their work done with the utmost speed.

Another order of facts raises immediate questions about revision or extension of program but does not in itself indicate very precisely how the revision or the extension should be made. These are facts and questions to which conferences of well informed and highly experienced persons may well address themselves to work out concrete solutions. Where such extensions or revisions depend upon a great deal of cooperation among social agencies and persons, the conference procedure is essential, or at least is the best we know to do. Facts bearing on the more efficient coordination of social agencies are almost always of this sort.

Fact material on methods helps an individual agency to match up its work against a standard and to take whatever steps seem desirable as and when it can. Such facts perform an educational service of high order.

Finally, there are facts which may have no immediate specific program making possibilities and yet furnish basic information by which gradually to reshape in the course of time the whole pattern of a community's social work. Studies of population or of the underlying financial structure of the social work of the community are of this general sort.

It is probable that facts are useful in still other ways in program making. Some time it might be well to see all of the uses to which the different types of

fact material have been put. The rôle of facts in program making could well be analyzed. A good many years ago I asked an old teacher of mine, Simon Patten, how much he thought the examination of facts determined the deliberation of the President's cabinet then in power. He looked at me a little sadly and said: "I am afraid that cabinet meetings are likely to be only clashes of attitude."

The integration of fact finding processes and program making processes presents the problem of securing enrichment and stimulation for both without doing damage to either. Some people profess to a great fear that such integration would completely undermine the scientific quality of the work of the fact finder. Certainly some care must be exercised to prevent coloration of facts through the too ardent aspirations of program makers or some of them. The solution to that difficulty seems to lay in getting the propagandists balanced in the consultation group by others who have no axes to grind. On the whole it would seem better to work along toward interesting all those who have a concern to see the facts objectively than to suppose that by isolating the fact finding process we can change the nature of the propagandist. And besides there is always the terrible possibility that the fact finders, and even researchers, may not themselves be infallible! Altogether this process of integration is an attractive risk to take, which, as an experiment in social engineering, might have merits of its own.

THE ORGANIZATION OF GROUP THINKING

(SUMMARY)

Alfred D. Sheffield, "The Inquiry," New York City

In the preceding papers of this section we have followed certain instructive parallels in the adjustment procedures that appear where interests conflict, on the one hand in industry, in city planning, and in social legislation, and on the other hand in the various agencies of social work of a well organized community. It is our present task to come to close quarters with the adjustment process itself as it appears in any face to face group of spokesmen for the interests at stake in an unadjusted situation.

It was fortunate for our purpose in dealing with this somewhat cloudy theme that Mr. Feiker gave us so admirably concrete a start by showing how Secretary Hoover can get group thinking about paving brick. Mr. Hoover is by training an engineer, and one can discern an engineering imagination in his handling of trade conferences for the elimination of waste. An engineering view of an adjustment process will take in, not only what goes on in the conferring group, but whatever forces and circumstances can be turned to account in the situation to be adjusted, so that the representation and spokesmanship

in the group shall gear in with the leadership that can put the group agreements into effect.

Suppose we note the features that Mr. Feiker mentioned in the paving brick situation, features by which it could be mapped out as a field for group control. There was first a wasteful profusion of sizes and styles of paving brick. There was a confusing nomenclature. There was the trade association as a possible agency of control. There were various professionalizing influences in the trade which make themselves felt among the recognized leaders. There was the fact that these leaders could convene for the discussion of their common interests under the auspices of the United States Department of Commerce, where otherwise their meeting would lie under the suspicion of "conspiracy in restraint of trade." Finally, there was the prestige of Mr. Hoover, which was here a stimulus to statesmanlike effort on the part of industrial leaders. All these features of the situation framed up definite resources for bringing the production policies of competing firms under some cooperative program—at least to the extent of eliminating wasteful diversities of style.

Observe now the steps by which the Department of Commerce enlists such a trade association in a project of responsible group thinking and action: first, with the help of Mr. Feiker and others, the Department gets a line on key men in the industry whose interest can be enlisted in progressive measures. Second, with the cooperation of these men a measure of experimental fact finding is set afoot and reported on in a bulletin of the Department of Commerce. The thought-provoking item which thus appears has the natural effect of drawing an invitation from the officers of the trade association to some member of the Department of Commerce staff to speak before the association at its next annual meeting. Third, this speech results in a formal vote inviting Mr. Hoover to set up a committee that shall bring about an agreed limitation of the number of sizes and styles of brick which are being placed on the market. It is to be noted that the personnel of this committee is drawn from a list of nominees offered by the trade association, but that the actual makeup of the Committee is by personal invitation from Mr. Hoover. One was reminded of the remarks of Mr. Haynes that "invisible government" may play a useful part where men of public standing thus use their influence to public advantage. It was to be noted, too, that the committee thus appointed was made to include two groups from the trade—a working group for analysis and spokesmanship of the trade interests at stake, and a prestige group to assure a carryover of the agreements in committee into the actual programs of the various corporations concerned. The influence of the committee was further strengthened by including in its makeup an editor of the trade journal, one or two large buyers, and a representative of the general public. In this way the thought of the committee was kept mindful of the fact that their councils were "affected with a public interest." Fourth, the next step was a systematic and workmanlike piece of fact finding, sponsored by this committee but carried out by the resources of the Depart-

ment of Commerce. Fifth, when the Committee met, the problem of simplification was inspected to assure two conditions of success: (a) the matter under study was inspected for any "handles" by which it could be made really tractable to a cooperative control; and (b) the problem was divided so that the committee could consider first "What can be done now?" and then "What can be set aside for a long time program?" Sixth, finally, the presence of the editor of the trade journal assured a follow up on the performance by the associated corporations in carrying out the agreements in committee.

Leaders in the social program of any city community will readily note the parallels which appear between the problems thus dealt with in an industrial adjustment and problems which arise in social work. The problems mentioned by Mr. Folks and Mr. Haynes were clearly illustrative: How to get a client by minimum steps to the right agency? How to bring about a progressive division and correlation of function among various agencies in the same field? How to determine the relative urgency of a variety of claims before the budgeting committee of the community chest? How to get agreement among agencies on the standards in their publicity and appeals for funds? How to assure that the thought of social workers shall fully register in the program sponsored by the community chest? Any one of these issues makes its appearance as a community situation with conflicts of philosophy and point of view and calls for adjustment through a group process by which each interest shall register in a final agreement.

It should be noted in this survey that other techniques than that of group thinking have a place in the total course of adjustment. There is a place for fact finding and for "telling" people things. One will bear in mind, however, Dr. Deardorff's useful distinction of four kinds of fact: facts that point explicitly to action, facts that are basic for any program, facts that suggest what should be done, but which leave open the question of how to do it, and facts about method. If information is to carry its desired effect we shall study how to get the appropriate kinds of fact forthcoming from the right sources and delivered at the right stages in the adjustment process. There is place also for promotion—as, for example, the speech at the trade association meeting by which the group is interested in the project. In many situations the problem is quite as much that of arousing interest where people are unawakened to the need of effort as that of adjusting interests which are in conflict.

In approaching the process of thought in the group conference one should perhaps note that group thinking presupposes a special way of looking at organizations and at people. An organization is to be viewed, not as mere machinery, but as an organ for cooperation which can be made highly expressive of social and spiritual values. As to people, we need almost a new imagery in order to grasp the processes of thought and emotion by which a real adjustment of mind can be sought. We may here be helped by the imagery suggested in the following quotation from a recent little book which tries to picture the mind's total reaction in the reading of poetry:

Our thoughts are the servants of our interests, and even when they seem to rebel it is usually our interests that are in disorder. Our thoughts are pointers and it is the other, the active, stream which deals with the things which thoughts reflect or point to. . . . The active branch is what really matters; for from it all the energy of the whole agitation comes. The thinking which goes on is somewhat like the play of an ingenious and invaluable "governor" run by, but controlling, the main machine. Every experience is essentially some interest or group of interests swinging back to rest.

To understand what an interest is we should picture the mind as a system of very delicately poised balances, a system which so long as we are in health is constantly growing. Every situation we come into disturbs some of these balances to some degree. The ways in which they swing back to a new equipoise are the impulses with which we respond to the situation. And the chief balances in the system are our chief interests.

Suppose that we carry a magnetic compass about in the neighborhood of powerful magnets. The needle waggles as we move and comes to rest pointing in a new direction whenever we stand still in a new position. Suppose that instead of a single compass we carry an arrangement of many magnetic needles, large and small, swung so that they influence one another, some able only to swing horizontally, others vertically, others hung freely. As we move, the perturbations in this system will be very complicated. But for every position in which we place it there will be a final position of rest for all the needles into which they will in the end settle down, a general poise for the whole system. But even a slight displacement may set the whole assemblage of needles busily readjusting themselves.

The mind is not unlike such a system if we imagine it to be incredibly complex. The needles are our interests, varying in their importance, that is, in the degree to which any movement they make involves movement in the other needles. Each new disequilibrium which a shift of position, a fresh situation, entails, corresponds to a need; and the waggings which ensue as the system rearranges itself are our responses, the impulses through which we seek to meet the need. Often the new poise is not found until long after the original disturbance. Thus states of strain can arise which last for years.¹

The pertinence of all this lies in the fact that discussion is essentially a process through which unadjusted interests in the situation find a new equilibrium. We are now ready to note the part of the chairman in this process. Briefly speaking, his rôle is to assure three things:² first, he should take a responsibility for maintaining the pattern of group thinking, where otherwise a conference will fall into the pattern of sales talk or of debate; second, he should keep the whole situation before each conferee; and, third, odd as it may sound, he should keep the whole conferee before the situation.

There are two respects in which the boards and committees of social agencies are ripe for the sort of human engineering which we have here passed under review. Social work is increasingly becoming social education in which the thought of board and committee members becomes important as representing standards of life which are undergoing a progressive redirection. Furthermore, the processes of social work increasingly require a sensitive interplay of thought and effort between the various specialized services of a community. The com-

¹ I. A. Richards, *Science and Poetry* (W. W. Norton and Co.), pp. 22-25.

² The part of this paper which developed these three contributions of the conference leader may be found in the chapter on "The Chairman as Leader of Group Process," in *Business Management as a Profession: Leadership*, published by Henry C. Metcalf, Bureau of Personnel Administration, New York.

mittees by which various agencies in the same field give expression to their policies and standards are real organs of social thinking by which the experience and insight of all shall be made mutually stimulating and revealing.

SUMMARY OF GROUP DISCUSSION MEETINGS

GROUP DISCUSSION NO. 1—PROCESSES OF GROUP THINKING

Dr. Alfred D. Sheffield, "The Inquiry," New York City, presided. The group was asked to raise any questions as to how to develop effective group discussion in social organizations as brought out in their experiences. The following points were proposed: first, How shall we determine whether the topic proposed is sufficiently important to justify a conference? Second, Should this topic be studied and the discussion prepared for in advance, or should it be developed in the group? Should key people first be approached and the topic discussed with them? Third, How make the group chosen for the meeting a real cross section of the community or of those having a vital interest in the topic, e.g., in recreation, those who are to use the facilities as well as those who administer them. Should the people who finance the project have the determining voice? Fourth, If the meeting includes spokesmen of various points of view, how can we get them to see the group as the generator of a new social force and make their full contribution to it? Fifth, Should the convenor present a proposal for action or a topic for discussion? Sixth, How long should such a meeting last? Is it possible in a short executive session to bring out varying points of view and reach a joint conclusion? Seventh, Who is to be responsible for the ultimate carrying out of the conclusions arrived at?

In the discussion there was recognition of the fact that in every case the technique would depend on the nature and purpose of the conference. Dr. Sheffield outlined the following types of discussion, based on the definiteness of the topic as outlined by Mr. Harrison Elliot: first, a confused situation: Here it is necessary to get the leaders together to define the problem to be considered; second, a defined social problem; in this case the people coming to the conference know what is before them and seek a solution; third, various programs and problems are presented, to be considered and a choice arrived at; fourth, a definite project is before the group for action; fifth, a measure of agreement has been reached on what is needed and the conference is held to agree on the how.

The topics then considered were:

Leadership.—As indicated by Mr. Feiker, it is necessary to interest a few key people at the start. As many interested individuals as possible should then be drawn in so as to give a cross section of the community concerned. This may be achieved by (a) their presence in the conference, (b) discussion of the topic under consideration, (c) subconferences of small like minded groups

where individuals will speak freely. The decision as to which of these methods will be adopted depends on the articulateness of the individuals in question. In choosing representatives of any group it is important to ask those who have not already developed too definite a pattern of thought and can therefore participate freely and openmindedly in the meeting.

Fact finding.—There was agreement that as a basis for discussion it was important to have facts, whether preliminary in nature as a basis for defining the problem or more detailed as a basis for action. Dr. Sheffield here referred to the analysis of types of factual material as outlined in Dr. Deardorff's paper (see p. 415).

The function and procedure of the conference itself.—Its purpose may be: first, to share responsibility for a decision; second, to aid in interpreting a point of view to outside groups. The conference should not be held on some prejudged matter. Those attending should know whether the meeting is to discuss a project defined in advance for action or whether it is an open forum. The leader's point of view should be influenced by the conference; his thinking should be repeated and modified by that of other members. It is wise to discuss the theme with key people in advance, providing our purpose is not to "put something over." Absolute sincerity is a prerequisite for success.

Responsibility for carrying out decisions.—Financial responsibility is only one of many kinds. Again, be honest with the group. Make clear the nature of the responsibilities which rest with each group concerned, as for example, in the matter of a board of trustees and a house council of a settlement.

Programs must be thought out and carried out by a cross section of the community involved, with clear minded and far seeing leadership.

GROUP DISCUSSION NO. 2—THE SOCIAL SERVICE EXCHANGE

Miss Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, University of Chicago, was chairman. The interest of this meeting centered chiefly around three main discussions. Miss Ruth Emerson of the University of Chicago Clinics, spoke of the use of the exchange by medical agencies and maintained that hospital medical registrations were for the most part of no value to other social agencies. The hospital has a large group of patients that do not come in contact with other social agencies, and she would limit hospital registrations to those of the social service department only. Exception was taken to this position by some of the family welfare group who testified to the value of medical registrations to them, and by the Chicago exchange, where they have been studying the problem of medical registration for some time and where the feeling has been that medical registrations are of great value to the other social agencies.

Frank J. Bruno, of Washington University, St. Louis, presented the use of the exchange by legal aid groups, reported on a study of legal aid societies, and stated that there are two strong feelings in the legal aid field: first, that the legal aid society is a legal clinic and that as such it is of no value to them what

the contacts with other agencies have been; second, that the legal aid society is a part of the social setup of a community and the legal aid service may be the approach to the family problem. The confidential relationship between client and attorney he summed up as theoretically important but practically untenable.

Miss Pearl Salsbury, of Minneapolis, described the "source file," an experiment being tried by the Minneapolis exchange, where the source of each complaint is registered, including complaints against the family welfare organization. Objection to this plan was immediate, on the grounds that such a file was the function of the organization itself and not of the social service exchange. Fear was expressed that the exchange was being burdened by other than exchange functions being placed upon it. Soon files of staff members, board members, and contributors would be wanted.

The chairman reported progress in the study of the Chicago exchange now being made by the University of Chicago. Harry Lurie, superintendent of the Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago, suggested the possibility of maintaining central information bureaus where complete and full information might be had without recourse to so many different agencies. This experiment has in part been tried by some of the state departments with considerable success.

GROUP DISCUSSION NO. 3—PROBLEMS OF COUNCILS OF SOCIAL AGENCIES
IN CITIES OF 200,000 AND LESS

Arthur Dunham, secretary, Child Welfare Division, Public Charities Association of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, presided. The following outline for the discussion was offered by the leader and accepted by the group: first, purpose of a council of social agencies; second, program and activities of a council; third, council leadership; fourth, interpreting and financing councils; fifth, sources of help on council problems.

The fundamental objectives suggested for a council of social agencies by Mr. Folks in Section Meeting I of this Division were recalled by the leader. The following general statement of purpose was agreed to include those objectives and was accepted by the group as satisfactory: The purpose of a council of social agencies is the development of an adequate welfare program for the community.

As a guide to the discussion of council programs the classification of activities by Mr. Frank Persons for the New York Welfare Council was adopted, namely: first, securing a factual basis for social work; second, gaining the benefits of concerted action; third, raising standards of social work; fourth, seeking better public understanding of social work; fifth, gaining better support for social work.

Three principal types of fact finding activity were thought to be a study of a specific problem, a study of a specific agency, and a compilation of existing information.

Activities suggested by the group as means for securing concerted action were: joint administrative activities such as a social service exchange, joint or cooperative budget making, holiday clearing (Thanksgiving dinners, Christmas baskets, etc.), case conferences, a consideration of the needs for new agencies.

Conferences on standards and consultation with agency leaders were suggested as means for raising standards of social work. In this connection the phrase "agency case work" (i.e., case work on agencies) found favor with the group.

For promoting better public understanding the following activities were suggested: special courses and institutes, city conferences on social welfare, interesting libraries in procuring helpful books on social welfare, and a consultation service to agencies.

It was the sense of the group that councils should work for better support for social work by making suggestions as to campaign procedure, by participating in chest campaigns where such exist and encouraging agency participation, and by working for larger public appropriations.

With regard to council leadership, it was the opinion of the group that a council executive of either sex could be successful. College graduation was regarded as a minimum educational equipment for the office. The council executive's experience, in this group's judgment, should have included at least two years of work in some field of social work, including preferably both field and executive experience. Case work experience was considered very desirable.

There were two significant digressions from the discussion outline. One dealt with the question: How small a city can support a full time council executive? The experience of the group failed to provide a conclusive answer, but it was felt that the typical city of 100,000 which the group had in mind should support a full time executive.

The other question was whether in a small city with perhaps twenty-five agencies there should be regularly organized functional groups, the alternative being special committees appointed for specific tasks. It was contended in the support of functional group organization that regular meetings are essential to the development and maintenance of good feeling between agencies. On the other hand, it was argued that formally organized groups with no significant task tend to degenerate into a paper organization, whereas special committees have the motivation of a vital interest. It seemed to be the sense of the group that both types of organization could and should be used in most council cities.

IX. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

VENEREAL DISEASE PROBLEMS IN INSTITUTIONS

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The United States Public Health Service has issued a pamphlet entitled *Today's World Problem in Disease Prevention*. It refers only to venereal diseases. The title of this pamphlet would indicate that the authorities of the Public Health Service consider venereal diseases as not only a problem but a world problem. Dr. John H. Stokes, syphilologist of the University of Pennsylvania, is the author of this pamphlet. In his introduction he makes the statement that venereal diseases rank with the greatest scourges of the race:

There is no device known to a cruel, unscrupulous, implacable opponent which has not been used against us by these twin scourges, gonorrhea and syphilis. They have crept into our houses, murdered the innocent and helpless. . . . Syphilis and gonorrhea are not what public misconception makes them. Quietly and dispassionately examined, they can be easily seen to be no more disreputable than any other disease enemies of the race. They are no more repellent to the senses than many another ailment. There is nothing in their origin which gives us cause to refuse to know about them. In fact, an understanding of them is more obligatory upon us because they attack the citadel of life itself.

Dr. George Luys, the English authority on gonorrhea, says: "Gonorrhea causes endless misery. It is no benign disease, but a serious illness which may terminate fatally or give rise to systemic complications involving the joints and the heart." Of syphilis, Dr. Bayly says, "With the exception of tuberculosis, syphilis is probably the most deadly of chronic infectious diseases."

It is seemingly impossible for us to get accurate statistics as to the amount of venereal disease in the general population. The very fact that these maladies have been considered disgraces rather than diseases has effectually interfered with accurate reporting, although most states have laws requiring such reporting; however, the decision as to what shall be called venereal disease is necessarily left to the attending physician, whose diagnosis is often biased by the fear of losing a patient (and a fee). Consequently gonorrhea is called leucorrhea, and syphilis may be called almost anything that it happens to be simulating at the time.

However, even with the inaccurate showing of figures, the American Social Hygiene Association estimates that between 8 and 10 per cent of the general public are victims of a venereal disease. Studies made by Mary Wright for the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1924 indicated that nearly 2 per cent of the children born in that hospital showed evidences of congenital syphilis. According to the statement made by the Committee on Venereal Diseases of the National Committee of Prison and Prison Labor, from 40 to 60 per cent of all

blind children owe their blindness to gonorrheal ophthalmia, 15 per cent to syphilis. There are thousands of blind children in the United States. Each blind child generally means two infected parents.

Recognizing then that in the general public venereal disease is widespread, it should be expected that in a picked group such as we have in institutions we would find a higher percentage of venereal infections. Institutions have no more serious obligation than to make every possible effort to discover the venereal status of each inmate, regardless of the type of institution. And it is up to the lay superintendent and boards of managers to thoroughly familiarize themselves with this problem. In no other way can they safeguard their charges. The statistics which I shall present have been taken from institutions of all classes: day nurseries, homes for dependents, prisons, reformatories, homes for the aged, hospitals for the insane, lying-in hospitals, institutions for the correction of juveniles.

Bethlehem Day Nursery, New York City, has made routine examinations of all children for gonorrhea for past five years and found no positives; Carson College, Flourstown, Pennsylvania, reports routine examination of 150 children for gonorrhea, finding 2 positives on admission and 4 cases *developed in the institution*, and 2 cases of syphilis; Institution No. 2, of Miss Kathleen Wehrbein's report (a home for infant orphans), shows 40 per cent of all admissions infected with gonorrhea.

Jumping to the other extreme age group, North Carolina reports over 10 per cent venereal infection in their homes for the aged. The State School for Feeble-minded, Syracuse, New York, reports $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent infected with syphilis, whereas the school for feeble-minded at Newark, New York, finds over 6 per cent. Other state schools for feeble-minded report as follows: Massachusetts School at Wrentham does not mention venereal diseases in its report; Wisconsin finds only $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1 per cent. New Jersey finds 27 out of 1,191 patients have syphilis, and 150 gonorrhea cases, or over 10 per cent venereal disease rate. The Institution for the Blind at Overbrook, Pennsylvania, reports 11 syphilitic cases out of 28 admissions; Indiana Village for Epileptics makes no mention of venereal disease; Craig Colony, New York, finds over 3 per cent infected with syphilis; army recruits show 17 per cent infected with venereal disease; the mental conditions of 15-17.1 per cent of all patients admitted to hospitals for the insane are directly attributable to syphilis.

But it is when we come to the so called correctional institutions that the discrepancies in the statistics are most glaring. The following figures were taken from a questionnaire circulated to obtain data for this paper.

Brief consideration of this statistical showing would seem to confirm the general opinion that the institutions for girls and women are the chief harborers of venereal disease cases. This conclusion cannot, however, be reached through any of the available data.

We know too well from the biblical adage that he who seeketh shall find,

and especially when applied to a doctor it often constitutes a serious menace. Certainly with preconceived ideas in regard to the type of girl and woman who gets into our correctional institutions we are too prone to make a diagnosis of venereal infection without careful scientific inquiry into the case. No better advice was ever given to the medical profession than that of Dr. Hazen when he said, "Be quick to suspect, but slow to diagnose."

	Percentage		Percentage
Connecticut School for Girls	27½	Connecticut School for Boys	
California School for Girls	over 60	no syphilis; 1% gonorrhea in 6 years	
Colorado School for Girls	10	California School for Boys	None
Indiana School for Girls	66	Colorado School for Boys	3
Illinois School for Girls	75	Indiana School for Boys	1
Michigan School for Girls	20	Illinois School for Boys	0.5
Pennsylvania School for Girls	10	Michigan School for Boys	None
New York State Prison for Women	32	Pennsylvania School for Boys	1.8
New Jersey Reformatory for Women	104*	Elmira Reformatory	44
Leavenworth	18	Rahway Reformatory	18
Atlanta	28		
McNeil Island	15		

*Percentage indicates many double infections.

In refutation of the impression that gonorrhea and syphilis are overwhelming female problems, a significant study has been made by Dr. Thomas Haines, entitled "The Incidence of Syphilis among Juvenile Delinquents." This study included 147 boys and 218 girls from the institutions for delinquency in the state of Ohio. It was reported in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, January 8, 1916. The average age of the boys and girls was fifteen. Dr. Haines found that the percentage of infection in boys was higher than the percentage in girls, boys showing 23.1 per cent, the girls only 19.2 per cent.

There is a very general impression that boys of the ages when they are committed to our correctional schools have not had any sort of sex experience and therefore would not be likely to have acquired gonorrhea and syphilis. So general is the impression that the following incident is, I am afraid, typical: In discussing this matter with a physician in charge of one of the outstanding boys' schools in the country I said, "In your history taking do you inquire whether or not your boys have had any kind of sex experiences?" He replied with a shrug, "No, what of it!"

It will be noted in the statistics from boys' schools which have been submitted that some of the schools report a number of gonorrheal cases, notably the school at Golden, Colorado, which out of a population of 305 boys of the ages of 10-18 finds 11 cases of gonorrhea. On the other hand, the St. Charles School for Boys, with a population of 800 of the same age, finds only two cases of gonorrhea.

More curious still is this statement which comes from a number of boys' schools, that "venereal diseases are no problem with us because the law does

not permit us to take venereal patients." If such a legal provision meant that infected boys are hospitalized in other institutions and cared for during the period of time necessary to effect a cure, perhaps there would be some justification for refusing to take infected boys, but we know very well that this is not the case. When an institution for boys says that it does not have venereal patients it is on the face of it a confession that either very inadequate diagnostic methods are used or that boys have been given a brief series of treatments, immediate symptoms have been cleared up, and they have been subsequently sent to institutions for training with the likelihood of a later outbreak of their infection, menacing both themselves and the other inmates.

"An Analysis of 10,628 Cases of Gonorrhea and Syphilis," prepared by the New Jersey State Department of Health, shows that between the ages of fifteen and nineteen the prevalence of venereal diseases in the general population is approximately twice as high among the males as among the females. Contrast with that the statistics of typical institutions: California School for Boys shows no venereal diseases, whereas in the State School for Girls at Ventura 67 per cent are infected. The Indiana Boys' School shows 1 per cent infection for males, while the Girls' School shows 66 per cent; the Illinois State Training School for Girls reports 65 per cent infections, and the St. Charles School for Boys is 0.5 per cent. It is quite generally conceded that many of the cases of syphilis in the institutions for girls and boys are congenital in origin. This certainly ought to bring the syphilis rate of boys and girls nearer together, even if it is conceded that boys of fifteen are plaster saints.

Why is there this great discrepancy in statistical showing? One reason has already been indicated: that girls are expected to have gonorrhea and syphilis, and any sort of evidence is taken as conclusive. Boys are not supposed to have the diseases, and evidence either is not sought or is discounted. But in institutions for girls and women where a careful search is made for the presence of venereal diseases we still find a great divergence in the venereal disease rates. Witness, for example, the State Home for Women at Lansing, Kansas, where it is claimed that 93 per cent of the girls and women studied showed the presence of gonorrhea, and that the diagnoses were confirmed by microscopical examination. On the other hand many institutions report the same laboratory findings as does New Jersey. Dr. H. B. Costill, former state health officer, states that "Smears are to be considered of real value only when positive, as negative smears are the rule in chronic gonorrhea."

As another indication of the great confusion in which we find the diagnosis of gonorrhea, consider the Bethlehem Day Nursery of New York City. This institution sends routine slides from the little girls to the Bellevue-Yorkville Laboratory. They are frequently reported as suspicious. They are then sent to the laboratory of Bellevue Hospital, and have never been reported as anything but negative. One of the most significant studies which has ever been made,

indicating the difference in diagnostic method, is that of Miss Kathleen Wehrbein for the Charity Organization Society, New York. She found that one house physician in a custodial institution reported only 1.5 per cent of dependent children in that institution infected with gonorrheal vulvovaginitis, whereas another physician in the same city, in charge of an institution with the same class of children, finds that 40 per cent of all admissions have gonorrheal vaginitis. However, the statements made by the second physician are most significant and should certainly be taken to heart. She says that special work has been done by the staff in making a study (O, these studies!) of the incidence of gonorrhea in this institution. The opinion was given that with a rigid examination which included a provocative silver nitrate treatment on all cases, the number of discovered vaginitis cases was notably high. (They would be; yea verily, "whosoever seeketh shall find.") Continuing his search for gonorrhea, the physician in this institution, after treating the delicate mucous membrane of the child with one of the most irritating caustics which the medical profession uses, considers that, if six pus cells are found on a smear as a result of this treatment, the child is suspicious, and she is kept in strict isolation for six weeks. There is no scientific excuse for such a routine, and certainly we do not know enough about the positive identification of the gonorrheal organism to follow such a drastic technique. In an instance of this sort the search and the remedy are worse than the disease. It would be far better to substitute a careful supervision of the children with the observation of clinical manifestations, combining this with laboratory work if indicated. This brings us definitely to the question of how gonorrhea may be diagnosed.

The diagnosis of gonorrhea must be considered as it affects four types of patients: little girls, little boys, adult women, and men. Dr. Coleman will consider the diagnosis in the male, so that I shall only refer to diagnosis in the female. Diagnosis is based upon history, clinical findings, and laboratory procedure.

In the case of little girls, the history should always take into consideration the following points: First, Whether or not the child has had an eruptive fever such as chicken pox, scarlet fever, and possibly diphtheria, these infections being very likely to result in inflammation of the vaginal mucous membrane; second, The presence of foreign bodies in the vagina should always be taken into account (I saw at Willard-Parker a few weeks ago a child who gave every clinical evidence of vulvovaginitis; so much so that she was refused admission into a children's home. Local examination, however, showed that she had inserted a safety pin into the vagina, causing the irritation, and that the discharge demonstrated only the ordinary pus organisms); third, general cleanliness and type of underwear unquestionably are factors in causing vaginal irritation; fourth, the presence in the home of any other individual infected with gonorrhea is significant; fifth, inquiry of course should always be made as to whether or not there has been any sex abuse of the child, or sex play.

The clinical manifestations are discharge, inflammation of the external genitalia, and frequently, according to Dr. Charles Norris, of Philadelphia, the infantile cervix is also involved and should be examined. This can be accomplished readily with the use of an electrically lighted urethroscope. The laboratory procedure should include multiple smears and cultures.

The diagnostic procedure for adult women also includes the history, clinical findings, and laboratory procedure. The points involved in the history are as follows: beginning of the discharge; duration; relation to infectious diseases; relation to menstruation; relation to the position of the uterus; relation to exposure; history as regards infection of the sex partner; pelvic pain; painful urination; frequency of urination; joint conditions. The physical examination includes inspection of the external genitalia, palpation of the glands, insertion of speculum except in acute cases, observation of the condition of the vaginal mucous membrane and cervix, type of discharge, exploration of the pelvic organs by bimanual examination, evidence of infection of the rectum.

The laboratory procedure includes, first, multiple smears, which smears are to be stained by Gram's method or a modification of Gram's method. Any laboratory using a single stain in an attempt to diagnose gonorrhea is absolutely unreliable. There are several possibilities that should be taken into consideration which will show up under the microscope. A slide to be considered absolutely positive should show pus cells with intracellular, Gram negative, morphologically typical gonococci. Many laboratories consider as equally positive a slide which shows many pus cells but no organisms. Slides showing pus and many organisms, even though these organisms take the Gram-negative stain, may be considered as suspicious, but certainly not as diagnostic. The smears should be taken from inside the cervix, the urethra, and if there is any discharge, from Bartholin's glands. Here it is well to emphasize that, except in the very young children who have had no kind of sexual contacts, smears taken from the vagina are absolutely useless. The Children's Bureau has recently issued a handbook for the use of institutions. It is unfortunate that this handbook makes the statement, "A vaginal smear should be made for every child on admission." If this handbook had reference only to institutions for little children, such a suggestion would possibly pass muster, but referring as it does to institutions for older children as well, it should certainly include a qualifying statement that in every case where possible anatomically, a cervical and urethral smear should be made. The menstrual period is the best provocative for bringing out the gonococcus, and smears should always be made immediately following it. Second, complement fixation in gonorrheal cases is unquestionably valuable and should be used as a routine by all institutions. Just as in any other serological test, very great care must be employed in the application of the complement fixation test. Third, cultures of gonococci in the adult female are beset with many difficulties. Gonorrhea is an infection of sufficient importance to warrant the most careful diagnostic work.

The discrepancy in the figures indicating the incidence of syphilis is just as great as it is in gonorrhea, and for the same reasons. The diagnosis should be arrived at by the same routine as the one already indicated; namely, history, clinical findings, and laboratory procedure. The medical profession is generally skeptical about the value of the history in syphilis, especially in women. But it is my feeling that if more care were given to history taking many times a story would be told that would be indicative. The chief reason why histories are so unsatisfactory is perhaps that the questioning is done in too specific a way; definite lesions are asked for, and the replies are often in the negative. It is impossible to go into details in this paper in regard to what should be asked in history taking, but it might all be summarized by saying that the history should begin before birth and include all the life happenings as far as disease is concerned. It is appalling to realize that 66 per cent of the institutions admit that they diagnose by Wassermann test only.

It is necessary to appreciate the fact that syphilis is like the giant in the fairy story; that it may take on any form. To make graphic the manifold indications of syphilis, imagine yourself in the waiting room of a syphilitic clinic in a general hospital. A woman of twenty-five comes in complaining that her hair is coming out and she can't seem to help it in any way. A man is led in by his wife; she has scars all around the mouth; he is to have his eyes examined for practically complete blindness. A child of twelve is brought in by his mother; the child is so deaf that he cannot hear the questions of the attendant. A young man appears with ulceration on his lips and complains of sore throat. A baby of four weeks is brought in by a mother whose nose is flat on her face, causing a ghastly deformity; the baby has pustular blebs all over its body and snuffles. A man shuffles in on two canes entirely unable to control his lower limbs. An older man regales the patients with his stories about his oil wells, and suddenly begins to sing a popular song until he is taken in charge by the orderlies and carried to the insane ward. Another woman brings a baby on a pillow, both of its legs having been broken by a slight fall. Numerous other men and women are sitting around with dejected faces and with ailments which are not so obvious. What is the matter with all these patients? They all have syphilis. This picture will indicate that the doctor who tries to base his diagnosis on the classical symptoms—a sore, a rash, or mucous patches alone—will miss many needy cases. The clinical findings in syphilis are very, very varied. No better formula for making a physical examination has been suggested than that found in Dr. John H. Stoke's new book called *Clinical Syphilology*. This book should be used in every institution.

The first step in diagnostic procedure is the use of the dark field for the microscopical examination of the serum from the original sore. I recognize from my own experience that this sounds very difficult. It is difficult; but the institution should be equipped and have its physician trained to make this most important test. If a definite diagnosis of syphilis can be made during the period

of time when the chancre or primary lesion is its only manifestation, much time and treatment can be saved. Every hour is precious. The subsequent stages of syphilis may be prevented altogether and the danger to the vital organs absolutely prevented. Dr. A. J. Casselman, of the New Jersey State Department of Health, has a most valuable reprint on this subject which is available for distribution.

Attention should be called to the unwise procedure which is practiced in many institutions of taking a routine Wassermann on the day of admission without relating it at all to the girl's sexual experience, and then postponing a subsequent Wassermann for some weeks or even six months. The Wassermann generally becomes positive in the third to fifth week of the infection. This is generally the beginning of the secondary stage, and is characterized by the presence of a rash, sore throat, mucous patches on any of the mucous membranes. If a Wassermann test is reported as positive, it should indicate what antigens are used, and whether or not the Wassermann was positive to these antigens. This is an extremely important point and one with which the lay superintendent should familiarize herself. The questionnaires which were circulated asked "What antigens are used in the Wassermann test?" Indicating the unfamiliarity of some superintendents with this term, several replied, "mercury, arsenic, and bismuth." For the sake of those who perhaps do not understand the word, it should be explained that antigens are substances which are used in the Wassermann test and which produce specific reactions depending upon their origin. In most Wasserman tests the antigens used are alcoholic extracts of guinea pig heart, plain, or the same antigen to which has been added a substance known as cholesterol. The cholesterinized antigen is said to be six times as sensitive as the alcoholic guinea pig antigen. It would therefore be far more apt to show a positive Wassermann than the more stable antigen. If your reports come to you from the laboratory marked "guinea pig heart antigen, negative; cholesterinized antigen, 4+," and the patient is without symptoms or history of syphilis, the test should be repeated at least three times before a diagnosis of syphilis is accepted as positive. If the patient is without symptoms or history and the Wassermann comes back positive to both antigens, even this should always be repeated before treatment is instituted. Yet 60 per cent of the institutions accept one Wassermann as positive of syphilis.

It should be realized that the Wassermann test is to all intents and purposes an unknown god, whom, in the words of St. Paul, we are very likely to "worship ignorantly." It is a very complicated biochemical process depending for accuracy upon many factors; one in which the personal equation of the laboratory technician figures largely. Dr. Hazen says that variations occur in the blood from day to day sufficient to cause a 4+ Wassermann to appear and disappear in so short a time as one week. Dr. Hardesty says, "I have often observed that on days when the content of moisture in the air is high, there is a tendency to negative reactions. On days when the atmosphere is dry and

clear there is a tendency to positive reactions." Contamination with certain bacteria may give a positive Wasserman; contamination with another strain of bacteria may give a negative. In spite of the fact that the Wassermann test is only of value as an indication, it is for the most part being taken as absolutely final proof by many institutions. Remember that 66 per cent state that the majority of their girls show no symptoms whatsoever of syphilis except the positive Wassermann. The Wassermann test should be checked by other tests, such as the Kahn test. This is being done in a few of the institutions answering the questionnaire. It is done as a routine by the state laboratory in New Jersey on all specimens which give a positive Wassermann reaction.

It is, of course, impossible to go into any details of treatment for either gonorrhea or syphilis in a paper of this type. There are certain principles, however, that should be considered.

The panacea for the treatment of gonorrhea in most institutions seems to be the douche. One institution reported that nearly 100,000 douches were given last year. The amount of time consumed by such a method of treatment is enormous, and it must be remembered that the value of douches is open to question. Certainly promiscuous douching of all cases is a reprehensible practice. Douching has therapeutically only three possible values: first, the removal of discharge; second, the healing of open lesions; third, the producing of heat in the vaginal vault. Douching probably has no bactericidal value so far as the gonococcus is concerned, and is likely to inhibit the growth of the normal and helpful bacteria which inhabit the female vagina. The best douches for dissolving of mucus are the chlorinated douche materials and the alkalines, such as bicarbonate of soda. The best douching substance for healing is probably saline solution or boric acid. This douche should be given slowly and without pressure. The douche to dissolve mucus may be given more rapidly and with some pressure. The douche for producing heat should be used in cases of chronic pelvic inflammation. It should be given slowly in large quantities, and only when the patient is remaining in bed after the treatment. The suppository method of introducing medicaments into the vagina is far preferable to topical applications in most cases. These suppositories should be used at night so that the patient will be in a reclining posture and will get full benefit of the drug employed. The subject of isolation in gonorrhea is part of the administrative program of treatment. Girls with gonorrhea should room alone, should use only shower baths, should have separate toilets, and even these should be protected with paper rings whenever used; they should not use the toilets kept for the syphilitic patients; and their underclothes should be disinfected before they are handled in the laundry. They should not handle food, although this is admittedly more for other than for purely medical reasons, as there is probably very little danger of the transmission of gonorrhea in this manner. Gonorrheal cases should not be discharged from treatment until the pusty discharge has disappeared both clinically and microscopically, and the ex-

amination should be made immediately following the menstrual period for at least three months.

The chief factors to emphasize in the consideration of the treatment of syphilis are: Begin early, but not before a definite diagnosis. In the early stages it is probably better not to have longer than a four-day interval between treatments. Treat continuously not less than one year, and preferably two. Rest periods are considered dangerous. Vary the drugs used: mercury, bismuth, the arsenicals, together with potassium iodide when indicated. Do not treat the Wassermann reaction; treat the patient. The Wassermann might improve and the patient die. Watch and record clinical results. Do not depend upon treatment by mouth. I have known of several institutions in which the only treatment administered is the old mixed treatment given by mouth. If salvarsan is used, the patient should be given cathartics and deprived of food previous to treatment, with rest following. With neoarsphenamine this does not seem to be indicated. The negative blood Wassermann should not enter into the consideration for the slackening of treatment. A spinal Wassermann should be done in all cases showing disturbed reflexes or nervous manifestations, and should be done as routine before dismissal from treatment. The function of the various organs of the patient under syphilitic treatment should be carefully watched, especially the kidneys. It would be well to examine the urine once a week. Hemoglobin should be tested at intervals. Syphilitic patients in either the first or secondary stage should never be permitted to handle food, and if it can be so arranged, it would be preferable not to permit them to handle food even in the third stage.

In both gonorrhea and syphilis the nature and treatment of the diseases should be sympathetically explained to the patients and their cooperation enlisted. Definite sex instruction should be given in all institutions, with emphasis on the biological as well as the moral side. These girls should not be marked out from the group in any way, nor made to feel that they are pariahs.

The clinic and waiting room should be absolutely sanitary and flooded with sunlight. Everything should be done to counteract the depression that naturally comes with the realization of chronic disease. The waiting room should be chaperoned; girls should not be permitted to discuss their cases. Books and a victrola are a great help. Modesty should be safeguarded in every way possible.

Institutions should keep abreast of the current practice in diagnosis and treatment. To that end *Venereal Disease Information*, published by the United States Public Health Service at a cost of fifty cents a year, will be found most valuable. Accurate reporting of statistics should be included in all annual reports. It is far more important to know how much venereal disease there is than how many garments were made.

Careful and systematic supervision should extend to all paroled persons who have had venereal infections. In cases of syphilis, marriage should not be permitted until after one and a half to two years' treatment and three years'

subsequent observation. In gonorrhea, absence of clinical signs and negative laboratory findings for one year is the minimum margin of safety.

The problem is a great one and one of its greatest difficulties is the indifference of many institutional leaders. There is no excuse for the state institutions to attempt to meet it by any methods which are not at least up to the standards of the best clinics. Institutions have the rare opportunity of surpassing these standards and setting the pace. Here's hoping!

OPPORTUNITIES FOR RESEARCH IN VENEREAL DISEASE CONTROL IN INSTITUTIONS

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Much has been done in the scientific search for truth in the field of venereal disease control in the last decade. Those of us who are actively engaged in the work realize that there is extreme need for more systematic knowledge both in diagnosis and treatment procedures. So much of the data on diagnosis and treatment of gonorrhea and syphilis is still under question. Research methods demand that we keep an impartial attitude of mind toward experimental data in any given field. This scientific skepticism is evident in the venereal disease findings to date. The medical profession are never content with today's facts, but are demanding further investigation into those facts, more light on the data, a probing into the yet unknown. So much still remains undiscovered or unsettled that a direct challenge is offered to every member of the medical profession, to every social worker, and to the public at large to join in the search for truth.

It is because the state institutions offer such an ideal situation for research in venereal disease control that I am here today to present this paper for discussion.

Scientific study demands at least three factors: clinical material, adequate equipment and staff, a standardized method of recording and tabulation. Let us look over the institution field and check up on its possibilities.

After surveying fourteen years of work as medical director at the New Jersey Reformatory for Women, the facts are rather convincing that there is sufficient clinical material, and that certain factors in it work out to the great advantage of research, by making the data more certain and reliable. Let us review some of them here. There is a definitely controlled group coming under a constantly supervised routine, which is obviously an advantage over the usual public health clinic, where the patient's visits to clinic are entirely voluntary; in the correctional group, at least, there is a reasonable certainty as to the time of sentence, and therefore as to the time under observation and treatment; there are greater possibilities of classification according to selective factors,

namely, physical condition, age, social history, sex, standardized treatment routine, laboratory procedures, etc.; routine attendance at clinic makes clear cut recording possible; there is little opportunity for immediate reinfection because of enforced segregation; daily habits of health and hygienic surroundings, together with the correction of physical disabilities by removal of foci of infection, conditions the patient for quicker response to treatment for venereal disease, and therefore strengthens evidence in experimental efforts; co-operation of the patient is secured more readily because of the education of the institution group to their responsibility in the fight against the disease.

In respect to the time of sentence and as to the definite time of observation and treatment I might refer to a typical case, one of cerebro-spinal syphilis giving positive blood and cerebro-spinal fluid findings. The case was sentenced for the period of life, and was admitted to our institution before the beginning of my official capacity. When I found her in this condition she was started on antisyphilitic treatment as given at that time, which was six dose series of arsephenamine intravenously with longer intervals of rest and salicylate of mercury intramuscularly, also with rest periods between courses. Watching the reactions on this case during the intervening period when no treatment was given, many of her symptoms would return, but would again disappear on further treatment. This led me to believe that continuous treatment with mercury salicylate and closer series of arsephenamine might probably keep her symptoms from recurring. Under this plan she received treatment from 1915 until 1922, when she began to show negative Wassermann reactions, her Wassermans previously always being 4+, with the result that I had considered her a so called "Wassermann fast" individual. Nevertheless, treatment was persisted in, and in 1922 negative Wassermans were secured. At that time her treatment was not stopped, but was gradually lessened. She has since continued to react negatively to the Wassermann test.

At that time there was prevalent among venereal disease workers the idea that many individuals were Wassermann fast, or, in other words, that despite long continued treatment, certain patients would continue to react positively to the Wassermann reaction of the blood. The notable change in the serological reaction of the patient not noted served to raise the question in our minds of the possibility of securing perhaps a more delicate test whereby we could actually observe quantitative changes in the serological picture of the luetic patient's blood. Due to the fact that there were a considerable number of patients at the time in our institution who had been seemingly Wassermann fast in spite of long continued treatment, we were prompted to call upon the state department of health to cooperate with us in the matter of devising a quantitative Wassermann test. The health department responded promptly and a series of long continued and strongly positive Wassermann reacting patients were selected. We found that in this series the patients' serum reacted 4+ with a

serum dilution of 1-4, which is standard dilution in laboratory practice; and, carrying the dilution to 1-16, found a few still 4+.

In a paper published in the *New Jersey State Medical Society Journal* in October, 1926, Dr. Castleman, of the United States Public Health Service, with Dr. Patterson, of the State Department of Health, and myself have shown the results of our findings. Attention is particularly called to one patient in that group who for the period of 1923-25, during which nine series of eight doses of salvarsan were given, gave a persistent 4+ Wassermann reaction using the standard 1-4 dilution, whereas the quantitative 1-16 dilution demonstrated a very definite reduction curve to negative. It was not, however, until after three years of intensive treatment that the reaction of the standard Wassermann began to grow less positive. Such gratifying results in a series of this kind caused us to feel very strongly that the term "Wassermann fast" was a misnomer and that the patients simply needed more intensive treatment.

Your attention was called earlier to the question of the removal of foci of infection, and although seemingly irrelevant, nevertheless it has been found in our investigations to have a very definite relationship to the response to treatment of patients infected with either syphilis or gonorrhea; we have demonstrated repeatedly that patients reacting poorly or indifferently to antisyphilitic or gonorrheal treatment showed prompt and satisfactory response to the same treatment following the removal of a focus of infection. I refer to chronically infected tonsils, infections of the gums, roots of teeth, accessory nasal sinuses, etc. It has become an established part of our medical program that all such foci be removed as quickly as discovered in the physical X-ray and dental examinations which each new admission receives. An article by Dr. Satherwaite, of New York, in 1926 happily confirmed our findings in this. Dr. Satherwaite states that "removal of defective teeth, tonsils, etc., has a decided influence in helping to secure a more prompt reduction in the Wassermann reaction of the syphilitic blood."

If I may be permitted to digress for a moment, it is interesting to find that in many syphilitic patients who were presenting disagreeable conduct disorders the improvement in physical condition was accompanied by a most notable improvement in behavior. Relief from an irritating toxemia, produced both by the luetic infection and frequently absorption from a focus, permitted the individual to attain a state of health wherein she could better control herself.

The foregoing remarks have pertained more to the investigations of the adult problem. The institutions also furnish a variety of material sufficient for a comprehensive study from another angle, namely, that having to do with the infected child. From my observations at Clinton Farms I find that two-thirds of the inmates admitted are infected with one or both venereal diseases. Many of these cases when committed have a child under one year of age or are expectant mothers, and at once the problem of congenital syphilis confronts the

medical profession. Congenital syphilis, with all its tragic consequences, is a tremendous social problem. Most of us realize how inadequately this important part in the fight against venereal disease is being handled, both from the standpoint of diagnosis as well as treatment. We do not know that it is often quite impossible to get positive blood Wassermann on many babies born of syphilitic parents. In a study of congenital syphilis made by Dr. Florence Mateer, of the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research, this point was clearly demonstrated. A group of 369 children was studied. I quote her report:

From this number there were seventy-three who gave positive Wassermann. In over a dozen of these cases the positive findings came after a negative test or test series. In one case seven negatives were taken at intervals for three months before the positive was obtained. In another instance the positive was not obtained until an interval of eleven months had elapsed. Besides this group of seventy-three cases (giving positive blood findings) there were in the 369 another group of twenty-six children who were definitely proved to be syphilitic, although they gave negative Wassermanns.

At once then this question arises in our state care of children: Are we not counting many of the cases as non-syphilitics, and basing our conclusions upon too limited a study? Do not the institutions and agencies caring for children, because of the prolonged observation and control, present one of the most practical clinical fields for carrying some of our assumptions on congenital syphilis to definite conclusions. While there are still questions to be answered about venereal disease can we afford to disregard the institution clinics and what they have to offer?

Furthermore, the combined resources of the state, if brought together in a unified effort, as is being done in New Jersey, make a first rate organization for research procedures. Because of the sympathetic understanding and interest in medical aspects of the institutional programs, Commissioner Ellis and the Board of Control of New Jersey, as well as our local board, have made possible much of the work that we have attempted. It is due to Commissioner Ellis' efforts also that closer cooperation and coordination of the institutions and agencies of the state have been brought about. Research procedures are thus facilitated. This has been demonstrated in several instances where a study has been made and results pooled through the combined functioning of the institution, the state laboratory, the public health clinics, the parole division, and other agencies of the state.

Recently a check up was called for through the United States Bureau of Venereal Disease Control on a complement fixation test for gonorrhea. The clinical facilities of the reformatory for women were put at the disposal of the research worker from the state department of health, and a study was made of a picked group. Professor Hugh Young, professor of urology at Johns Hopkins University, has recently asked for a special check up on a study that his staff was making on venereal disease. This work is being done at the reformatory following his direction, and with the assistance of Dr. Carrie Weaver

Smith, of the state department of health, who is doing the laboratory work. Professor Young has stated that the institution makes an ideal clinic, and the results are more satisfactory because of the greater possibility of adhering to standard research work and methods and the ideal possibilities of control of the case material.

Much is being done throughout the states in dealing with venereal disease as a part of the institutions' medical problem. Much of the work has been of real value in providing clinical data for comparative studies, and yet too little has been done to make it available for research material.

In summing up briefly the advantages of institution clinics in the research efforts in the field of venereal disease control, let us keep these few points in mind: the institution furnishes a controlled group with all the selective factors needed in research; it gives adequate staff and facilities for work if properly coordinated; it can so arrange the data through its recording systems as to make it readily available for use in statistical study.

It is to be hoped that more and more definite emphasis may be placed upon this aspect of the medical programs in all state institutions and agencies, that more intensive studies be made, that the facts deduced from such studies in the various states may be brought together in such uniform statistical form as to be readily available for research purposes, and that a closer cooperation and coordination be promoted between departments and institutions and between the states toward this end.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF CIVIL SERVICE IN PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

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Notable progress has been made in recent years in public welfare organization, but the largest measure of success has been prevented by a shortage of competent social workers in the public service. The supply of such workers is inadequate. The private social agencies have secured more than their share of those available. Doubtless this situation will continue until public welfare escapes more fully than at present from the clutches of the spoils politician. Ultimately this must be accomplished through the demand of an intelligent and interested public opinion for greater honesty and efficiency in all departments of government. Every conscientious welfare official desires the elimination of political selfishness from the administration of our humanitarian public institutions and agencies. There is no difference of opinion here.

When it comes to a discussion of the means by which to insure the highest possible standards of public service, there is less agreement. The success of British civil service has not been fully realized on our side of the Atlantic. Al-

though approximately 40 per cent of our population live in states having a more or less efficient civil service administration, many officials feel doubtful of its benefits. They urge the following disadvantages, and cite numerous instances in support of their arguments.

First, even where the law has been carefully written, politicians have succeeded in evading it. Thus, in certain cases there is no attempt to maintain an eligible list of competent workers. A vacancy is filled by political pressure as an emergency or temporary appointment, without regard to the fitness of the candidate. In some cases such a temporary appointee may hold office indefinitely in defiance of law. Even in case of later examination efforts are made to see that such an appointee gets undue consideration for permanent appointment by excessive weight placed on experience. Since it is essential to permit emergency and temporary appointments in the interest of flexibility, the remedy for the abuse lies only in careful wording of the law, combined with a public demand that it shall be observed in both spirit and letter. While a good merit law makes political manipulation more difficult than otherwise, it cannot entirely protect the service in case of public indifference.

Second, many welfare officials doubt whether the present competitive examinations really determine fitness. It is true that such examinations are imperfect. However, there is no procedure for direct selection by the executive, even where he has time for such work, that is perfect, or that may not be incorporated into the process of competitive examination. The non-assembled examination, in which references, experience, and education constitute the principal tests, closely approximates ordinary executive procedure, with the advantages of a civil service commission's experience, staff, equipment, and ability, to reach by publicity the widest range of territory. Not every good executive is good at selecting subordinates. A good civil service commission usually wishes to incorporate in its stated qualifications and tests any fair and reasonable requirements which the departmental official may suggest. By setting a definite minimum standard for entrance to the examination the commission eliminates the utterly unfit. Physical examination, the oral interview, sometimes by the appointing official himself, and the right of dismissal, if unsatisfactory, during the probationary period, would seem to be reasonably adequate protection from incompetents. Closer cooperation between public welfare officials and civil service examiners, combined with steady improvement in the technique of testing, offer promise of greater satisfaction in the future by the competitive method. It is significant that large industries are establishing specialized personnel departments.

A third disadvantage urged against civil service laws is that with the security they offer it becomes difficult to discipline offenders, hard to dismiss incompetents, and almost impossible to maintain a high standard of morale in the service. There can be no question of these facts. These difficulties, however, are not confined to public services under a civil service administration.

Every executive must face them. Even without strong political pressure it is difficult and unpleasant to discipline or dismiss a subordinate. When, on the other hand, this subordinate is the appointee of a powerful politician and has direct access to political support, the executive is nearly always helpless. Every good civil service law gives the executive liberal powers of reprimand, with transfers, fines, and suspension for flagrant offenses. As a rule, these should be adequate, and dismissal with formal charges unnecessary. The more efficient industries are limiting the right of foremen to discharge employees, in the effort to reduce expensive labor turnover. Discipline is essential and must be maintained, even at the cost of dismissal. Here there is much variation between different laws. Practically all require that formal charges must be written and given to the offender. The federal law places the final decision in the hands of the removing officer without right of review by any outside agency. Some state laws permit hearings that amount to judicial reviews and may involve all the technicalities of civil or criminal law. The latter certainly is undesirable, although the former seems not entirely beyond possible abuse. White suggests the following:

For the major part of American administrative systems it is not now thought wise to ask for greater guaranties of fairness in disciplinary matters than those which flow from written charges, adequate notice, and opportunity for a public hearing within the department before a representative board comprising others than the official whose discipline is questioned.¹

He also observes that stimulating leadership should be much more effective than discipline. General inefficiency is more difficult to handle. Efficiency ratings are imperfect, but may be made to serve under careful supervision and in combination with an adequate system of retirement and pension. A reasonable degree of security and freedom from political interference are essential to public welfare administration.

As an alternative to our more or less imperfect and imperfectly administered civil service laws, there is the non-political state board of control, with liberal powers of appointment and removal placed in the hands of the department and institution heads selected by this board. At the present time it seems best to exclude policy making executives from civil service restrictions in any case, although these very individuals may be in particular danger of attack, inasmuch as they hold the higher salaried positions which tempt the politician. Even Pennsylvania, with complete freedom from formal civil service, and with an independent welfare department, set up a special personnel division. This seemed very promising until a change in administration led to political changes of a sweeping nature, all through the public services. Thus the freedom from inflexible laws made possible the overthrowing of a carefully built welfare organization. The value of such a board's protection and assistance is very likely to be in proportion to its adoption of the merit principle in administration. Ex-

¹ L. D. White, *Public Administrator*, p. 340.

perience in a given situation would seem to be the only means of determining to what extent it can assure the advantages inherent in a merit system without risking more than corresponding disadvantages from political interference—particularly in the services somewhat remote from the board's immediate supervision and control.

Experience in the better organized industrial corporations and in certain progressive civil service jurisdictions has proved that a central personnel agency may have large and important constructive functions quite beyond that discussed previously. One of these essential services is a sound classification of the duties and responsibilities of all positions. Without this it is impossible to accurately select, appoint, promote, or pay the employees in any large and complicated organization. As White has said, "In general terms the objective is to lay the foundation for equitable treatment for public employees by the accurate definition, orderly arrangement, and fair evaluation of positions in the public service."²

In the last analysis the question of actual compensation must lie with the legislature or other appropriating body. This is the very heart of the problem. The difficulty of any budgetary committee informing itself adequately on details of the public services is so great that the rankest sort of favoritism and partisanship easily becomes rampant. Even with the most honest attempts at a fair handling of the job, the budget committee alone finds its work extremely difficult. Only a well equipped, experienced personnel department, such as a good civil service commission, can provide this information. A reliable, disinterested agency is essential. "The development of a comprehensive and consistent policy with respect to remuneration is fundamental in handling employment matters."³

Closely allied to the foregoing functions of a central personnel agency are those of bringing about, through study and cooperation with department heads, of equitable and satisfactory standards for hours of work, leave of absence, vacation, transfer, training in the service, and promotion. While no one of these by itself may seem of very great importance, the series taken together constitute a very essential framework of working conditions. One of the most difficult of these details is that of working out satisfactory efficiency ratings to be used in part for determining promotions. Some progress has been made in designing such ratings. Far more important, and even less usual, is assuring the conscientious interest of department heads in the use of whatever system of efficiency ratings can be provided. The morale of any large organization depends to a very large extent on the feelings of the employees that their responsibilities, salaries, and working conditions are fair and reasonable, and that their opportunity for advancement on the basis of merit is assured. Reasonable security of tenure also is essential to interest technical and profes-

² L. D. White, *Public Administration* (1926), p. 279.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

sional workers who require that, combined with the prestige and dignity of public service, to balance the more liberal salaries and more rapid advancement generally possible in a private organization. Contentment, with stimulating leadership and public appreciation, should make American public welfare service more able and efficient. The great humanitarian responsibilities of the state can never be assured until such conditions prevail. It is equally certain that we yet have much to learn as to ways and means to reach the goal of highly efficient and effective welfare service. After carefully reviewing the history of public welfare, and balancing the odds for and against the various systems in use, and preserving a reasonable optimism as to the inherent desirability of American democracy and faith in our ability to educate public opinion to demand the best methods of administration, it seems that a carefully devised, flexible merit law, administered by honest and skilled officials in close cooperation with welfare executives, promises the only satisfactory assurance for future progress in our field.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF CIVIL SERVICE IN RELATION TO PUBLIC WELFARE ACTIVITIES

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The merit system has always meant different things to different people. There is the widest possible variation in the mind of the general public and administrative officials as to its purposes, meaning, and functions in orderly government. The merit system is not a panacea for all the personnel ills of the body politic. It has come to be, however, an essential part of effective and economical public administration in every populous unit in modern government. I do not mean by this that there is an adequate and vigorous personnel agency in every large city and state in these United States, but I do say that unless there is a proper regulation and control of public personnel it cannot be said that there is the best possible government, administered most effectively and most economically.

When government was limited in its activities to nominal service to the public, when it was simple in its organization and functions, with small departments and divisions and a limited personnel, the relations between the department or employing head and the employee were largely personal; but with the growing complexity of government, with the increasing demands that are made upon it for service to the community, and with the consequent growth of the personnel, the dealings of the department or employing official with his staff can no longer be on a personal basis. Machinery must be provided for handling all of the difficult and troublesome problems involved in the recruit-

ment and maintenance of a large personnel in order that government may function effectively. The genius of public administrators and students of government has been principally devoted to improvement in the form and structure of government, but the problem of handling the public personnel on a professional and scientific basis has never interested these students and administrators for long periods. Some political abuse that has grown especially aggravating or some breakdown in the functioning of government has from time to time attracted the attention of people in position to improve the personnel situation. As a rule, however, the chief interest has been in other problems. Consequently we have learned a great deal about what may be called "the mechanics" of government, but we have not made corresponding progress in dealing with the human and personal elements involved.

I am inclined to think that the public welfare official has been as slow in recognizing the importance of personnel problem, as it applies to his work, as has been the average public official who may be more political and partisan in his thinking. The average public welfare official has been absorbed in his own problems, and has taken at its face value, I think, the general criticism of the defects of any personnel policy not completely in his own hands and handled as a purely departmental matter. It is time, I think, for the administrator to give a little time from the study of the problems of his own particular interest to the study of his departmental personnel and the best way of handling that personnel in order to insure the best results. It was the notion of the pioneers in what we have come to designate as civil service reform that the most important thing to be done was to stop the appointment to the public service of persons poorly qualified and in return for partisan service rendered. If the abuse of appointment in government of persons unfit for the service which they were to render could be stopped, it was believed that the other employment evils in government would disappear, but in present-day government, with its great army of public servants, we recognize that this negative service only, contemplated in the early civil service laws, will not solve in any great degree the problems of modern personnel administration.

The merit system in government today means more than the keeping of good politicians in office and bad politicians out. It means more than the limiting of appointment to public position of those who are able to pass a given test. It must be positive and constructive in its character and administration. It must comprehend a strong, active, capable personnel agency which shall discharge every essential function undertaken by a well organized personnel department in a large commercial enterprise.

The questions, I take it, which will interest public welfare officials, so far as they may be interested, are: first, What are the functions of the proper kind of personnel agency in government? second, What advantages can accrue to public welfare work by the establishment of such an agency? and third, What relations shall the personnel agency of the right kind bear to the public welfare

department? There are of course other questions of varying importance for which public welfare officials will seek an answer before they are willing to accept and indorse the principle of a central employment agency which shall serve welfare departments as well as all other departments of government. But in the short period assigned to me for discussion I will devote my time to these questions only.

Mr. Blackburn has indicated to you some of the advantages and disadvantages of a central employment agency as seen by public officials and students of the processes of government. He has also indicated some of the functions of the modern personnel agency. For the sake of completeness I may repeat some of the points he has made.

Without attempting to describe the personnel administration in any particular jurisdiction or to call attention to the variations in practice and procedure, it may be said that those who have thought most about the limitations and functions of the central personnel agency are pretty much in agreement that these limitations and functions are: first, the establishment, maintenance, and administration of a duties classification of positions for the whole service, with adequate and proper titles based upon the duties performed and the responsibilities carried; second, the establishment, either alone or in conjunction with the budgeting or other fiscal officials, of adequate compensation schedules for all groups or classes of positions in the classified service, such schedules of compensation usually providing the minimum and maximum salary to be paid, with intermediate rates and effective regulations for the advancement of employees as their usefulness increases from time to time, from the minimum to the maximum of the schedule; third, the establishment of a system of appropriate tests, either written or oral or both, formal or informal, to be used in selecting from all persons available the one best fitted for a particular appointment or for promotion to a vacant position in the classified service; fourth, the maintenance of employment and reemployment lists from which shall be made certifications, and the requirement that all appointments and the proper returns thereof be made within a reasonable time and duly recorded; fifth, the setting up and applying of adequate machinery for the handling of the problems affecting employees in the service, such as transfers, annual sick and special leaves of absence, with and without pay, hours of employment, service ratings, training, attendance, and the like; sixth, the setting up and applying of the machinery for handling the separation of employees from the service through lay off, removal, suspension, resignations, and retirement; seventh, the providing of means through which the personnel agency may secure complete, reliable, and up to date information with respect to employment transactions and by means of which it can enforce its orders, this usually being accomplished through the checking and certifying of payrolls by the personnel agency before any compensation may be legally paid for personal service. There may be added to these functions a number of other activities and powers of the per-

sonnel agency, such as the establishment of rules and regulations, conduct of investigations, the reorganization or realignment of departments and divisions of government, the development of policies for the improvement of the working conditions of the service, the preparation of reports and literature for the information of the official and general public, and the obtaining of the necessary publicity as to the work done and the procedure followed as a means of securing public confidence in the system.

The average welfare official is more interested perhaps in the proper organization and regulation of his own personnel than in the general proposition as to whether or not government needs a central employing agency. Without the merit system the departmental official has in theory a free hand to select, promote, and remove his employees. In practice all of us know that this independence of action is more apparent than real. The appointing authority not operating under merit laws is harassed and cajoled on every hand by those seeking public position for themselves or for those who have rendered certain partisan service. The department head, even if he is not subjected to this kind of pressure, should not be expected to add to his other functions and obligations the duties of a personnel agent. All of the dependable evidence that we have goes to prove that competent employees cannot be selected on hunch, by looking at a photograph or examining handwriting, or even by depending upon references as to their qualifications and ability. There is an art, if not a science, of personnel administration, and the wise executive will make use of every agency that promises cooperation and help rather than mastering for himself the details of personnel administration or any other body of information having a relation to his particular problems.

The advantages of the merit system in welfare work, it seems to me, very materially outweigh any disadvantages that may be advanced against it. In the first place, the acceptance of a merit law insures reasonable tenure and reduces to a minimum the probabilities of removal of bureau chiefs and subordinate employees for partisan reasons. It insures a continuity of service and effort which is especially essential in any technical work. It makes possible the recognition of the public service as a career. The department authorities have in the right kind of personnel agency a powerful ally in securing proper compensation schedules for the various types of positions in the service, and salary increases are no longer required to depend upon chance or partisan influence. The departmental executive can have, and does have, in many jurisdictions the sympathetic cooperation of the personnel agency in regulating and controlling his employment problems, and the public service is dignified and strengthened and improved. At its best the personnel agency is a most important factor in government and is most helpful to every earnest and sincere public official. At its worst it is capable of great abuse. It may embarrass and hinder the capable executive, but even at that it is probably better than no central employment agency at all.

I should like to be able to enlarge upon the advantages of the personnel agency to welfare officials, but the time allotted to me is limited. I am obliged to leave this question with scarcely more than a bare statement and pass on to a word about the matter of the proper relationship of the personnel agency to the welfare department. There is a very considerable amount of literature which can be considered as dependable and which details the advantages of the merit system to employing officials, and I would suggest for your consideration, if you are interested in this subject, the report of what was called the Conference Committee on *The Merit System in Government*. This book was published by the National Municipal League two years ago, and is, I think, perhaps the most authoritative presentment of this part of public personnel administration yet made.

The public welfare official, though he may accept with some reservation, perhaps, the advantages of the merit system in government, will be troubled about the relations of that agency to his department and the extent to which such an agency will or can cooperate, and the extent to which that agency will reject his proposals and act upon its own initiative. In the early days of this movement, which was designated "civil service reform," the public was generally led to believe that it could not trust its elected and appointed officials, and we must agree that there was a great deal of evidence in support of this contention. The personnel agency was designed, therefore, as one more legal barrier set up to check the wrong tendencies and the improper use of authority on the part of public officials in whose hands the people had placed for the time being the administration of their affairs. The civil service commission, as the agency was usually called, was looked upon as something outside of the administrative fabric. It was to be a thing apart. Fifty years ago, when this movement began to gain headway, there was little conception, it appears, of the important part which the personnel plays in modern government. It was not contemplated that the personnel problem could be solved, or even needed to be solved, by a policy of cooperation and mutual confidence between the personnel agency and the responsible administrative heads, and I think that our conception of the personnel agency today and our opposition to it, incidentally, is largely based upon that historical notion that this agency must oppose rather than assist other departments of government. I submit that the personnel agency whose business is conducted on this assumption is bound to fail in realizing the principal aims for which the agency was set up. I submit also that the public personnel agency must not only accept the other agencies of government as cooperators in the field of public service, but it must be accepted itself as an integral part of public administration. The handling of every phase of the personnel problem in government is not the independent function of the personnel agency, but it is the joint function of this agency and the department whose service is directly affected.

The far seeing department official will seek for and insist upon a central

employment agency with the vision to comprehend its problems and its place in the scheme of government, with the vigor to attack these problems in a constructive fashion, and with the courage and authority to hold to the correct principles which are known, if not always practiced, in this part of the public service. With such an agency cooperating in this most important field of public service, and with reasonable support, we may expect great advances in economical and effective administration. Without such an agency, clothed with the necessary authority and accepted as a part of the official family, the old abuses and uncertainties, extravagances, and low standards of service with which you are all familiar are bound to persist in modern government.

THE NEGRO INDUSTRIALIST

THE EFFECT OF CHANGING ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UPON THE LIVING STANDARDS OF NEGROES

Jesse O. Thomas, Field Secretary, National Urban League, Atlanta

The changing economic status of the Negro in America began with reconstruction and has continued in some degree ever since. At the outset I wish to make it clear that we do not approach this subject with a feeling or attitude that there should be any special consideration given the Negro wage earner. It must be understood that he represents a part of the occupational personnel of the nation, therefore he must share in the misfortune of unemployment and depression quite the same as other laborers.

We are to discuss the effect that the changing economic conditions have on the living standards of Negroes from the standpoint of industry, housing, and recreation. Mr. Washington, who is to follow us with a supplement to this paper, will discuss certain other phases of Negro life and experiences. While we hope in the discussion to throw some light on the experiences of Negro wage earners in all parts of the nation, the emphasis will probably lend itself to the situation of the Negroes in the South. This is true perhaps because 75 per cent of the Negroes are still living in the South. The attitude of the ultimate South will very largely determine the status of the Negro in this country.

In the early history of this country the broad fertile tracts of virgin soil on the coastal plains made cotton, tobacco, rice, sugar cane, and corn the staple crops. It was not therefore until the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 that cotton became the predominating crop of the South. In 1792 only 600 bales of cotton were sent from the South to England. The year following the invention of the cotton gin 7,000 bales crossed the Atlantic. By 1880 the annual transport reached 79,000 bales.

The romantic association of the Negro with cotton is not without foundation. In fact, it was his labor that became the foundation upon which the cot-

ton kingdom in America was erected. Until within recent years cotton culture was based, first upon slavery and later upon peonage, and the plantation system determined the growth of the South.

Population.—In order thoroughly to understand the social background of this section of our nation it is important to know something about the character of its population. In 1920 the estimated population of the South was 27,164,643; 20,560,000, or 75 per cent, were living in their native state, that is, in the state where they were born; 3,403,000, or 13 per cent, were born in other southern states; only 2,170,000, or 8 per cent, were born outside of the South. This left a small foreign population of 1,013,000, or 4 per cent. These figures tend to show that the race elements making up the population of the South are predominantly native born. With this as an introduction to the social background of the race elements, we come now to consider the economic and industrial changes that are taking place and their effect upon the living standards of the Negro.

A new political South.—We will first consider the influence which the new political South is having upon these phases of race relationships. The new South that has been in the making for the past quarter of a century, and in particular in the past decade, represents two conflicting cultures in the great white world. Through education and public opinion an attitude of tolerance and openmindedness is finding expression in a small but ever increasing number of white people in the highest cultural level, usually referred to as the aristocracy of the South. This element of our citizenship is seeking organized expression through various types of biracial enterprises to create a new mental state. It has however, very largely lost control of the political machinery in the later years.

The other element that constitutes the large majority group of the white race, descendants of that class historically referred to as the poor whites, is in almost complete political control of the government. It will be remembered that during slavery, perhaps largely due to the investment he represented and because of the ownership the white man exercised over him, the Negro occupied a relatively higher position in the social and economical relationships and was often given more consideration than was accorded the poor whites. They were unsympathetic competitors in the field of industry and in the struggle for economic existence. As this element comes into control of the political machinery of the South it assumes a retaliatory and antisocial attitude, not only toward the Negro, but toward the descendants of the slaveholding aristocracy. Especially is this true where the interest of the Negro is sponsored by the more progressive element. A statement from Dr. Alexander, of the Interracial Commission, seems significant here:

In between the southern plantation with its mansions . . . was a great majority of Whites, about two-thirds of whom owned no slaves, generally referred to as poor white trash. They were poor in earning power because they must compete with the cheap labor of the slaves. They were poor in education, for neither the philosophy back of the slave

régime nor the economic output of slavery could produce a public school system. They were poor in consciousness of citizenship and experience in government, for government as well as wealth was in the hands of the slaveholding class.

There are two things here that are necessary to clearly understand. They offer such a paradox that very few people have a correct appreciation of the exact situation, without which no scientific approach can be made to the question under discussion: First, there is a small but increasing number of white people in the South, who, because of their knowledge of the history of governments and experience, understand that the new South cannot be built on the foundations of injustice and inequality. Few people realize how much it costs this small element of our white citizenry to identify itself with the welfare of the Negro. Second, the majority element of the white South controls public policy. In other words, the philosophy of the various interracial movements have not as yet penetrated the mass psychology of the dominant white South.

New industrial South.—No less pronounced has been the effect of the changing industrial south upon the industrial opportunities, therefore upon the standards of living of the Negroes. Billions of dollars are represented in the transfer of the knitting mills from the New England states to the southern states in the past decade. As far back as 1925, 1,634,248 wage earners were employed in the manufacturing industries of the South. A total payroll of \$1,553,225,000 annually represented their earning power. These manufacturing concerns had an annual production output valued at \$3,772,185,000. This was an increase over 1923 of \$920,000,000. The wages of the employees in these industrial operations are relatively higher and their buying power is far greater than those of plantation hands or farm laborers. In other words, the living standards or local commercial values are measured by the buying power of the industrial operators who live on a higher economical plane than the farmers. Some of the by-products of this industrial transition may be mentioned.

First, as long as agriculture was represented by hand operation the Negro occupied every position in connection with that industry without discrimination. His services were utilized in clearing the forests, building the fences, preparing the soil, planting the seed, cultivating and harvesting the crop. With the coming of labor saving machinery the Negro finds himself gradually eliminated from certain processes. All the machines that are run by horse power and riding plows are occupied by white men; that is, as soon as a job changes from unskilled to semiskilled or skilled industry it becomes a white man's job. In many places agriculture is gradually becoming a seasonal employment for the Negro. With improved machinery it is possible to plant and cultivate the crop without the aid of many hand operators. It is only when the cotton is ready to be picked that Negroes are sought in large numbers. This discrimination has brought about a serious change in the Negro's economic status, which

very often has caused him to move from the rural to the urban South or to find his way to the industrial centers of the North and West in quest of more permanent employment. On the farm it was possible for all the members of his family to be producers. His wife and children took their places by his side in the field. As he moves to the urban centers and industrial communities the compulsory school law interferes with his children being in gainful employment. The breadwinners are thereby limited to the older children, his wife, and himself. While the earning power of his occupational unit has decreased, the cost of living has increased.

Second, in the establishment of large manufacturing plants, including textile mills and cotton factories, the Negro finds that the only avenues of employment open to him are in the lowest paying jobs, such as porters, janitors, and cleaners. From some of them he is excluded altogether. In the Ford plant of Atlanta, which employs 650 people, not one, even the janitor, is colored. The southeastern wholesale distributing store of Sears, Roebuck & Company in Atlanta employs only 83 Negroes out of an employee personnel of 1,383. While the Negro represents one-third of the total population, his representation in these plants is only about 4.1 per cent. The Chevrolet plant, now nearing completion, which cost \$1,225,000 and has a working force of 1,000, I understand does not plan to use any Negroes.

Third, in many of the states the traditional positions or jobs usually occupied by Negroes are gradually being taken by white workmen. Negro waiters in the hotels are being gradually replaced by white women. In many of the cities Negroes cannot become licensed electricians or plumbers. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, elevators in public buildings and hotels formerly operated by Negroes are being manned by white women. The Negroes, who formerly drove the city trucks in Atlanta for the removal of garbage for \$48 a month, have been replaced by white drivers who are paid \$100 per month. An investigation by the industrial department of the Chicago Urban League as to why Alfred Decker & Cohn, makers of Society Brand clothes, had discharged twelve colored porters, all of whom had been employed for six years or more, revealed the fact that they were turned off and white men put in their places in order to try out an experiment. When the Boston Store discharged colored maids and stock clerks the employment manager advised the committees that it was because so many white people were out of work. A colored man who was employed by the O. H. Berry Company of Richmond as window dresser for twenty-five years was recently discharged and a white man put in his place, in spite of the fact that the management said his services had been entirely satisfactory. Two colored men who had records of twenty years of satisfactory service had the same experience with the Miller & Rhodes department store of Richmond. Word has just come that the contractors of Richmond will not employ Negro brick masons at all in that city.

Fourth, many of the lines of work hitherto open to Negroes are now un-

der control of unions that deny Negroes opportunities for employment on the pretext of lack of training or that they do not make good union men. On this point Mr. Charles S. Johnson, editor of *Opportunity*, supplied very interesting information in a recent issue of the *Survey*:

One reason for the hostility of white to Negro workers is the fear of them as strike-breakers. The fear is warranted, for not only is there a menace to union objectives in the availability of Negro workers, but it has so happened that many of the greatest advances which Negroes have made in industry, many of their first opportunities, are due to strikes and their part in breaking them. They were used to break the Stockyards strike, and they have been employed there ever since; they were largely responsible for the failure of the steel strike; and they now make up 17 per cent of steel mill workers; they were used in the great railroad strike of 1922, and about 700 Negroes, mostly skilled, are still employed by one system alone. They are being used at present in the anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania, and in the strike of bakers and confectionery workers in Chicago. The list could be continued indefinitely. Precisely the opposite situation has occurred when Negroes have been inside the unions. In the West Virginia coal strike of 1922 there was the peculiar situation of the mine owners putting their faith on the stamina of their Negro membership to hold their positions. As longshoremen they have stayed with their organization in times of conflict, in spite of the fact that Negro strikebreakers were used against them. Union officials agree that as union men Negroes are as faithful to their obligations as are white members.

In the matter of occupational distribution of Negroes in industry, Mr. Johnson states:

Sixty per cent of the Negro population over ten years of age, male and female, are working: 81 per cent of the men and 39 per cent of the women. Over two million of these workers are farmers, and more than a million are domestic servants. Together these two occupations of Negroes, compared with 34 per cent, which is the normal distribution. Of the Negro farm population, 57.5 per cent are laborers, 32.4 are tenants, and 10.1 are owners. There has been a decrease both in the number of Negro owners and renters. Impending introduction of cotton picking machinery foreshadows a chronic unemployment problem for the rural South. The largest industrial groups of Negroes are at present in the following lines:

Laborers: building trades and helpers, 150,000; lumber (saw mills), 107,000; iron and steel, 106,000; other industries, 86,000; food, 28,000; tobacco, 22,000; textiles, 20,000; clay and brick yards, 20,000; fertilizer factories, 10,000; other metal industries, 4,000; paper and pulp, 3,000; tanners, 2,500; printing, 1,200; clothing, 1,400; total, 561,100. These constitute 13 per cent of all Negroes in manufacturing industries.

Semiskilled workers: chemical plants, principally fertilizer works, 2,200; cigar and tobacco plants, 24,000; brick and clay making, 3,200; food (principally slaughter houses), 15,000; iron and steel, 24,000; lumber, 10,000; textiles, 4,000; others, 25,000; total, 107,400. These constitute 13 per cent of all Negroes in manufacturing industries.

Skilled workers: carpenters, 34,000; bricklayers, 11,000; merchants, 10,000; mechanics, 10,000; molders, 7,000; painters, 9,000; plasterers, 7,000; tailors, 7,000; total, 95,000. These constitute 10 per cent of the Negroes in manufacturing industries. The rest are scattered through about one hundred other different occupations under this head. This gives some idea of the small percentage of Negro wage earners employed in skilled and semiskilled occupations. It will be seen that 63 per cent of the wage earners of the race are employed in unskilled labor.

Fifth, the Negro is the victim of a double economic standard. One wage is paid the Negro for doing identically the same type of work for which another wage is paid the white man. The United States Department of Labor recently issued a bulletin on women and industry. It showed that for Negro women the median wage was \$6.95 per week; for white women, \$11.10. In Norfolk, Virginia, the minimum salary for white teachers is \$1,000 per year in the elementary schools, and the maximum salary for Negroes is \$1,000 per year. As a Negro teacher and wage earner goes to the market, dry goods store, grocery store, or what not, he finds the prices are uniform for all people, regardless of race, and he is expected to make his \$6.95 buy as much health, comfort, and social well being as the white wage earner's \$11.10. Because the Negro is so effectively disfranchised in most of the communities in the South, he cannot rely upon the ballot to secure for him a voter's consideration and protection in industry; he is therefore limited to a spiritual appeal for the justice, equity, and fair dealing that he is to receive at the hands of the majority group. Contractors were informed by the city engineer of Houston, Texas, that white men only would be allowed to work on the building in which the National Democratic Convention will meet in June. This announcement closely followed the beating up of a Negro Democrat because he wore one of the "Me Too" buttons on the lapel of his coat. These buttons were sold for the purpose of raising money to entertain the convention. The Negro's advance into semiskilled and skilled positions is more retarded than his fellow white wage earners.

Sixth, the Negro represents a group at least 90 per cent of whose members are in the employee class, most of whom must seek employment among other race elements.

Seventh, lack of industrial efficiency is a result of very limited apprenticeship opportunities.

Eighth, lack of sufficient organized wealth and buying power among Negroes makes it impossible to establish and maintain large manufacturing concerns and business enterprises whereby employment opportunities might be created for large numbers of their own group.

Legislative interference with the industrial opportunities of Negroes exists. In the city of Jacksonville, Florida, the following ordinance passed the city council at the first reading. Two more readings are necessary before it becomes a law:

Be It Ordained by the Mayor and City Council of the City of Jacksonville:

Section 1. That no Negro contractor shall engage in the construction or repair of any dwelling house or building of any character within the city limits of the city of Jacksonville in any block which shall contain the places of residence or business of white people exclusively; nor shall any white contractor engage in the construction or repair of any dwelling house or building of any character within the same limits in any block which shall contain the places of residence or business of Negroes exclusively.

A similar ordinance is in operation in the city of Palm Beach, Florida. The Sea Board and Air Line Railroad recently ran a line from Tampa to West

Palm Beach which came into the city on the Negroes' side. According to the mechanical zoning practice the railroad station would have been built by Negroes. This matter was brought to the attention of the city council, which resulted in a special meeting being called and the imaginary zone line changed so as to make it possible for white mechanics to construct this building.

Tenth, there has been a decrease in the percentage of Negro students pursuing the technical and vocational courses in connection with industrial schools in the past decade. In this respect the Negro leaders and educators have not sensed their responsibility in encouraging the masses of the youth of the race to qualify as trained artisans and skilled workmen. The result is that fewer trained mechanics are being turned out of our educational institutions each year. The spectacular display of artificial wealth has given the white community a false and inflated impression of the Negroes' real financial conditions.

Radical change in Negroes' industrial status.—The greatest change in the Negro's industrial status since the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 took place between the years of 1915 and 1919 during the recent World War. The depletion of labor ranks by the man power of the nation being used in building up fighting units, in operating war work industries and munition plants, and later the passage of restrictive immigration legislation caused the captains of industry to turn to the only untapped labor supply in the country. During this period between 500,000 and 1,000,000 Negroes migrated from the South to the North and West.

According to the Department of Labor, during the five years from 1918 to 1923 there was an increase of Negro wage earners in manufacturing and mechanical industries of 255,389, and a decrease in personnel and domestic service of 57,642. Approximately 25,000 Negroes were absorbed by the shipbuilding industry, many of them in skilled and semiskilled positions, during the war. What was true of the shipbuilding industry was also true of the automobile industry, of the various types of munition plants, as well as of many manufacturing concerns and business enterprises. There are many industrial plants, including steel mills and automobile industries, that employ more than five thousand semiskilled and skilled Negroes. Some are employed as metallurgists, chemists, and machinists. Some of them are foremen, not only of Negro crews, but of mixed crews.

An analysis of the employment situation in Detroit showed that the largest labor turnover of Negroes was in those plants where the smallest wage was paid. In those plants where the highest wages were paid there was very little turnover. Thus a traditional myth about Negroes laying off as soon as they received a little money has been exploded. A sufficient number of Negroes are making good in higher skilled industry, and there have been enough demonstrations of Negroes and white laborers working together to disabuse anybody's mind of the Negro's ability to fit into higher organized industry and keep up the united production and the possibility of all wage earners finding a common level in the struggle for economic existence.

A survey made of the industrial status of the Negro in 456 plants in Los Angeles, California, revealed the following facts: in fifty of the plants the working personnel was made up of whites, Negroes, and Mexicans; in certain plants where Mexicans were regarded as white, Negroes were not allowed to mix with them; where Mexicans were classed as colored, Negroes not only worked with them, but were given positions over them; in certain plants Mexicans and whites worked together, and in some others white workers accepted Negroes and objected to Mexicans; in still others white workers accepted Mexicans and objected to Japanese; Mexicans and Negroes worked under a white foreman, Italians and Mexicans worked under Negro foremen; in the hospitals Negro nurses attended white patients but were segregated from white nurses; in a manufacturing plant white workers refused to work with the Negroes but worked under Negro foremen.

Notwithstanding this it appears that those of us who look for the Negro to be used as a substitute for reduced numbers of European immigrants in any considerable number have been sadly disappointed. Since 1820 approximately 37,000,000 immigrants have come to America, the Land of Opportunity. They were employed for the most part in the lower grades of work. Before restricted immigration laws were passed America was absorbing about one million new immigrants a year. The 3 per cent quota provided by the immigration law contemplates 360,000 arrivals annually—about 45 per cent increase in the industrial opportunities of Negro wage earners. On the contrary, figures compiled by the Industrial Department of the National Urban League and substantiated by information gathered from various authentic sources show conclusively that Negroes' opportunities in industry have decreased in the past twelve or eighteen months. In the northern industrial center he has lost many of the opportunities gained during or since the war, and in the South he is being replaced by white men in jobs and positions which he held before the war.

Housing.—No matter what may be one's ideals, his political affiliation, or his religious belief, his earning or buying power has much to do with the type of house and home surroundings in which he lives. In a larger measure than it is true of any other group in America, the Negro business and professional man has to depend upon the members of his own group for support of his business and profession. Therefore any change in the economic status of the Negro wage earner immediately registers in a complete cross section of his group life. In the matter of renting and buying houses Negroes face two persistent difficulties. Those who have small incomes are successfully segregated almost invariably in a neglected part of the city. Poor lighting, inadequate water supply, and periodical police protection characterize the average Negro segregated area. In some cities the abandoned red light district of white people becomes the Negro subdivision. The conditions revealed by a recent survey made in Tampa, Florida, with respect to the housing conditions of Negroes

may be accepted as typical of what one might find in every city where any considerable number of Negroes live in the South:

Seventy-five per cent of the Negroes in this particular city lived in rented quarters; 5,500 out of the total population of 20,000 were drinking water from surface wells; 3,100 used outside water closets, sharing same with two or more families; 3,000 were using privies 50 per cent of which were shared by two or more families; 1,100 had no garbage receptacle; 2,500 had no garbage disposal service. [Describing a section of the city called Red Quarters the report continues:] This group of houses are particularly unsightly, to say nothing of unhealthful. Practically every one leaks; the porch roofs fail to stop even the sunshine. A cluster of eight chronically stopped-up outside water closets are available. Nine houses have cans for garbage; four have boxes; while eight have no receptacles at all. Fourteen families reported that garbage was collected weekly, while seven said it was never collected. Several of the inhabitants stated that they disposed of garbage by burying it. Two surface wells, one out of commission, provides water for the 22 families; 135 people use this well, including 23 lodgers and 37 children under 15 years of age.

A block number 2063 Fleet Place, Brooklyn, New York, gives a typical case of what one might find as to the extent Negroes are victims of bad housing conditions in other sections:

The above block is occupied, outside of two or three families, entirely by Negroes. The buildings are old and, outside of those facing Myrtle Avenue and a few on Hudson Avenue, all are frame, two or three storeys high. In many of the frame buildings the toilets are in the yard. In only one building are there baths; this one is arranged for six families, two and three room apartments. Outside of this one, and those having toilets in the yard, the toilets are in the hall, as many as four families using one toilet. While most of the buildings are occupied by families, it is safe to say that every one of them take in boarders. Many of the buildings are given over to furnished rooms occupied usually by more than two persons who invariably cook in the rooms. In several of the houses there are as many as thirteen rooms and only one toilet. It is needless to say that the furnished room houses have no fire escapes. Very few of them have illumination either in the rooms or hall other than oil lamps.

The lack of adequate housing laws regulating the conditions in which landlords are required to keep houses for renting purposes renders these poor people helpless in our overcrowded and underhoused urban centers.

The Negro professional or business man whose earning power makes it possible for him to move out of this restricted territory, except on the exact ratio to which the white residents may move out of the downtown section or industrial properties into new developed subdivisions, is met with the sternest kind of protest on the part of the white community. This protest has many manifestations. Sometimes it takes the form of an indignation meeting or the writing of threatening letters, or circulating petitions; at other times more severe measures are used. In Tampa, Atlanta, St. Louis, Chicago, and many other cities the bombing of newly acquired homes of Negroes has been witnessed. In New Orleans a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, in setting aside the verdict of the state court in the case of *Tyler vs. Harmon*, effected the segregation of some 1,185 cases.

In addition the Negro faces the following embarrassing situations in his

house buying effort: first, because of the limited area in which Negroes are permitted to live unmolested, they are greatly congested and overcrowded; second, abnormally high rents are charged, sometimes from 10 to 50 per cent higher than are charged white people in the same house; third, there is difficulty in buying or building houses because the average bank or building loan association will not loan money to Negroes for this purpose on the same terms and conditions on which white wage earners may borrow; fourth, the psychology of the community gives a different value to property as soon as Negroes move into the neighborhood. All of these make it necessary for the Negro to take in roomers in order to meet his obligations. On this point Mr. Eugene Kinckle Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League, contributed the following in a recent magazine article:

Many of the problems of the northern city Negro are involved in the question of housing. High rents and insanitation make for bad morals and bad health. If the rent paid is in excess of one-fifth of the income of the normal family, it is usually necessary for lodgers to be introduced into the family life. Immediately the family loses its normal status. In proportion to the excessive rent ratio must the number of lodgers be increased; and if the lodger population reaches a proportion as large as 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the whole population, as it has in the Harlem section of New York, and frantic efforts are made to secure increased income from lodgers, many questionable characters are introduced into the family life. The evils resulting are well known: marital infidelity, illegitimacy, unmarried motherhood, street soliciting, juvenile delinquency.

Recreation.—As a blanket statement one might without fear of successful contradiction say that not in a single city in the whole South is there adequate consideration given or facilities provided for the recreational needs of the Negro population. In a program of recreation municipally conducted would be included of course libraries, theaters, parks, and playgrounds. The poorer the people, the more unattractive are their home surroundings, both in the general exterior environment as well as the interior appointment of the house. The more unattractive the home life, the more easily children become detached from the home, and because of the more limited opportunities for indoor play, the greater is the need for outdoor recreation. In the case of the Negro, who represents the type of wage earner described, on the lowest rung of the economic ladder, in most parts of the South there is little or no consideration given his recreational needs. With the exception of some of the larger cities, like Atlanta, Savannah, Tampa, Birmingham, New Orleans, and a few others, notwithstanding Negroes are not permitted to use books in, or draw them from, the general city library, there are no branch libraries for Negroes. In most cities where the attempt has been made the facilities are inadequate.

Some impression as to how Negroes would respond to such a provision may be indicated in a report recently given by the *Library Journal* of Tampa:

When the Tampa Public Library opened its new Harlem branch in its unpretentious quarters it had only hoped for the interest of the children. In that it was not disappointed, for they came with satisfying eagerness, and increased the circulation from 3,880 to 5,156; but an unexpected delight was the interest shown by the adult colored population.

The provision made for the Negro patronage in what is called the peanut gallery of the average theater makes the conditions under which Negroes see the better plays and pictures very embarrassing and humiliating. Therefore the attendance of the better element of colored people is discouraged.

We will take one or two cities as type cases to illustrate the extent to which Negroes are included in the municipal recreational program. According to a survey made of Tampa—I mention Tampa because there are few cities in the South where more has been done in the past six years to improve the general condition of Negroes and relate them to the larger community life; if the conditions which we are about to describe are in the most progressive cities we will get some impression of what is to be found in the less enlightened communities—

Tampa has a Negro population of 23,323. No public park is provided for them. Negroes are not allowed in the city parks except in the capacity of servants. Although Tampa's water front is almost unmeasurable, neither a public swimming pool nor a beach is provided for Negroes. The city does not provide any equipment whatsoever for recreational opportunities for that element of people who live in a cheap rent area where congestion is greatest, where private yards are almost unknown, where sanitary conditions are worst, where the people are least able to provide recreational facilities for themselves.

Atlanta, Georgia, is called the Golf Hub of Dixie. There are ten golf courses in the city playable the year round. There are 61 squares and open spaces for public use (meaning white people of course), with a total area of 12,000 acres. In addition there are 24 playgrounds, 62 double tennis courts, 12 baseball diamonds, 3 football fields, 6 swimming pools, 2 basketball courts, all municipally owned and operated. A group of philanthropic citizens gave the city 16 acres of land some nine years ago with the understanding that it would be developed for a Negro park. The city has provided the following equipment: an unsightly swimming pool that requires three days to empty because of the size of the outlet pipe; fifty benches; two shower baths, one for men and one for women; and a pavilion. No playground or organized recreational activities exist for colored people in this city with the exception of what is provided at this park during about four months of the year. This provision on the part of Atlanta for the recreation of one-third of its population is fairly typical of what exists in most of the cities in this section. Perhaps more is done in Savannah, Columbus, New Orleans, and Dallas than in any of the other cities.

The social center for the non-resident domestic and personal servants in all of the southern cities is the railroad station. Beginning Saturday afternoon and continuing until late Sunday night, one will find the average railroad station, especially where their behavior is not interfered with by the policemen, occupied by a large number of Negro men and women, especially young women employed in service. Outside of the church this is the only public building in many of the cities in which they may spend their leisure hours. This reduces the recreational participation of the wage earners of the race to poolrooms and commercial dance halls, which means that these poor people who scarcely earn

enough to properly feed and clothe themselves must pay for their recreation in unsupervised commercialized dance halls at a rate of from 25 to 75 cents a night, while the city provides tennis courts, golf courses, parks, and playgrounds for the employers.

Summary.—First, both the new political and the new manufacturing or industrial South are definite factors in influencing the economic status and living standard of the Negro; second, the relationship between the two races in the highest cultural levels is gradually improving; third, one of the weaknesses in the programs of the various types of the interracial movement is that too large a percentage of their membership represents religious leaders and educators and too small a percentage represents the employers of labor or captains of industry and the wage earning class of the two groups; fourth, both the Negro and his white friends are well nigh helpless in attempting to improve his living status until the gospel of interracial good will penetrates the psychology of the masses of the two groups; fifth, much of the Negro's future in industry as well as otherwise is in his own hands; the lack of social engineering ability on his part being largely responsible for his present plight; sixth, the masses of people must yet be taught, not only how to work, but also the value and the dignity of working with the hands.

THE EFFECT OF CHANGED ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UPON THE LIVING STANDARDS OF NEGROES

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My paper is a continuation of the discussion introduced by Mr. Thomas. He has discussed the changed economic conditions in the South with reference to the replacement of Negroes in industry by white working men and women even in those occupations which have been considered as belonging to the Negro by tradition. He has also discussed two outstanding social problems affected by the changed economic conditions, namely, housing and recreation.

The problems which I will discuss are health, education, delinquency, crime and family disorganization. They follow logically those discussed by Mr. Thomas. In addition, I will attempt to summarize his paper and my own and present our combined recommendations.

It is not an easy task to prove by statistics that the changed economic conditions have affected the Negro's living standards. The usual sources of statistics for the subject under discussion are social agencies, governmental bureaus such as state and municipal boards of health, the courts, and the like. However, because one cannot obtain a great mass of statistics that will throw light on the situation is no reason why discussion should not be given to as important a subject as this. While we cannot point out definite social changes, we can point out trends.

If we refrain from doing anything about the sociological trends growing out of the changed economic conditions until cases have begun to accumulate in large numbers with family societies, courts, and other remedial and correctional agencies, conditions will necessarily have become acute, and perhaps chronic. The purpose, then, of this paper is to use what data we have to point out tendencies so that we may nip these developing social problems in the bud and thus prevent conditions from becoming acute and chronic. There are a number of organizations and individuals which are not found in the category in which we usually look for social welfare statistics whose recent experiences may be of considerable value in determining just what is happening.

Health.—The Negro's health in the South is not as good today as it has been in recent years. According to figures given by the Georgia State Board of Health to the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association, "The death rate among whites in Fulton County seems to be falling, but there are more deaths being recorded among Negroes."

A prominent Atlanta doctor who is an official of the National (Negro) Medical Association states that there has been a considerable increase in sickness among Negroes in Georgia during the last six months over the same period last year. He says, however, that Negro doctors are unable to collect pay for treatment. He also states that as a result of this situation a number of colored doctors now in the South are planning to leave that section as soon as possible for the North, where they think the Negro is enjoying a better financial income and the industrial situation of the race is more stable. He further says that he has begun to notice another situation which he believes will have serious consequences. He has noticed that many Negroes are sending for the doctor only as a last resort, because they have not the money to pay him. He cites the case of a woman whose relatives called him in recently at midnight when she was seized with an acute and painful illness. He ordered her to remain in bed for several days and left a prescription to be filled. When he called the next morning he was told that she had gone to work and had left a message to the effect that jobs were so scarce for colored people in Atlanta that she had felt compelled to go to work to hold her job.

The Gray Clinic of Grady Hospital, Atlanta, reports that during the first five months of 1927 there were 1,109 colored bed patients, but during the first four months of 1928 these had increased to 1,153; that this increase has taken place during the most recent months; and that if the Negro cases increase at the rate of April admissions the situation will be very serious. This situation is not due to the old myth that the Negro is inherently unhealthy, for up to the last three years the Negro mortality and morbidity rate in southern cities had been decreasing. It is safe to conclude that this impairment of Negro health has been due to the changed economic conditions, for they are the only social factors which have not remained stationary. There have been no epidemics, no great changes in the type of Negro population, no decrease in public health

facilities and public health education for Negroes. The real trouble is that the forced unemployment of Negroes through their replacement by white men has cut off the Negro's income, and he is consequently unable properly to nourish his family.

It has been shown by a study made for the University of Georgia that the Negro in Georgia spends 10 per cent of his income on food. With the high cost of housing, clothing, etc., he cannot afford more. Add to the limited amount of food its inferior quality and lack of variety, and (because the woman must work) the hastily prepared and irregular meals, and you have a fruitful cause of ill health. Washerwomen often begin early in the morning and do not eat breakfast until noon. They often leave home before breakfast without feeding their children, and the latter eat what is left over from the day before. The Negro is unable to pay now for medical and dental care when necessary. He has always been unable to get credit at drug stores, and there is not enough aggregate capital to provide their own drug stores in many communities; therefore the obtaining of medicine during times of illness is always difficult. He is unable to continue to provide from his own pocket in a group way those health facilities denied him because of race, such as private hospitals and the like.

As Mr. Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, says in *Modern Hospital* for April, 1928, "The Negroes are still lacking in individual or corporate control of capital." A small number of Negroes, becoming prosperous are subscribing probably beyond the average in America to various aspects of social welfare, including hospitals; but relatively speaking there is little money in Negro hands. Furthermore, tax funds are still almost exclusively controlled by white groups. With few exceptions small sums indeed have gone from government sources to hospitals. This situation will be corrected as colored people get increasing wealth. A list recently compiled by the National (Negro) Hospital Association reports approximately two hundred institutions throughout the entire country, including regular hospitals, infirmaries, and sanatoriums, taking into account institutions supported by public authorities, by fraternal organizations, and private endowment or subscription or as the personal projects of individual physicians or other groups of physicians. While the total figure is sufficiently small, the picture is not seen at all until the conditions of most of these hospitals are kept in mind. Only nine of these hospitals are on the accredited list of the American Medical Association as proper institutions for the training of internes, and only fifteen are on the list of the American College of Surgeons as having adequate minimum hospital standards. This means that less than twenty hospitals for Negroes exist in the entire country that are of acceptable minimum American standards. Fortunately, several of the acceptable hospitals that are available for Negroes are of excellent quality. They stand out as beacons toward which Negro hospitalization as a whole is struggling. As poor as the Negro hospitals are, yet, according to Mr. Embree, "Most of these have been provided by the Negro's own effort." Now, by the

taking away of the means of the Negro's earning a decent wage, the source for the establishment of even these second rate hospitals is destroyed. Nothing that I have said I wish construed to mean that I believe that hospitals provide all of the facilities needed for a well rounded program of health. I am mindful of the value of clinics for mothers and babies, public health facilities, protection of water and food, and war against human and animal carriers of disease. As Mr. Embree points out, the lack of hospital facilities, unfortunately, is simply typical of an equal lack in these very aggressive branches.

Education.—The Negro's educational standards have also been affected by the changed economic conditions. This is rather difficult to show statistically because for some time educational facilities for Negroes in the South, especially in the case of public schools, have been woefully inadequate. Duplicate, triplicate and even quadruplicate sessions are now common in many city schools. However, in spite of the long distance which some Negro children have to travel to attend school, and the necessary carfare involved, and the disagreeable conditions due to overcrowding in the rooms, Negro parents have persisted in sending their children to school. This too, in most cases, is in cities where there are so few attendance officers, in proportion to the number of Negro children, that they might fairly be considered as nonexistent. However, authorities now claim that the changed economic conditions have somewhat dampened the ardor of Negro parents, especially of the low wage earning class, for the education of their children, and that there is an increase in the number of children being withdrawn from school as soon as they reach working age. During the first six months of 1928, according to Mrs. M. Agnes Jones, supervisor of Atlanta Negro Public Schools, there has been a marked increase in the number of children being taken out of school to go to work.

Mr. J. F. Lee, head of the Sunday school department of the C.M.E. Church and a prominent minister of Charlotte, North Carolina, reports that a number of his best parishioners have not only been forced to take their children out of high school and college, but have been forced to give up homes they were buying, and in some cases have actually left the community and gone North. Who can measure the effect upon the general level of intelligence of the race when those who would normally finish high school and college are being withdrawn from school.

Negroes are finding it increasingly difficult to provide from their own pockets in a group way these educational facilities which have been denied them through the separate school systems. As is well known, it is becoming the custom for philanthropists to give money to Negro educational institutions only in proportion as Negroes raise money themselves for the support of these institutions. The curtailment of the Negro's earning power has affected his ability to match money granted in this way. Negro schools suffer not only a loss of money formerly contributed by Negroes but also money contributed from white sources that the Negro's contribution would release. Morris Brown

University and other institutions supported entirely by Negroes find it even more difficult than usual to raise funds. Morris Brown has been unable to pay some of its teachers at all this year, and none of them for all the year. This situation is particularly deplorable as it affects technical schools because it is only through this type of institution that the Negro can overcome the handicap imposed upon him in industry through denial of the opportunity of apprenticeship. If all but a few of the Negro industrial schools must languish and die, and if only a constantly diminishing number of Negroes can afford to attend them, then the Negro will retrogress more than ever in industry because he has no other way of acquiring skill and knowledge of the crafts.

Crime.—There has been an increase in Negro crime and delinquency in the South during the past year. This situation is certainly not due to the old myth that Negroes are inherently criminal, because up to the past year statistics show that the Negroes' crime rate in the South has been decreasing. The chief of police of Atlanta reports that the number of Negroes arraigned in court during the past twelve months from May 1, 1927, to April 30, 1928, was 16,912, as compared with 15,596 white people. Here is a situation where more Negroes than whites were arraigned and tried in court in a community where the whites outnumber the Negroes 3 to 1. Moreover, the chief of police reports that while the number of both races being arraigned in court was on the increase, yet the rate of increase among Negroes during the past six months has been greater than that among whites. It can be due to nothing else but changed economic conditions, for there has been no other general disorganizing influence in the Negro communities. This point hardly requires any argument, for it is commonly known that when men and women, irrespective of race, are hungry and cold they will steal and commit other atypical acts to provide food and shelter for themselves and their families.

One of the ways in which people who are cut off from their jobs have been supporting themselves has been in the selling of whiskey. Mr. B. H. Townsely, who handles approximately 350 "rent houses" in Atlanta, reports that Negroes are selling liquor who have never been engaged in such traffic before. He says that one can walk down alleys whose Negro residents were always respectable though poor and smell whiskey from the outside of the houses. There is a Negro bootlegger in Atlanta who specializes in dealing with these poor families. He furnishes poor women out of work with liquor on credit. Once they have gotten started in business they are always able to pay him "spot cash." It is upon this class of people who have not yet learned the technique of paying for protection, that the police prey, and this has a good deal to do with the increase of Negroes in the police court.

Another proof of the growing amount of crime among colored people is the situation in the juvenile court. The number of colored children tried during the first four months of 1926 was 1,088, but during the first four months of 1927 the total number was 1,155. This is an increase of 67 colored children.

On the other hand, during the first four months of 1926 the total number of white children was 1,097, but during the first four months of 1927 it was 1,008. This is a decrease of 89 white children.

Family disorganization.—The report of family welfare societies in a number of sections of the South shows an increase in desertion and other domestic relation cases among Negroes. The Family Welfare Society of Atlanta reports an increase in the intake of colored cases this spring of about 10 per cent over the same period last year. Ordinarily the work becomes lighter in the spring. Moreover, the ratio of colored cases to white cases, new cases coming in, is 13 to 8 which is also a greater ratio than usual. This situation cannot be traced to low family standards of Negroes because until recently they had been improving. Here again the only social factor that has changed has been the economic situation. The Associated Charities of Memphis reports an increase in cases of family life where the fathers were formerly employed in the saw mills, furniture mills, and other industries and have been succeeded by white men. Family men of the low wage earning classes, white or black, when out of work, become discouraged and frequently desert. In the case of the Negro husband, his replacement by whites was frequently the "last straw." His ties to his family had been under many previous strains. There had been first the irregular domestic conditions on the plantations from which many had come, and then the sudden movement from a rural to an urban environment which added to the general disturbance, and finally the discouraging struggle after arriving in the city to make a small salary meet the increased cost of living. A number of family societies report that they have had no increase in unemployment cases among Negroes because their increase has been in families where there are no men. Such cases should be considered in the light of the observations made previously. The underlying cause in many cases was really unemployment, for the men had deserted recently and the women were either ashamed to admit it or did not care to admit it because they felt they would be more apt to receive assistance if it was thought they had been deserted over a long period.

Colored women have always been compelled to work in large numbers because of the low wages of colored men. It has been estimated that about 76 per cent of the colored families of the South depend upon an income that is made up of the wages of several members of the family. Less than 24 per cent of the colored fathers of the South support their families without assistance from the mothers or other members. They cannot do it; it is a mathematical impossibility. Yet they are blamed for not supporting their own, and moreover industry is now turning more of them out of work and making the situation even more complicated. The replacement of colored working men by whites means a vast increase in this group of employed colored women. The prolonged absence of the latter from their homes, especially if they are moth-

ers, results in all kinds of family disorganization, including neglected children, which in turn means truancy, juvenile delinquency, and the like.

Another index of the effect upon the Negro family of the replacement of colored working men by whites in industry is the experience of insurance companies. The head of the Conservation Department of the National Benefit Insurance Company, southern division, reports a 10 per cent increase this year in Negroes who have allowed their policies to lapse. Many letters written to the Conservation Department by policyholders whose premiums have lapsed state that they have lost their jobs to white men and hence cannot keep up their premiums.

Moreover, some of the other social problems caused by the changed economic conditions have a disorganizing effect on the Negro family. A restricted income compels families to live under even worse housing conditions than would have been their lot ordinarily. While there has always been an overcrowding among Negro city dwellers, yet with the increased unemployment two things are happening in regard to housing. In some cases several families are thrown together to save rent. This means a mixing of the sexes, which results in family disorganization. In others single families are breaking up, the members distributing themselves among relatives in different sections of the city. This has proved equally unsatisfactory and the cause of family trouble. This situation is working a terrific hardship on the Negro race. It is bringing all Negroes to the same level, and unfortunately this level is a low one. The better element are leaving bad elements behind them in the country districts. In the present situation the better elements become bad themselves, in the course of time. Thus the process is one of leveling down. The head of the Georgia Baptist Association, who superintends 5,362 churches, claims he sees an increasing number of such families going to pieces, that conditions are much worse this year than they were last year. He claims that a pastor used to be at least one stabilizing influence among the people who came from the rural districts and settled down in semi-isolation. Now, because of the inability of these people to pay the pastors, many of the churches are closing and the people are without any wholesome community leadership whatever. This authority states that there is more desertion now than he has heard of in forty years. He states that these reports come from ministers.

One of the reasons why there were no strong ties on the married colored man during slavery time was that when marriage occurred it was not an economic marriage. Both the husband and wife belonged to the master. The man did not have to support the wife in the ordinary sense of the word. At least he did not have any direct obligation toward her. Even since slavery times a great mass of Negroes have been kept in the South in that relationship whereby they were only half responsible for the support of their families, the wife contributing the other half. They have never felt the entire responsibility of maintaining the home. This was no fault of their own either. They have never been

allowed to earn enough to maintain the full support of the home. In recent years they have been gradually emerging from this situation, and part of this emerging has meant more home responsibility and stronger marriage ties. Miss Louisa De B. Fitz Simons, of the Georgia Study of Negro Child Welfare, maintains that one of the stabilizing influences in Negro family life is contact with "fine old white families." In her study of a number of cases handled by her organization she finds that those Negro families which preserve the strongest family ties between husband and wife are those who have kept up the most permanent connection with the best type of white families. But is this a very sound basis on which to build family standards? Isn't the matter of perpetuating family ties in such colored families a matter of imitation rather than responsibility?

I have seen whole sections of industrial centers like Detroit taken over by rural Negro laborers from the South and the homes built up and the finest kind of family life established because these men earned enough to allow their wives to stay at home rather than go out to work.

Summary.—It would appear from what has been said that although the Negro occupied a very undesirable social status in the South formerly, although he was relegated to the lowest paid jobs and the worst housing conditions, although he was denied access to wholesome recreational facilities and most of the social agencies for the promotion of happiness, decent family living, and adequate educational opportunities, yet, in spite of these handicaps, he was making improvement, and in many cases through his own efforts. Now comes this new economic situation which tends to set the Negro back to a status that is even worse than was his former lot. It not only takes away the few improvements in living standards that he had gained, but also takes away the opportunity and the means by which he had achieved these improvements. The Negro is the one race in America which has never been allowed a stable status. America seems to be continually playing battledore and shuttlecock with him. I realize that unemployment produces social problems in all races, and that unemployment is affecting the white races as well as the Negro in America today. However, it is the apparent hopelessness of the Negro's situation which makes it differ from the whites. A white man can keep up some sort of morale and refrain from stealing or deserting and what not because he knows that he has a chance at whatever jobs there are. But the Negro soon discovers that in times of depression there are no jobs at all for him. There is a constant bogey of unemployment hanging over the Negro. It looks to me as if the employing class is using the Negro as a sort of reserve army which is only brought in when labor is scarce or to break strikes, but the difference is that a reserve army is paid and fed while this Negro who is used in times of strikes and great prosperity is left to shift for himself at other times.

Will the white people of the South continue to impose greater and greater strain on the social fabric of the Negro until it has been stretched to the break-

ing point and a rip takes place which will slough off into such pathological conditions as dependency, ill health, delinquency, family disorganization, and the like? Will the white man never be satisfied until he has crushed all that is elevating, all that is noble, all that is really worth while out of the Negro, leaving nothing but the open road to poverty, ill health, and general degradation? If this deterioration takes place, can we blame the Negro? Moreover, will the Negro be the only race which will lose as the result of changed economic conditions? Cannot the whites of the South also lose in several ways by destroying a source of labor which they may need again? Is it not possible that with the return of prosperity and the continued shift of the industrial center of America from the North to the South that the latter section will need the Negro again in industry because all of the available white labor will have been employed? Is it not possible, then, that the South will find that it has driven its Negro labor, or the best of it, out of the South, and that it has rendered that left behind inefficient by enforced idleness? I do not believe you can develop a sound democracy, certainly not an economic democracy, based upon a substratum of folks whom you employ irregularly, allowing them to deteriorate socially at other times.

Cannot the whites lose also in this replacement of Negro labor by the creation of social liabilities which they will have to take care of in one way or the other? Is it not more desirable to care for Negroes in the South by allowing them to work and support their own families, and even contribute something to the wealth and prosperity of the community, than to force them out of employment and oblige the state to support them in the correctional institutions which house thieves, prostitutes, and other delinquents? Is it not better to have the Negro maintain the health of himself and family through honest labor than for the state to support him and his family in hospitals and other health institutions?

Perhaps, as Professor Charles E. Merriam, of the University of Chicago, maintains, "Migration from farms to cities is inevitable and will continue to be tremendous, and cities of the next generation are going to be so large that we will have a change in the form of government, and you will see such new political units as the states of Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, and the like. And the United States will be dominantly urban in the next generation; the combination of wealth and prestige will absolutely necessitate the rule of cities rather than of states." So here is the colored brother caught up again in another maelstrom over which he has no control. Relieved by the war and such legislation as the Johnson Bill of the industrial competition of the foreign born immigrant, he saw a temporary ray of sunshine for a few years after the war in the cities of the North. Now the question arises, Is the Negro in the cities of the South going to meet another form of competition even more to be feared than the foreign born immigrant, namely, that of the native born white man who is shifting from the rural districts to the cities of the South? Over this

new type of industrial competitor the Negro has no advantages, such as a knowledge of the language and the like.

This fact must be faced, namely, that the South cannot escape the responsibility of supporting the Negro in one way or the other. Failure to assume this responsibility will injure the white as much as the black. As has been stated many times before, disease cannot be segregated, and the Negro criminals do not prey on their own race alone. If the white people of the South deliberately develop a process that tends to deteriorate another race, the penalty is that at the same time they are creating a social menace to themselves.

Recommendations.—I would recommend that the white people of the South refrain from dispossessing Negroes from the field of industry. During the present period of unemployment I do not think any fairminded colored man would object to jobs being allocated to the race according to its proportion in the population. In a number of cities of the South there are large public building operations going on, such as the two viaducts in Atlanta, where large numbers of laborers are employed. I think that social workers would be doing a much better piece of case work if they would direct their efforts at this time toward persuading public officials to employ Negroes in proportion to their numbers in the population on public works rather than to direct their efforts, as I have heard so many of them admit at the present conference, toward supplementing the budget of families of unemployed colored men.

Next, I would recommend that colored people pay more attention than ever to efficiency and regularity in employment; however, I do not agree with a large group of Negro leaders that this is the only solution, for I have talked with a number of employers who have frankly stated that in a number of processes where they had supplanted Negroes with white men they really believed the Negro was just as efficient, but that public opinion in the community, expressed sometimes in threats to raise taxes and at other times physically to interfere with their business, had forced them to employ their own color.

I would recommend to Negroes that they put greater emphasis on developing group economy among themselves. A race that invests as much money in fine churches and fraternal buildings as does the Negro should invest more in business and manufacturing, which would give employment to their own group. I have seen factories manned entirely by Negroes in the South. In Atlanta there is the Pioneer Garment Factory. There are silk textile mills at Fayetteville and Durham, North Carolina, which employ all Negroes, and there are a number of other such plants in the South. The whites who own these plants found they could make money by employing Negroes, who would work for less than white men. It seems to me that if white men can operate a plant manned by Negroes and make money because Negroes work cheaper than Caucasians, then Negroes ought to be able to operate such a plant themselves and make the profit for themselves; and more than that, when times of unemployment, such as we are facing now, develop, Negroes would have jobs for their

own kind. Since, as Mr. Thomas has said, white people are taking over even the least desirable of jobs in the South, such as street cleaning and garbage collecting, work which was traditionally supposed to belong to the Negro, it will not be long before they will be willing to work for as little as the Negro in these factories which are now manned entirely by Negroes. If the Negro Baptists can, as has been claimed, raise \$3,500,000 in a year in their 37,000 congregations, they ought to be able to spare \$100,000 or even \$500,000, to furnish the necessary capital for an industrial plant which would give employment to thousands of Negroes. Most of the few businesses that Negroes have gone into on a large scale have been successful. There are many Negro insurance companies which are giving employment to thousands of colored men and women throughout the country. And yet they are not the type of economic organizations I would urge as a final solution of the problem. They are parasitic in nature. In fact, most of the economic enterprises of the Negro are parasitic at the present time. They do not produce, but live off the wages of working Negroes. The thing that I am urging is the entrance of Negroes into manufacturing which is not parasitic but is primary and productive.

I would also recommend that the Negro give more thought to a "back to the farm" movement. Farming in the South is not necessarily a failure in itself. It is ignorant farming that is a failure. Authorities say that there never was a better time for Negroes to buy farms in the South than at present. White farmers have become discouraged at the yields from the farms which they have ignorantly cultivated and are leaving the rural districts for the cities. Negroes can buy farm land at a very low price which was never before available to them at any price. Under intelligent management, diversified crops, and cooperative marketing these farms can be made to produce a yearly profit. The capital needed by these farmers could be supplied by the same type of Negro organizations that I have indicated might finance manufacturing enterprises. I can see no reason why Negro fraternal organizations and the like cannot supply the capital that is necessary to form cooperative marketing organizations for farmers. To acquire ability to manage intelligently, to diversify crops, and to develop cooperation in production and marketing calls for better industrial schools for the Negro. The supervision Negro farmers are getting from the Negro workers under the Smith-Hughes Fund is an excellent service, but there is not enough of these men. Moreover, Negroes returning to the farm would need credit, and some arrangement would have to be made along these lines.

The most important person in the world is he who owns the land which produces the food of society. The Negro has produced a large proportion of the food of the South, but he has not the recognition that goes along with this fact and which would make him important because he has not owned the land on which the food was produced. Now is the time for the Negro to take advantage of the opportunity to attain this kind of power. There is no reason

why the Negro could not develop the same type of strong agricultural cooperation as the Italian fruit growers of southern California. On these two points, the matter of business and manufacturing and a "back to the farm" movement, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois says, in an editorial in the *Crisis* of May, 1928:

There is to my mind only one way out: manufacturing and consumers' cooperation among the major part of the 12,000,000 people on a wide and ever increasing scale. There must be the slow but carefully planned growth of manufacturing trusts. Beginning with the raising of raw material on Negro farms, extending to its transportation on Negro trucks, its manufacture in Negro factories, its distribution to Negro cooperative stores supported by intelligent and loyal Negro consumers. Such an organization is above and beyond race prejudice and trust competition. Once established on the basis of the English, Scandinavian, German, and Russian cooperatives, it would insure the economic independence of the American Negro for all time.

Beside this could grow credit systems and cooperative banks which could bring the Negro American group into carefully articulated cooperation with the West Indies and South America, with West Africa and South Africa.

It is more than idiotic, it is criminal, for American Negroes to stagger blindly on, hugging the fond illusion that white philanthropy through industrial education is going to furnish them with future employment and economic independence. It is equally idiotic to hope that white laborers will become broad enough or wise enough to make the cause of black labor their own. These things will never be done in our day. Our economic future lies in the hands of carefully trained thinkers, technical engineers, and the unswerving will to sacrifice on the part of intelligent masses.

Conclusion.—I believe I can leave an optimistic note with you, and I am not saying this just because I think that it is a pleasant thing to do. Somehow I have great faith in a successful economic society; that is, a society where everyone is making a decent living. Certainly in this sort of society there is hope, and in it there exists the most harmonious race relations. The most harmonious race relations I have seen are where whites and blacks have been working together in industry, as for instance in the auto plants of Detroit or in the Stockyards of Chicago.

The old slave system in the South was an artificial and unnatural relationship. It was an accommodation adjustment. The numerically small aristocracy and the blacks were close together and got along without trouble through the master-slave arrangement. But Uncle Tom has gone to join old Massa. We look back on them reverently as representing a romantic era in American history. But I think every intelligent white person in the South, as well as every black person, realizes today that there is no more place in the program of the progressive advancing South for the slow, humble, servile, uninitiative Uncle Tom than there is for the feudal baron type of Old Massa. Let us hope they are both happy, one with banjo in some Elysian cotton field and the other being served mint julep on the porch of some celestial "big house."

The great mass of whites of the South in slavery times and for some time after were out of touch with either class. It was inevitable that this arrangement could not exist permanently with the so called "poor whites" industrially

expatriated. It was inevitable that they would demand and could obtain expression in industry, politics, and in the life of society in general. This will only be worked out permanently in a situation where the great mass of whites and blacks of the South are gainfully employed together in industry. I firmly believe that this is coming through the industrial development of the South, especially when it has reached that point where the whites coming in from the rural districts cannot supply the needs of southern industry. I believe that this time is coming in the not far distant future. Then the Negro will fit into the industrial structure of the South as he did formerly and as he is at present fitting into the structure of the major industries of the North, except where unemployment has thrown both white and colored men out of work.

THE PLACE OF MOTHERS' AID IN A STATE PROGRAM OF CHILD WELFARE

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With forty-four states now having legislation providing for "public aid to mothers with dependent children," Mothers' Aid as an accepted phase of child welfare programs seems no longer a goal but an achievement. With compulsory school attendance, juvenile courts, and child labor legislation it takes its place as one of the bases of forward looking state programs for safeguarding the full development of the normal child in his social group. All states have compulsory school attendance and child labor laws. With the exception of Maine and Wyoming, all states have legislation providing for juvenile courts. With the exception of New Mexico, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina all states have mothers' aid laws.

What is a state child welfare program?—Child Welfare is not restricted to the work of a public welfare department. Other public as well as private agencies are organized to safeguard and promote the development of some phase of child life. A new movement in the interest of every child in the state is the development of the statewide institute on parental education. Such a movement is guided by a Parental Education Council. Its function obviously is to aid the parent in meeting the problem of child guidance in a changing world. Health, recreation, child psychology and the problem of sex instruction are the main subjects discussed, usually.

In a broad interpretation of a state's child welfare program come the various measures of health preservation and improvement which promote the physical well being and growth of the child. Likewise the educational program of a state is a part of its welfare work. Indeed, providing free schools from public funds was the initial step in child welfare of the state. Public schools have long since ceased, however, to exist only for the child under-

privileged financially. Hence the accepted meaning of the term "public welfare" having been "welfare for the handicapped," public education is not now thought of as public welfare.

Perhaps it is because public health and public education have been more constructive in their approach and treatment of the needs of the child that they seem to have a more established place in the lives of the citizenry as a whole than has public welfare. Or are they more matured social services in which participation is accepted by the average citizen as his due because to public welfare has always been delegated the responsibility of remedial work incident to the care of the abnormal and subnormal members of the social group? And who wants himself or his child to be regarded as abnormal, subnormal, or "queer"? So the care and training of the physically and mentally handicapped is still regarded as belonging especially to the field of public welfare. The supervision of this work is one of the original responsibilities of the state child welfare agency, with a definite place on the state child welfare program, while provision for the care of the socially, economically handicapped child is its newest responsibility.

Through its public welfare machinery a state child welfare program materializes and develops its responsibility for: first, crippled children, by means of clinics, hospitals, vocational schools; second, children with subnormal or abnormal minds, by means of clinics and special institutions; third, socially handicapped children, through enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws, supervision of all child caring institutions, care and training of delinquents in special schools, protection and guidance in juvenile courts, home finding; fourth, economically handicapped children, through enforcement of child labor laws and public aid for mothers.

History and philosophy of mothers' aid movement in the United States.—

The mothers' aid movement might be likened to a small snowball thrown out by the White House Conference in January, 1909, and pushed here and there by social workers over these United States until it has now covered successfully forty-four of our forty-eight states. It represents in its accumulation a huge public opinion. The nice thing about this snowball, too, is that it hasn't melted down in our sunny South; and when the four states where the movement has not yet "rolled" successfully are able to add the accumulation of their public opinion in legislation it will have become a finished product in the South.

The idea back of mothers' aid, expressed in the conclusion of the White House Conference, is:

Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and character. Children should not be deprived of it except for urgent and compelling reasons. Children of parents of worthy character, suffering from temporary misfortune, and children of reasonably efficient and deserving mothers who are without the support of the normal breadwinner, should, as a rule, be kept with their parents, such aid being given as may be necessary to maintain suitable homes for the rearing of the children.

Before there were any enactments of mothers' aid laws as such, several states and localities had applied the principle, using local or county funds. The Missouri legislature in 1911 passed the first definite legal provision of aid to mothers of dependent children, but funds were available to mothers in Jackson County and the city of St. Louis only. So Illinois in 1911 enacted the first statewide mothers' aid law; next came Colorado, in 1912; eighteen states enacted mothers' aid laws in 1913. Fifteen of these twenty-one states have since revised or amended their laws for the purpose of improving their administration, of making their application more inclusive, and of increasing the amount of the grant or of the total appropriation available.

In some states private agencies were granting mothers' aid with funds from private sources before public funds were available. These agencies were usually orphanages with long waiting lists of applications. In their attempt to care for half orphans in homes with their own mothers they discovered it is much cheaper, even financially, to keep a child in his home than in an institution. But these fraternal and religious organizations have usually worked with public agencies later to secure legislation providing for mothers' aid from public funds. Apparently in most instances they entered the field of mothers' aid only when the state was slow in assuming this responsibility. Certainly, however, a child's right to support in his own approved family group has a more democratic basis than the fact that his mother is a Baptist or his father was a Mason.

By means of public schools, public playgrounds, and public health measures, a child is aided by the state from public funds to self development in his broader social contacts. It is logical, then, that the state should, when necessary, take the next step of enabling a child to develop his more fundamental personality traits in his own family group, maintaining a continuity of contacts with the special family patterns of heredity and environment when these patterns are good. Strong individualities are developed in an atmosphere of "freedom, security, and affection" with the opportunity of knowing one's own *lares* and *penates*.

The state as a potential parent must assure equal opportunity for every child. In times of disaster to the community the larger social group, the state, exercises its parental responsibility with public funds for care and rehabilitation of the community group. This was well demonstrated in the states of the Mississippi Basin devastated by the flood of 1927. The loss of the normal breadwinner in the family group is as great a disaster frequently to this group as floods, hurricanes, fires, etc., are to communities. The individual disasters happen every day to some mothers and children. Can the state do less than help them to rehabilitation through providing equal opportunity for carrying on along with other families more fortunate?

As Prentice Murphy says: "Really effective child welfare consists of efforts to help parents care for their young." So providing public aid to moth-

ers with dependent children is the final step, seemingly, for a state to take in developing its child welfare program.

A résumé of methods of administration of mothers' aid funds in the various states.—To provide efficient and adequate machinery for administering public funds to mothers is as important as to provide the funds themselves. In the forty-two states where provision is made for mothers' aid, the methods of administering group roughly in three types: first, local agencies, such as courts having juvenile jurisdiction, county or city boards with other functions, local school boards, special county or city boards without other functions, poor relief officials, having no supervision from or relationship to, a state agency; second, local agencies of the same types, acting under supervision of, or relationship to, a state agency; third, the state agency acting alone. Twenty-six of the forty-two states come in the first group, having supervision by the state or central agency. Fifteen have no state supervision. Only one state, Delaware, is in the third group. In nine of the twenty-six states in which the state agency has supervisory powers it also has administrative responsibility. In another nine of this group of twenty-six states the chief relationship to the state agency is one of report making. And the state agency in some instances is the state board of education or the state board of health instead of the state board of public welfare. Kentucky and Mississippi, which enacted mothers' aid legislation this year, are not counted in these forty-two states, as their respective laws were not available at the time this paper was written.

In the forty-four states which have provided for mothers' aid from public funds these funds come from three general sources: first, county and city funds only; second, state and county and city funds in common; third, state funds only. There are thirty states having only county funds, twelve states having state and county or city funds in common, and two states where funds come only from the state treasury. Among the states in the second group the state funds are apportioned among local units on a per capita basis. Within the local unit the expense of aid is shared on a fifty-fifty basis where the state and county only are involved. In a few states, however, more or less than half of the expenditures come from the state funds. The arrangement is on a basis of one-third from state and two-thirds from the local unit where municipal as well as county funds are available. Of the states in the second group, where state funds are used, all have state supervision or control. This in itself is an interesting comment on the relationship between the financing of a project and its supervision by a state agency.

In order to administer mothers' aid wisely there must necessarily be qualifications prescribed to which a family must measure to be eligible. These qualifications must be patterned after the best standards attainable to the average family in the state. More specifically, a summary of mothers' aid legislation¹

¹ The writer is greatly indebted to Publication No. 162, revised, of the Children's Bureau, *Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children*, by Miss Emma O. Lundberg, for information regarding the mothers' aid movement at large.

shows the following general standards serving as bases for administering aid in individual families. Quoting Miss Lundberg:

a) Application broad enough to permit aid whenever by such means a suitable home may be maintained; (b) age limitation to conform to education and child labor laws; (c) amount of aid to be based on needs of each individual family with due regard to other available resources; (d) inquiry in each case to determine home conditions and the assistance needed for the proper care of the children; (e) continued oversight in order that the welfare of the children may be protected and the aid adjusted to meet changing conditions; (f) provision of safeguards necessary to protect the public treasury against fraudulent or unwarranted claims and against burdens that should be borne by other communities or by individuals legally responsible and able to furnish support.

In nineteen states public funds as mothers' aid are available to a woman not the natural mother of the child but who maintains that relationship to him. In six states aid may be granted to expectant mothers. In three states the law specifically authorizes aid to unmarried mothers, and in some states the law may be interpreted to allow such application. The prevailing method, however, permits aid to any mother with dependent children, or specifies the type of cases eligible as those "where the father is dead, deserting, divorced, physically or mentally incapable, or imprisoned." In thirty-nine of the forty-two states the law specifies residence requirements as part of the qualifications for eligibility. In all except six states maximum amounts of grants are named in the laws. These amounts are specified for each child in the family.

Mothers' aid as a part of the North Carolina state program of child welfare.—Public agencies have had an unusually open field for development in North Carolina. It is primarily a rural state, and the organization of private relief giving agencies, even in the more metropolitan centers, has been slow. There are now only about seven bona fide family welfare bureaus in the state, although there are small local organizations of charity boards in less urban centers which function chiefly through the local superintendent of public welfare. Previous to the organization and development of county departments of public welfare in the more rural counties the needy family "lived on the sufferance of the neighbors," as one citizen expressed it, until help from the poor fund of the county was given them by the county commissioners.

Previous to the enactment of the law establishing a statewide county system of public welfare in 1917, and to the legislation passed in 1919 providing for a juvenile court in every county, the dependent and neglected children of the state were cared for in twenty-one orphanages and one child placing agency. These orphanages, two of which are for Negro children, were established and maintained of course by religious and fraternal bodies. But the legislature of 1917 increased the power of the state board of charities and public welfare, charging this body:

To study and promote the welfare of the dependent and delinquent child, and to provide, either directly or through a bureau of the board, for the placing and supervision of dependent, delinquent, and defective children.

To inspect and make report on private orphanages, institutions, maternity homes, and persons or organizations receiving and placing children, and to require such institutions to submit such reports and information as the State board may determine.

Since then there have been only two more orphanages established in the state, but six more boarding home institutions which provide temporary care for children. These boarding homes are maintained in connection with the juvenile courts of the respective counties in which they are located, and with two exceptions are supported entirely from county funds.

Perhaps with so many orphanages already in the field prior to the launching of the state child welfare program it is to be expected that the mothers' aid plan for providing for the dependent half orphan would be first attempted by one or more of the older, overcrowded orphanages who had more applicants than room. This did happen. Thomasville Baptist Orphanage, established in 1885, granted mothers' aid to mothers of children on its waiting list in 1920. The last annual report, April 30, 1927, shows 107 mothers receiving aid from orphanage funds for a total of 383 children, at an average cost of \$67.17 per child for the year. There has been, however, no more loyal supporter of the state program of mothers' aid from public funds than Dr. M. L. Kesler, superintendent of the Thomasville orphanage. The state is greatly indebted to him for his help in securing the passage of the Act to Aid Needy Orphan Children in the Homes of Worthy Mothers, by the North Carolina legislature of 1923. Since mothers' aid has been available from public funds (July 1, 1923) there has been the closest cooperation between the mothers' aid division of the Thomasville Orphanage and the Child Welfare Division of the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare, not only to avoid duplication, but to effect transfers, where wise, of cases asking or receiving help from orphanage funds to the public funds. A number of mothers have been so transferred, there having been fourteen in 1926-27. Each month Thomasville clears its list of half orphan applicants with the State Child Welfare Division. The individual cases are then referred for investigation to the local superintendents of public welfare, with suggestions as to community or state resources available for rehabilitation. Many reports from the county officials show the mother eligible for aid from state and county funds. The general policy agreed upon between Thomasville and the state board is that Thomasville will aim to take on new cases only in counties where public funds are not then available, and will refer to the state board applicants in the other counties where public funds are available.

One other orphanage in the state has attempted a limited, temporary mothers' aid program for its half orphan applicants, and the larger orphanages have seen the value of mothers' aid. In 1925-26 six of the orphanages requested the help of the Division of Child Welfare in investigating the homes of the children in their institutions with the view of returning children to them if the homes proved able in every way except financially to care for them. A re-

port on the results of a survey in 1926 for one orphanage is as follows: 23 children returned to 20 relatives, 12 of whom were the mothers; 67 children found to come from 20 homes unsuitable financially; 7 children found whose mothers (2) were good mothers' aid material; 13 children involving 7 homes never satisfactorily investigated by the local welfare superintendents. Unfortunately all counties where eligible mothers found by these surveys were living were already using all their state and county funds and it was impossible at that time to grant state mothers' aid to them. So it was proposed by the orphanage board of trustees that they aid such mothers from orphanage funds until public funds be made available by reason of increased state appropriation. At that time only \$60,000 per year was available throughout the state from public funds for mothers' aid. But with the legislature of 1927 making an appropriation of \$50,000 per annum from state funds to be met by \$50,000 from county funds, a total of \$100,000 (none of which is for administration) is now available for public aid to worthy mothers. Hence the Division of Child Welfare of the state board discourages the use of funds from private agencies for mothers' aid now and aims to secure the amount needed from public funds to carry on the mothers' aid work in the state. It is believed that this policy is most conducive to the development of the state child welfare program, as it will allow the orphanages to specialize in their particular field and at the same time will aid in maintaining and improving the standard of case work in the state necessary to constructive effort and results.

The law specifies that:

To be eligible to apply for mothers' aid a woman must be the mother of a child or children under fourteen years of age, a resident of the state of North Carolina for three years, and a resident of the county for one year preceding, and possessed of sufficient mental, moral, and physical fitness to be capable of maintaining a home for herself and children and prevented only from lack of means.

In addition, such a mother must be widowed or divorced or deserted, or her husband be found mentally or physically incapacitated to support his family, or held as a prisoner by the law of the land. As the law is now written, other provision must be made for the unmarried mother and child. This was done in 1879 (law amended, 1921) by providing for payment of a sum for bond and allotment, maximum amount \$200, by the father of the child when paternity is proved to meet the expenses of confinement. A companion law provides for maintenance of the child by the father to the age of fourteen years. The latter law, however, has not been resorted to as frequently as the bond and allotment law because of the difficulty of collecting small payments regularly over a period of fourteen years. In practically all cases where it is difficult to aid the unmarried mother under the statutes enacted for her protection it would be impossible to grant her mothers' aid because she could not be regarded as meeting the qualification "possessed of sufficient mental, moral, or physical fitness." The lack of mental fitness would be the most evident, as

North Carolina does not yet have enough institutional space to care for all her mentally defective who need such protection. Moreover, community attitudes in small social groups where everybody still knows a lot about everybody else's private affairs are to be reckoned with. North Carolina communities on the whole regard the receiving of mothers' aid as a special privilege whereby the mother is set apart by the state, so to speak, as a partner in rearing good citizens. Any lapse on her part into extramarital sex relationships is not only severely censured, but it is expected that she will automatically be discontinued from receiving mothers' aid. No objection is made, however, to her being helped from the county poor relief fund if necessary. In two or three instances when a woman receiving mothers' aid has given birth to an illegitimate child as a result of sex relationship under promise of marriage, and generally extenuating circumstances, it has been possible to continue mothers' aid by a careful manipulation of the case and removal of the family from one section of the county to another where it was not known.

As to procedure or administration, a county appropriation for mothers' aid is not mandatory, but no county administers mothers' aid except in cooperation with the state and participating in the state fund. A county meets its quota from the state fund, estimated on a per capita basis of the population of the participating counties on a fifty-fifty basis. An average of 75 of the 100 counties of the state have annually signed the agreement for their share of the state mothers' aid fund. The amounts from the state for 1927-28 vary from \$110 in the smallest, most isolated county to \$1,781.50 in the most thickly populated industrial county of the Piedmont section.

Before a decision can be made in the case of any applicant for mothers' aid there must be an investigation by the county superintendent of public welfare. The result of this investigation is then presented to the county board of charities and public welfare, and if the case warrants it they "may determine what amount within the provision of this act is advisable for the care . . . of children and shall recommend to the county commissioners that an appropriation be made for the support of such mother and . . . children . . ." The county board of public welfare is an advisory board consisting of three citizens appointed by the State Board of Charities and Public Welfare to represent it. The Board of County Commissioners is the governing and financing body of the county. They not only must find funds for county expenditures, but approve all such expenditures. This body is elected by the citizens of the county. Usually the Board of County Commissioners approves the amount recommended by the county board of welfare in the individual case. This is particularly true in counties where there are full time superintendents and where the county boards of welfare meet regularly. In other words, an active, properly functioning welfare unit in a county has the unquestioning support of the county governors. The completed application approved by the county commissioners is then forwarded to the child welfare division of the state board

for action. The state board may ask for additional facts in the case if this is deemed necessary before making a final decision; or it may approve or disapprove the application on the merits of the case as measuring up to or below the requirements set forth in the law. "General oversight of the administration of this act [mothers' aid] with the view to making it uniform throughout the state" is a power delegated to the state board by the law. When the application is approved by the state board, the board of commissioners places a written order with the county treasurer for payment of the monthly grant to the mother and the county is reimbursed by the state for its half of the full amount paid at the end of each quarter on presentation of the necessary voucher to the state board by the county.

It is seen that with the county as the unit of administration much depends upon the county superintendent of public welfare in properly investigating the application for mothers' aid, in maintaining necessary contacts with the family, and developing plans for its rehabilitation in cooperation with the child welfare division of the state board. The success of the mothers' aid program in North Carolina is due in great part to the work of the county superintendents. So the importance of securing trained workers for this position is becoming recognized throughout the state. By the legislature of 1917 it is provided that each county of the state have a superintendent of public welfare upon whom devolves the duties of: chief school attendance officer; chief probation officer of the county juvenile court (or courts); child labor agent enforcing the state child labor laws, promoting wholesome recreation and enforcing laws regulating commercial amusements; oversight, under direction of state board, of any state ward in county; care and supervision of the poor and administration of poor funds under control of county commissioners; oversight of all prisoners in county on probation; oversight of all prisoners in county on parole; oversight of all persons in county discharged from hospitals for insane, and other state institutions under direction of the state board; assisting state board in finding employment for unemployed; agent for state board in relation to any work to be done by the state board within the county; investigating into the cause of distress under the direction of the state board, and such other investigation in the interest of social welfare as the state board may direct. With responsibility of the mothers' aid work added by the legislature of 1923, fully half of the duties of the county superintendent have to do with the interests of children. There are at present full time superintendents in 47 of the 100 counties, part time superintendents in 10, and the superintendents of schools serving also as superintendents of public welfare in the remaining 43 counties. It is mandatory that all counties having a population of 32,000 or more employ a full time superintendent of public welfare. In counties having a population of less than 32,000 the county superintendent of schools may be designated as the county superintendent of public welfare. Any applicant for the position of county superintendent of public welfare must be approved by the

county board of public welfare and appointed by the county board of education and board of county commissioners meeting in joint session. This appointment must be approved by the State Board of Public Welfare before the appointee can legally assume the duties of the office. Therefore the state board has issued minimum requirements to be met by all candidates in order to standardize appointments and to maintain as high standards of work as possible throughout the state. An annual public welfare institute and extension reading courses are methods employed in training local appointees.

The duties of the superintendent just enumerated are overwhelming both in number and scope. Of course no one human being can perform them all thoroughly all the time. Moreover, problems vary with the locality or sections. In the rural sections the school attendance problem predominates; in the more urban or industrial, child labor and juvenile delinquency. In all there is the poor relief to a greater or less degree. But in all communities there is an alive consciousness of the importance of proper care for children, and if a worker must choose between doing two tasks well, the work with a child receives the chief attention and effort. In the larger and wealthier counties there are several members or assistants on the staff of the county superintendent of public welfare, and the work is therefore more specialized. Usually a probation officer for boys is the first added; then a probation officer for girls, who also has the responsibility of the mothers' aid work. Each of three offices in the state have full time assistants who spend much of their time on mothers' aid work in the county.

It is in the counties where the superintendents are trained full time workers that most constructive results have been secured in the mothers' aid families. In these counties, too, more adequate grants have been made. Although the maximum amount for one child is specified by the law as \$15 per month, with \$10 additional for the second child and \$5 additional for each other child, to the total maximum of \$40 per family, the maximum amount is rarely given a family in the mountain and tidewater sections of the state. This is because meat, bread, and fuel can be produced on practically every farm or home of these rural communities, and therefore cash money is needed chiefly for clothing and school supplies. A maximum grant of \$30 per month to a mother of three children who owns her small farm, cow, and chickens would probably bring her more cash in hand per year than her next door neighbor, who pays taxes on his place too, would have for his family of self, wife, and five small children. Hence in such a case the maximum grant would be unwise both for the mothers' aid family and for the community in general. Local standards of living must be taken into consideration, hence the mothers' aid program must be flexible in respect to individual grants. In the Piedmont and coastal plain sections of the state, where the standards of living are higher, the grants must be the maximum in most cases. Any proposed increase or decrease in the amount of a grant should be referred, with reason for change, to the State Child

Welfare Division for approval before definite action. In case of remarriage of the mother, however, her grant is automatically discontinued.

There is also case work supervision. It is the aim of the Child Welfare Division of the state board that the field agent or supervisor of mothers' aid should visit each mother in the state at least once a year. In counties where the superintendent of welfare has only a part time job, two visits a year are made if possible. On these visits the superintendent of course accompanies the state representative to the home. The county and the state worker then hold a case conference making plans for each mothers' aid family. These conferences are usually quite informal. In the small counties where the superintendent is less active the county board of public welfare as well as the superintendent is present in the conference. In addition to discussing plans for individual mothers' aid cases and the mothers' aid program in the county, any problem in the field of child welfare in the county is also discussed. It is obvious that in the more isolated counties having only a part time welfare superintendent a constructive program in mothers' aid would not be possible except for the supervision from the state office. But with the encouragement and helpful suggestion from the state agent, county boards of welfare and part time superintendents—though the latter frequently is busy with duties of county superintendent of schools—do get results. For instance, in an isolated mountain county which has only one state highway and a lumber railroad connecting it with the rest of the state, the county superintendent of welfare is also the county superintendent of schools. Roads are poor in the county and one had to make a round trip of 6 miles on foot to visit one of the mothers' aid cases. In this family the oldest child had a very bad condition of the nose and throat which apparently was the cause of her being retarded in school. At the time of the visit of the state agent and the county superintendent the mother, who had never been out of the county and who had visited the county seat 15 miles from her home only two or three times in her life, agreed to take the child to a specialist in a neighboring county, a distance of about 75 miles, for examination and operation. Because of the mother's fear of the "dog days" of August and the fact that local school was in session it was further agreed that this trip would be postponed until October, two or more months after the visit of the state agent. The mother's grant was to be increased in order to meet expenses incidental to such a trip, which was quite an event in the life of this family. At the case conference of the state agent with the county welfare board plans were made for the county superintendent to secure a rate from the specialist for the operation and arrange with him for the work, and for a member of the board to take the mother and two children (the younger or baby girl must go too) in her car. Letters were written from the state office to the county superintendent from time to time regarding the arrangements, and finally a report came from the county stating that the plans had been carried out successfully and the child was now well.

The larger counties have more resources for developing the program of child welfare. Besides county health officers, who usually cooperate as far as possible in health work with juvenile court charges and mothers' aid families, there are also the county farm agents and county home demonstration agents in each county whose services are available for developing work with the mothers' aid families. The farm agents have been most helpful in advice regarding soil and crops, and egg production. Their contacts of this type have been with individual families. But a number of boys from mothers' aid families belong to corn or pig clubs as well. In the county where the mothers' aid work is best organized there is a Home Demonstration Club, composed entirely of mothers' aid mothers, to which every mother belongs. In addition to the usual program in demonstration work a great deal of time has been devoted to budget keeping and household financing. The club serves too as a form of recreation, as there is always a social half hour. The effect on the mothers has in every way been most stimulating. In other counties it has been more satisfactory to urge the mothers to join the home demonstration clubs in their respective communities. Throughout the state budget keeping is stressed, with the idea of educating the mother and children to handle finances intelligently. Most of the mothers have no idea of business, as the husband frequently did most of the buying, he being the "provider." This is noticeably true in rural sections. Budget keeping not only educates, but it also promotes family solidarity, it is believed, since the mother and older children must necessarily confer or plan regarding family expenditures. Frequently older children not only contribute to the family income but actually keep the budget, if the mother is illiterate.

There have been few families that have not had some health problem at time of application. Major as well as minor ills have been corrected. Cooperation in correcting health defects and in sending children to school regularly is really demanded of every mother. Usually children of mothers' aid families lead their classes. Many have shown not only industry and ambition but have given evidence of exceptional ability along some line. Of course there are problems of discipline in a number of the homes where there are adolescents; sometimes, too, with younger children. But the mothers have learned to discuss freely with the county and state agents these problems, looking to them for advice and help which ordinarily would be expected of the husband and father. Some of the mothers, too, have sought the advice of the county superintendent in regard to a second marriage. It is admitted that most of them do not, however—occasionally with unfortunate results, as in the case of Mrs. B, whose new husband of a week departed suddenly to parts unknown with her last mothers' aid check and the family cow, the most movable of her chattels.

With a population of approximately three million, North Carolina has \$100,000 annually to devote to mothers' aid pensions; 640 mothers and 2,560 children have received help from this fund since the law became effective July 1, 1923. At present there are 400 active cases in 75 counties, total population

of 2,191,308. The number of children involved is about 1,600, as the average mothers' aid family has four children. Five of these 400 mothers are Negro. Eighteen of them are the wives of prisoners. Of the families of 240 mothers who have been discontinued from receiving aid from public funds, 67 per cent have been rehabilitated through remarriage, return of husband to family from prison or hospital or desertion, or through the family becoming a self supporting unit by means of its own efforts. The majority of the mothers are discontinued because of remarriage. The remaining 33 per cent of the 240 mothers were dropped from the list by reason of transfer from mothers' aid pension to the Veterans Bureau pension, of failure of county to participate in the state mothers' aid fund in 1925, of mothers being found not suitable because of incompetency or immorality, or death (this cause is shown to be less than one-half of 1 per cent).

A study made by the orphan section of the Duke Endowment of the cost of caring for dependent children in North Carolina on a per diem basis in 1926 gives the following figures: cost of maintenance per day for child in a mothers' aid family receiving public funds, \$0.15450; cost of maintenance per day for child in a mothers' aid family receiving help from Thomasville Orphanage, \$0.15461; average cost of maintenance per day for a child in private child caring institution, \$0.90. In this same study the work with mothers' aid carried on in ten representative counties of the state in 1926-27 was taken as the basis for arriving at "a suitable index for determining roughly the number of mothers and number of children who apply to and are considered worthy of mothers' aid." On this basis index figure shows .15 mothers and .59 children per thousand population. The applications listed in these ten counties do not include eligible mothers whose children have been placed in orphanages not employing field workers, by local religious or fraternal organizations. In order to estimate accurately the index of the need of mothers' aid in the state it will be necessary to have a closer tie up between the child welfare division and each orphanage in the state not having field workers for clearing monthly on all applications of half orphans.

Summary.—Mothers' aid is a very vital part of a state child welfare program. In needy families it enforces the child labor and school attendance laws by removing the cause for violation. It protects the child from influences that would contribute to his delinquency by stabilizing his environment. It promotes his physical and social development by utilizing available agencies in meeting needs of health and recreation.

With a financial responsibility placed in a local administrative unit, there is also a fixing of the social responsibility locally. The sharing of this financial and social responsibility for the child with the state agency gives a happy balance in administration which results in uniform progressive methods, constructive accomplishments, and social education. With the increase of funds as the need develops, the allotment of these funds to relatively few mothers, and

careful supervision of every case by state agency through local agency a firm foundation is built for the future of mothers' aid. Also high standards in this field of the child welfare program bring high standards in the other fields.

Mothers' aid as a part of the North Carolina state program of child welfare has the hearty support of all social workers and leading citizens of the state. The North Carolina Conference of Social Service in its annual meeting for 1928 recommended "a generous increase by the General Assembly of appropriation for mothers' aid work as its system of administration is 'thoroughly approved.' "

X. THE IMMIGRANT

IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION, PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

ANTECEDENTS OF THE PRESENT IMMIGRATION LAW

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I have been asked to speak to you on the antecedents of the present immigration law. As one seeks for the origin of the opposition to immigration it is necessary to go farther and farther back into our history, even to the earliest colonial days. There we find the colonists with hostile feelings toward many of the immigrants who were entering, while a bitter opposition found expression in colonial laws against both colonists and immigrants who were considered to be undesirable, viz., paupers, criminals, the indentured classes, and against certain religious sects, especially Quakers and Catholics.

A few illustrations will make this clearer and will at the same time indicate the origin of several of the present methods of restriction, such as the use of the head tax, bonding immigrants, etc. In 1637 the General Court in Massachusetts ordered that no town or person in the colony should receive or entertain any newcomer for longer than three weeks without the permission of the authorities. Two years later we have what I believe to have been our first case of deportation when the Pilgrim settlers at Plymouth required the removal of foreign paupers. It is difficult to see how any case could have been earlier than this. Their next step was to require indemnity from the master. From its first settlement Pennsylvania had a law for "imposing a duty upon persons convicted of heinous crimes and imported into the Province," and another "for laying a duty on foreigners and Irish servants, etc., imported into the Province." In 1676 the province of Maryland passed an act requiring all ship masters to declare whether they had any convicts on board. A fine of £2,000 was to be imposed on anyone attempting to import convicts. Half of the fine was to go to the informer. All ship masters who had landed convicts prior to this time were required to put up a bond of £50 for their good behavior.

New England's religious exclusiveness and intolerance during colonial days largely eliminated the necessity of passing other direct restrictive measures. Virginia and all the New England colonies, save Rhode Island, had laws to prevent Quakers from entering. The opposition to Roman Catholics was intense during the colonial period. Statutes against them vary in purpose from absolute prohibition in the Puritan colonies to petty regulations and annoyances as practiced in some of the middle colonies, such as a duty on Irish servants, a

positive prohibition of the Roman worship, and a double tax on their land. The non-assimilation argument was used often during the colonial period, which resulted in a number of laws. As early as 1718 Cotton Mather, John Winthrop, and others feared the Scotch-Irish. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were the leading advocates of this argument toward the end of the colonial period, their major fears being directed against the Germans.

The views of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and other leaders of their day on immigration are better known. With the outstanding exception of Madison, they were opposed to immigration. The fear of foreign influence is reflected in several clauses in our Constitution, and a great constitutional debate can be traced through many cases before the Supreme Court on the power of the federal government to regulate immigration under the commerce clause in the Constitution. By way of digression I might point out that the United States daily persists in erroneously declaring that Congress derives the power to regulate immigration under the naturalization clause in the Constitution. From the formation of the present government until 1875 the states regulated immigration under their police powers, their laws being directed for the most part against the policy of various foreign governments sending their convicts, paupers, lame, halt, and blind, and other undesirable classes to this country. Most of this state legislation was enacted between 1820 and 1840. The use of the head tax, bonding, manifests, and almost every form of modern qualitative restriction, save the literacy test, was provided for by Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and the other states most vitally concerned. Consular reports and congressional investigations revealed that certain foreign countries were making it a practice to send their undesirable elements to the United States. It is interesting to note that one such government, Würtemberg, in 1855 passed public resolutions of protest denying our right to return foreign paupers and criminals, which (quoting from the resolution) "in that case will have defrayed the expense of their journey in vain." We set forth the claim to the right of deportation in the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, and we have maintained that right from that day to this. By 1890 most of the European states recognized our right of deportation, an outstanding case being the action of Switzerland in 1888. Abundant official evidence exists, however, even after 1900 to prove that several European governments were indirectly, if not directly, still sending certain undesirable classes to this country.

When the movement against cheap foreign labor developed about 1830 virtually every argument used today against immigration was then being used. It is evidence such as this that makes me feel that there is nothing new under the sun, at least in the case of immigration restriction. A study of the almanacs, *Niles Register*, census reports, etc., will convince one of the truth of this statement if this is yet necessary. Statistics without limit were collected on the number of undesirable immigrants in the public institutions of the various states. Other studies were made of the monetary benefits and disadvantages of

immigration. The amount of money that immigrants brought in, the amount they sent or took to Europe, their economic value in industry, and our ability to assimilate them were all thoroughly analyzed in the years between 1840 and 1855. Each side put different interpretations on the facts and used them to prove their arguments, just as is the case today.

The same basic plan used by Dr. H. H. Laughlin in his report to the House Committee, November 21, 1922, was expounded at length by Senator Clemens of Alabama in 1855. Overseas examinations and inspection were suggested by various persons prior to 1850, the best known plan being that of Frederick List, made to the President in his consular report of March 8, 1837.

Beginning with the act of 1875, which excluded foreign convicts and prostitutes, the federal government began the restriction of immigration. Act after act was passed putting the bars higher until almost every conceivable undesirable class, with the exception of illiterates, was excluded by law when the World War began.

To find the immediate basis for the present law we must examine the report of the Immigration Commission of 1910. This commission suggested the exclusion of illiterates, some kind of a quota plan to give numerical restriction, the increase in the head tax, and other devices designed to check immigration, not only by qualitative tests, but also by quantitative ones. The inability to assimilate certain immigrants with any degree of success is fundamentally the basis for the present numerical limitations.

As I have intimated, the problem of assimilation has existed from the early colonial period. It has, however, become a serious problem only since 1890, and has been due largely to the tide of immigration which has come from Southern and Eastern Europe. I am not greatly concerned with the problem of racial equality, since it does not follow from granting the psychic equality of the races that restriction of immigration is not justifiable. For to disapprove the superiority of one race over another does not eliminate the necessity for the restriction of immigrants with a different cultural background. Their assimilation is more difficult, if for no other reason than the time required. The fact that immigration averaged about a million annually after 1900 changed an otherwise serious problem into a critical one. The result was that we have had to adopt political devices that will roughly admit immigrants in proportion to our ability to assimilate those with a different cultural development. With proper numerical restriction I am sure assimilation is only a question of time for even the new immigrants and their descendents.

Although the World War virtually stopped all immigration to the United States, yet in the long run that very war necessitated some plan for numerical restriction to an even greater extent than was the case prior to 1914. Consular and other reports indicated that we might expect about 2,000,000 immigrants annually for several years. To meet the post war emergency and to give an opportunity to study the problem, Congress enacted the emergency quota legisla-

tion of 1921-24, which was admitted to be a temporary, makeshift, emergency measure. The entire country took the problem seriously and sought earnestly for a practical solution.

The opinions of various authorities on the subject, the investigations of state and national commissions, the statistics on naturalization, the army tests, and the report of Dr. H. H. Laughlin convinced the advocates of restriction that the solution to the problem was a more drastic restriction of the new immigration. Indeed, many felt if this could be obtained the problem would be largely solved, or could be solved in time. It is impossible in the time allotted to me to discuss the merits of these reports and tests. It is sufficient to point out that they had great weight with Congress and with the American people and made inevitable the legislation we now have.

The quota basis for numerical restriction is fundamentally sound, whether it is continued on the 1890 census basis or whether the more logical and practical plan of national origins is ultimately adopted. The purpose is the same with respect to the national origins and 1890 census plans, viz., to insure that our future immigration should correspond in its makeup with our population as it is today, to the end that we may more easily assimilate the immigrants now here and who may come in the future. The adoption of the national origins quotas will simply result in an equitable adjustment of the 1890 quotas.

The religious and political causes of emigration from other countries have become of minor importance. We have definitely, and doubtless for all time, closed the door to all political and religious refugees.

The better organization of industry and the rapid development of labor saving machinery are rapidly freeing our industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises from the necessity of employing cheap foreign labor. This in itself is a partial confession that any welcome to immigrants in the past has been based upon a policy of selfish altruism. It has proved also that in most cases cheap labor isn't cheap.

PENDING IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

Marian Schibsbby, Foreign Language Information Service, New York City

Between December 5, 1927, the date the Seventieth Congress convened for its first session, and April 30, 1928, there were introduced in the Senate and in the House of Representatives about 150 bills dealing with immigration and naturalization. While this seems like a great many, it is nothing unusual nor does it betoken unusual interest in legislation concerning the foreign born. The vast majority of bills introduced during any session of Congress never get out of the committee to which they are referred, and only a small proportion of those that are reported from committee and brought before the Senate or the House of Representatives for vote succeed in becoming legislation. During the Sixty-

ninth Congress, for instance, only about 7 per cent became law. Thus far this session only two immigration or naturalization laws have been enacted. One of them is a bill postponing till July 1, 1929, the effective date of the national origins plan, and the other permits Indians who are natives of Canada to enter the United States at will without reference to our immigration laws. Besides these two bills, the Senate has passed three bills and the House has passed two different ones. There are four other immigration bills which have been reported from the House Committee and are pending on the House calendars. This represents the sum total to date of achievement along these lines. Furthermore, as Congress expects to adjourn about June 1, it is not thought likely that this session will see much more completed legislation on immigration and naturalization matters.

The National Origins Provision.—During the past few months there have been four immigration topics which especially engaged the attention of Congress: the national origins plan, extension of quota to Mexico and other non-quota countries, deportation, and relief for separated families. First and foremost is the national origins question. It will be recalled that at the present time each country, immigration from which is regulated by quota, is allowed a quota equal to 2 per cent of the number of its nationals resident in the United States when the 1890 census was taken. The immigration act of 1924 provides, however, that after a certain date quotas, instead of being based on the 1890 census, are to be based on the national origins of the inhabitants in the United States in 1920. It was intended by the act of 1924 that the national origins method of determining quotas should go into effect July 1, 1927, but vigorous opposition made it necessary to defer the effective date one year. Now the effective date has once more been postponed, this time to July 1, 1929. It is likely that were it not the year of a presidential election the Congress would have settled the question this session, but there are powerful groups arrayed for and against the national origins plan which must be kept placated.

It is a rather curious situation. Advocates and opponents of the national origins plan are apt to speak of it as though it were a question of favoring immigration from the North and West of Europe as against that from South, Central, and East Europe. Such, however, is not the case at all. Nordics—to use the word in the popular sense—are arrayed against other Nordics; it is a question chiefly of whether we shall have those coming from Great Britain or those coming from Germany and other northern countries. If the national origins plan goes into effect and the 150,000 quota is distributed according to the "national origins" of the American people, the "Nordic" inhabitants of Great Britain and Northern Ireland will have won a victory over the "Nordic" inhabitants of Germany and the Scandinavian countries. Incidentally, however, such a victory will bring an increase—not a reduction—of immigration from most of the South, Central, and East European countries. Far from being losers under the national origins plan, most of these countries stand to win if

it goes into effect; practically the only South, Central, and East European countries that will suffer reduction of quota, according to the latest report of the committee of experts to whom the task of determining quotas on the national origins basis was assigned, are Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Portugal, and Rumania. The losers, on the other hand, are practically all North and West European countries. However, for the present the subject has been pushed into the background. It is predicted that the next session of Congress, when the presidential election is safely out of the way, will see the tug of war.

Extension of quota to Mexico and other non-quota countries.—As stated before, there is abroad in Congress a belief that immigration should be still further restricted. In spite of an immigration law that limits the intake of quota immigrants to 164,667 a year, the total volume of immigration during the past three years—the period during which the law has been in force—has been unexpectedly large. In 1927, for instance, the total number of aliens admitted was 538,001, though the actual net immigration was much less, 284,493. Aliens permitted to enter outside the quota are responsible for the unexpectedly high totals. The chief factors are those aliens who are entitled to come to the United States as non-quota immigrants because they are natives of countries in the Western Hemisphere on which no quota limitation has yet been imposed. During the past few years the immigration from Mexico and from Canada, especially, has been very heavy and is “viewed with alarm” by many of the restrictionists. Consequently some half dozen bills or so have been introduced, proposing to extend the quota to all or part of these countries. It is immigration from Mexico which is especially under fire. The House and the Senate committees on immigration have both given much time and thought to the question. During February and March they held extensive public sessions at which those in favor and those against the proposed restriction were given an opportunity to present their case. No action has as yet been taken, and at present the question seems to be in abeyance. Like the national origins question, it is highly controversial and loaded with political dynamite.

The Secretary of State appeared before the Senate Immigration Committee on March 15 and spoke against putting up barriers against our neighbors. The attitude of the State Department may be inferred from the following excerpt from his testimony:

An examination of the situation indicates that there is no immigration problem of importance with any American country, with the possible exception of Mexico. It would appear, therefore, that the extension of quota restriction to all American countries with its attendant serious ill effects and disadvantages to the United States is sought solely for the purpose of limiting the immigration from one country, the desirability of which is at least debatable. It remains, therefore, to be determined whether the patent disadvantages arising from the application of quota restrictions to Canada and the Republics of Central and South America do not outweigh the considerations advanced in favor of such action.

Deportation.—Some ten deportation bills have been introduced this session, several of them being old acquaintances masquerading under new names,

or rather new numbers. This is true, for example, of the one which thus far is the most important, H. R. 10078, introduced this session by the chairman of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Albert Johnson, of Washington. There was an identical bill in the Sixty-ninth Congress known as the Holaday deportation bill, H. R. 12444, which passed the House on June 7, 1926, by a vote of 138 to 28, but was never brought before the Senate for action; H. R. 10078 is now pending on the House calendar. If brought to vote before the end of the session it will undoubtedly pass the House, but as the end of the session is so near it is hardly likely that the Senate committee will report it out in time for the Senate to take action. The bill is very drastic—too drastic, many people think—in some of its provisions; it adds several classes of aliens to those already deportable under the immigration acts of 1917 and 1924, and it extends in most cases the period during which such aliens may be deported. Also it puts the burden of proof upon the alien to an even greater degree than at present, and removes certain regulations in deportation procedure which now safeguard the alien, inasmuch as they centralize responsibility in the administration of the law.

Whenever the subject of deportation comes up the Congress manifests a keen interest in it. It usually votes whatever appropriation is asked for deportation purposes. It is especially determined to prevent illegal entry of aliens, and it indorses heartily the border patrol and its work in excluding aliens who attempt to enter by fraud. Several bills have been introduced which aim to enlarge the patrol's activities. In view of this frame of mind it seems safe to predict that if not this session, surely at some time in the near future the Congress will pass a deportation act which will codify and clarify existing deportation provisions and which in all probability will add new grounds for deportation and will impose more severe penalties than are now in force.

For the relief of separated families.—At the National Conference of Social Work in Des Moines last year this division discussed at some length plans for the relief of the thousands of families separated as a result of the Immigration Act of 1924. Chiefly through the efforts of the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, a bill based largely on Division X's unofficial recommendations, was introduced during the present session in the House and in the Senate. In the House it was submitted by Mr. MacGregor (New York) as H. J. Res. 234, and in the Senate by Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts as S. J. Res. 122. Public hearings on the MacGregor bill and some seventeen other bills more or less like it were held by the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization March 27 and 28. At these hearings representatives of various national agencies engaged in work among the foreign born spoke in behalf of the MacGregor bill. It is also indorsed by the American Federation of Labor, by various church groups, and by other groups. The bill was not, however, reported favorably from the House Committee. Another bill, introduced by Representative Jenkins of Ohio (H. R. 12816), was somewhat amended and

adopted by the Committee instead. This bill is now pending on the House calendar and may be brought before the House of Representatives for vote any day. It is quite possible that it will pass the House and also that it will pass the Senate, if not this session, during the next session. Many members of both branches of Congress have declared themselves in favor of legislation which will solve this serious problem and will permit families to be reunited.

The Jenkins bill gives non-quota immigration status to the husband of an American citizen and also to the unmarried child, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, of an American citizen, who at present have preference quota status only. By removing these two classes of immigrants from the preference group, the bill will also be of help to parents of American citizens; they and "immigrants skilled in agriculture" will share the preference portion of the quotas (50 per cent). The other 50 per cent of the quota, plus any unused portion of the preference quota, is to be made available first to the wives, husbands, and unmarried children under twenty-one years of age "of aliens lawfully admitted to the United States for permanent residence."

The Jenkins bill is intended for permanent amendment of the Immigration Act of 1924, and there is no doubt that its provisions will be truly helpful in the future. However, in several South, Central, and East European countries where the quotas are small and the number of separated families very great, it will be years before the Jenkins bill will reunite families. Nothing but a bill that pools the quotas and permits visas to be issued to immigrant applicants without reference to nationality can bring full and speedy relief. There is this to be borne in mind: the Senate Committee has not yet taken action on the identical bill before it, S. J. Res. 122 (Walsh, Massachusetts), and there is therefore still hope. As social workers who know only too well the suffering and the evils that have arisen from the enforced separation of wife from husband and children from father, we will trust that the more liberal plan may prevail.

MEXICANS—AN INTERPRETATION

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One observer recently remarked: "There is a wider difference of opinion concerning the habits, customs, nature, disposition, and ability of the natives of Mexico and their descendants than there is concerning any other people, individual, or thing in existence, not even excepting the curing of colds or the merits of the Eighteenth Amendment."

Evident it is that the Mexican needs interpretation. Perhaps the first step in understanding may be to see him as a person rather than as a problem, to know not alone the mass, but the individual. Dean Swift, you will remember,

called mankind "the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the face of the earth." And Herman Melville remarked in *Moby Dick*, "Take mankind in mass, and for the most part, they seem a mob of unnecessary duplicates." George Lansbury, on the other hand, after interviewing the bolshevik leaders several years ago, reported: "They're not those horrible men with long whiskers that you imagine when you read the newspapers. They're just ordinary men like you and me." If one comes to know the Mexican, he sees the man under the uniform of sombrero and sarape and sandals.

The Mexican is human, and consequently somewhat mysterious; inscrutable, inexplicable, and uninterpretable to a large degree. Yet probably no more so than the rest of us. Acquaintance does serve to satisfy at least part of our curiosity about him. But what are the points about which we are most inquisitive? After rummaging about among our curiosities and rearranging them more or less I wonder how many we shall find to be covered by three questions:

First, what of his color? Sometimes it is white, but more often it is olive or bronze or something between, that is, the average Mexican laborer who comes to us has more or less Indian blood. No one knows how much, but whatever the proportion, what does it mean, let us ask, in mental capacity? For in physical stamina, though he suffers frequent ill health, the Mexican gives a respectable account of himself. Paschal and Sullivan, in a study of 400 Mexican children at Tucson, Arizona, suggest the conclusion that Tucson Mexicans who are partially of Indian origin have a lower mental score, a lower social and economic status, and a lower school standing in grade than do those who are wholly of white origin. These tests, in company with others made by Garth, Sheldon, Koch, and Simmons at various points in the Southwest, give the Mexican child an I.Q. ranging from 83 to 89, as compared (according to Garth) with an average of 75 for the Negro, 98 and 99 for the Chinese, and 100 for the white.

Of course, in view of the limited number of cases covered and the experimental character of the technique employed, their results are not claimed to be conclusive. A Mexican student suggests that the tests which have been applied can hardly be considered adequate or satisfactory for the mentality of the Mexican child, since they were prepared for American children and are, therefore, likely to be valueless and unilateral when applied to Mexican children.

In contrast to their findings may be cited the results attained at the Leona Grammar School at Van Nuys, California. This is a purely Mexican school, and a great majority of the children have more or less Indian blood. During a testing period of seven months, under a carefully studied program, the pupils in this school made an average gain of 13 months in arithmetic, 20 months in spelling, and 10 months in reading comprehension. The grand average gain for all grades during the seven months was 14 months, or an acceleration of 100 per cent over the average rate of progress. And this for a purely Mexican school.

The color of the Mexican and its significance we may still hesitate to interpret very authoritatively. Suffice it now to say that his Indian blood comes to him from a family which in the past climbed to remarkable achievement (witness the astounding ruins scattered throughout Mexico), but which latterly has fallen on evil days. It remains for the coming years to tell how much this family will predetermine our Mexican's future course of conduct.

Second, the Mexican's notably close cooperation with our social agencies also excites our question mark. Perhaps the most careful and comprehensive study of this was made by the California Conference of Social Work some two or three years ago. Its results have received considerable publicity. Here was a group, in Los Angeles for example, which comprised at the outside not more than 10 per cent of the total population. But members of this group furnished 43 per cent of the cases in the General Hospital, and almost the same percentage in the cases of the bureau of municipal nursing and the division of child welfare. In the outdoor relief division of the county charities more than 25 per cent of the cases came from this group. And so we might go on for other agencies in Los Angeles and for other points in the states. The Mexican very frequently (though in justice it must be said not always) is responsible for more than his proportionate share of the community's indigency and ill health.

Why is this so? One observer has pointedly remarked: "We want the Mexican as a cheap laborer, and yet we blame him for the problems which cheap labor always presents." That is, the problem of Mexican dependency and sickness is not so much a racial or national problem (depending on whether we think of Mexicans as a racial or national group) as it is an industrial problem. It is the cheap labor group, whatever its nationality or race, which loads upon our agencies the greater part of the burden of our social ills. The unskilled laborer is poorly paid, often irregularly paid; he is ignorant; he suffers from wretched housing; he is ill fed. These conditions mold the Mexican, just as they do any other unskilled group. Their presence guarantees their consequences.

The Mexican's past of poverty must also be kept in mind. Throughout the latter centuries he has been invariably a poor man. Material possessions have not enriched his life; neither have spiritual possessions: education, leisure, an environment of culture, a free outlook on the world around. That he has not been crushed into an animal, that his spirit has expressed itself in the beauty of his pottery and blankets and folk songs, can be taken as an indication that there is something unconquerable about his hungry soul. His past also has given him no training in thrift; debt was his usual portion. Having nothing to save, he never learned how.

The factor of unstable or seasonal employment explains much. The railroads and the beets are the two agencies which more than any others have served to draw the Mexican across the line and scatter him throughout the country. It is worth noting that the railroads want him, as a rule, from March to October, and the beet growers, roughly, for the same period. What he does

the rest of the year does not as a rule interest them. He is supposed to go back to Mexico, and in many cases he does. But very often he does not. He drifts into the cities to pass the winter; jobs are scarce, his money goes, and he appeals to the charities. Result, one more Mexican case. In California a regular cycle of seasonal crops runs practically throughout the year: oranges, beets, cantaloupes, walnuts, cotton, etc. Ideally it would seem that our Mexican could enjoy steady employment for twelve months. In reality he spends one-third of his time looking for work, and only two-thirds actually on a paying job. Need we wonder that the social agencies have to supplement the wages paid by the employer? The tariff is not the only way we subsidize certain industries. One further point may be mentioned illuminating the Mexican's recourse to our charities. As Park has pointed out, his is the least organized of all our immigrant groups. Contrast him with the Pole or the Japanese, for example, and the difference at once is evident. We must recognize that he is a graduate from a society of authority; he has always been taught to work *under*; he has yet to learn to work *with*. When free from authority he is individualistic. Only slowly will he learn the art of team play and of organized self help.

We have asked about the significance of his color and of his close cooperation with our social agencies. Now, finally, what of his citizenship possibilities? Here he is in large numbers; with his children his tribe may number one million and a half. He is here to stay. What sort of a comrade for building the new America will he prove himself?

We note at once that up to the present he has not manifested outwardly any marked enthusiasm toward the future job. To paint his picture with a petition for American citizenship in his hand would hardly be in accord with realism. In Los Angeles, where live at least 100,000 Mexicans in all probability, not more than two or three a year file petitions for naturalization. El Paso, with 50,000 Mexicans, has naturalized perhaps 25 during the past five years.

The reasons for this situation are various and sundry, and time is not available to list them adequately. One outstanding factor is the color prejudice against him. If he does take out his papers, his status is not appreciably improved. Too often we do not want to share America with him; that is, our portion of America, our part of town, the school of our children, our club or trade union or social group.

Another factor is the nearness of Mexico. When he enters the United States no ocean bars his return to the homeland. He crosses the line almost as casually as the resident of New Jersey enters New York City. And he may not intend to remain permanently, any more than does the commuter. He always thinks he can go back, to satisfy that deep seated passion for his beloved *tierra*. In many cases he does go back. But often here he settles and here his children are born. Of the three thousand Mexican school children in Imperial Valley, California, a section touching immediately upon the boundary, one-half

have been born in the United States. Of the 23,000 Mexican school children in Los Angeles, 70 per cent were born on American soil. These children are American, and they do not want to go back. If they are reasonably healthy and reasonably bright, what may we expect from them? Will these United States call forth in their hearts the same passionate devotion which their fathers felt for Mexico?

That depends in part on whether they have a home; that is, a home whose foundations are not the wheels of a Ford car, but some solid permanent stones, no rolling ones permitted. When the Mexican has a steady job and can settle down in one place, then he has a chance at America and America has a chance at him. In a small town on the American side of our southern border the secretary of the chamber of commerce was talking, while we listened. He knew the Mexican laborer from long experience. "Of course," announced his commanding voice, "you can't expect him to lift himself as I have done; he is not that sort." The dictum was accompanied by a brief sketch of how a boiler-maker had attained to a swivel chair. Then followed remarks about the Mexican not all to the advantage of the absent gentleman. But at the end came a turn in the tide of sentiment, and the judgment concluded: "After all, the Mexican has his good points; he certainly is homogeneous. There is nothing he loves so much as his home." The Mexican does love his home; and if America can help him to a better one, the service will not go unappreciated. Let the Mexican establish here a real home, let his children profit from our schools; let him escape from the tendency to colonize which the continuing large immigration fosters, so that he can touch the real America, and we may have some ground for faith in his citizenship possibilities. Real loyalty will only come when he finds his material and spiritual place among us; the assumption of citizenship follows as the outward expression of an inward attitude.

At the start we were reminded that the Mexican is human, which means that he is equipped with a full share of human frailties, but also with a capacity to grow. If America can afford him the opportunity to grow in healthy and constructive fashion I am inclined to believe that the result will not be disappointing. Bill Nye once had a lecture on milk in which his only reference to the subject was the remark that the best thing he knew on it was cream. After seven years acquaintance with the Mexican question, may I confess that the best thing I know on it is the Mexican himself.

WORLD MIGRATION

WORLD MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

D. Christie Tait, International Labor Office, Geneva

As long as people desire to move from one country to another in order to reside temporarily or permanently in the latter and work there, and as long as there are countries able and willing to receive immigrants, this movement of human beings will inevitably raise innumerable problems for which a solution must be found, either by the different countries acting separately and perhaps inconsistently with one another, or by agreement among the various governments concerned. There are great political and economic interests at stake on all sides, but at the same time it must never be forgotten that the migrant is a human being and that his welfare is one factor of immense importance in dealing with this question.

From time immemorial man has moved about on this planet, urged as a rule by the pressure of population on the means of subsistence or by a simple desire for adventure. It would be a fascinating study to trace the history of migration from the earliest time to the present day, and to determine the different motives in operation; but that is not the task of this gathering, and I must pass on to the modern movement as we know it. This, also, has a history of quite respectable dimensions, since it may be said to take its rise in the early colonization of the New World which followed the discovery of America and which developed rapidly as the means of transport were improved.

Countries of emigration were, however, by no means pleased to see their citizens departing overseas, and as time went on many restrictions were placed on emigration, down to the early part of the nineteenth century. Then, under the influence of the individualistic movement, migration became free and governments bothered very little about it. But it is interesting to note two things: first, that the United States, as the principal immigration country in the world at that time, became concerned about the conditions under which the immigrants were transported, as the supervision of those conditions provided a means of insuring the arrival of sound, healthy immigrants; and second, that practically all the problems of today were being discussed in the United States as early as the twenties and thirties of last century: fear of an influx which would upset the labor market, fear of unhealthy and otherwise undesirable elements penetrating into the country, etc. But I am digressing, and you can obtain far more information than I can give you on that subject from the excellent source books prepared by Professor Edith Abbott, who has rendered an immense service in bringing to light a great many little known or unknown facts on this question.

Migration, as I have said, was free and unfettered during the nineteenth century, but with the dawn of the twentieth century governments once more

intervened, either for the purpose of excluding undesirable immigrants from the immigration countries or protecting emigrants from unscrupulous agents and exploitation in the emigration countries. Since the war these pre-war tendencies have been strengthened, and at the same time certain new ideas have come to the front and have engaged the attention of governments both of immigration and emigration countries. In the first place immigration countries have considerably strengthened their regulations restricting the admission of those who for any reason are considered undesirable, and steps have been taken in particular to restrict the number of immigrants in such a way as not to upset the conditions of the home labor market. The trade unions have been prominent in putting forward this idea, but they have also received support from the governments to a large extent. In the emigration countries the regulations which existed for the protection of the emigrants have been strengthened, but at the same time a new tendency has made itself felt, namely, a desire to control emigration, not only in the interest of the emigrant himself, but also of the country to which he belongs.

It must be remembered that at the time when immigration countries have found it necessary to restrict the numbers entering their territory the need of emigration countries to find outlets for their emigrants has not diminished at all. There are many countries which have a large and rapidly growing population from which emigrants are proceeding to other parts of the world. These countries are mainly in Europe, but we must also include certain Asiatic countries such as Japan, China, and India, and certain American countries, such as Mexico and some of the West Indian islands. Some of these emigrants may not move very far; Mexicans come mainly to the United States, for example; but as soon as migrants cross an international frontier problems are raised which are similar in character, whether the migrants go ten miles or ten thousand miles. On the other hand many countries in all parts of the world are desirous of attracting both capital and labor in order to develop their resources more adequately than is possible without immigration. This is, of course, partly true of the United States, but it is still more true of the Argentine, Brazil, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. To a large extent, therefore, emigration and immigration countries have the same aim in view, namely, the transference of population from one country to another, and it may seem surprising at first sight that there should be any difficulty in bringing about agreement between these two sets of countries. That there is such a difficulty, however, has been proved by a series of conferences which have been held since the war on this subject. In 1921 the emigration countries met to determine a common policy; in 1924 the immigration countries did the same; and in the same year a big international conference on migration was held at Rome at the invitation of the Italian government. One of the outstanding features of that conference was a proposal to set up a new international organization to deal with migration. This was not realized, however, but it was decided to set up a committee

of governments to prepare for a second conference which as a matter of fact took place in Havana a few weeks ago.

These conferences have shown that while on the secondary questions agreement between countries is not difficult to obtain, on the really fundamental questions agreement is not so easy at the present moment. For example, immigration countries in general want immigrants not only as laborers but as a permanent addition to their population, and they therefore claim that immigrants should be assimilated as rapidly as possible. This meets with opposition from emigration countries, many of which desire their emigrants to go abroad but to remain citizens of their own country, to live as far as possible in closed communities, to have their children taught in the language of their parents, to send back savings to their relatives at home, and, generally speaking, to live as closely in touch with their country of origin as possible.

This is the sort of problem which it seems to me is capable of a solution satisfactory to all parties, but this solution is not at present in sight, with the result that both emigration and immigration countries adopt a policy of restricting the movement of migrants. Thus, while restrictions are imposed on the admission of immigrants, and particularly of certain nationalities, in a number of countries, emigration countries are also adopting restrictive measures on the emigration of their nationals, so that a situation arises in which the movement of migrants is severely curtailed, not merely on the ground of health and economic considerations, but for reasons of a political character. As an example I might mention the fact that Italian policy has recently undergone a complete change; it is now aimed at keeping Italians at home and allowing only a small number to migrate. A similar tendency is noticeable in certain other countries. I think there is a tendency in all this to lose sight somewhat of the interest of the migrant himself who does not want to go to an overstocked labor market but who is probably content to decide for himself whether he will be assimilated or not. I am of course taking no side in the controversy; my only interest in the matter is to see it settled.

Questions of far reaching importance were discussed at the International Parliamentary Commercial Conference at Rio de Janeiro in September last. On that occasion a plan was put forward for an international governmental organization for the international distribution of labor, and an Italian delegate said that he thought the South American countries should give certain guaranties to Italian immigrants concerning their conditions of life, access to agricultural land, insurance against sickness and accident, the use of Italian for teaching the immigrant's children, and the right of Italians to exercise their rights as Italian citizens. This plan, which received general support from the delegates of other emigration countries, was severely criticized by those who spoke for immigration countries. The latter pointed out that any international body set up must have only advisory functions and not executive functions. The granting of the guaranties desired would mean the granting of privileges

to the immigrants in question and would lead to conflicts between the immigrants and the population. What the immigration countries wanted was immigrants who came to stay, and they desired to insure their progressive assimilation. There is therefore a fundamental cleavage between emigration and immigration countries which has certainly led to a slowing up of the migration current and a slowing up of the development, and particularly the colonization, of many immigration countries.

These important questions were hardly discussed at the Havana Conference, partly because the conference was unprepared for such a discussion and the delegates were without instructions on the subject, and partly because a serious discussion on such matters at the present time might easily have broken up the whole conference. I think that is a regrettable fact, but it is undoubtedly true, in spite of the fact that the Havana Conference concluded no international treaties, but simply made recommendations to the participating governments.

I have not said anything about the racial question, although this is also a burning one. Immigration countries are tending to exclude certain races or to restrict the admission of certain nationalities. That is true, not only of the United States, but also of the British Dominions, which are stimulating British, and to some extent Northern European, immigration and restricting immigration from elsewhere.

The South American countries, on the other hand, have no such policy, and they admit a large number of Italians, Spaniards, Poles, other Eastern and Southern Europeans and Japanese (in Brazil). There is, in fact, a kind of regionalism in migration, the Northern and Western Europeans going to the United States, and the British Dominions, the Eastern and Southern Europeans going to South America, and the Japanese going to Brazil. I merely note this as a fact, and am not discussing whether it is a desirable fact or not.

Of course there are large migratory movements that I have not said anything about, such as Indians to Ceylon and Malaya, Chinese to Malaya, West Indians to Cuba and Central America, and Mexicans to the United States. Although except for the last of these they are not so often mentioned as the movement of the Europeans and Japanese that I have spoken about, they are important movements involving very large numbers of people. Sometimes these movements lead to acute controversy, as for example in the case of the Jamaicans in Cuba in 1921 and 1922. That question, however, was adjusted by discussion between the two governments.

This brings me to another point, namely, the international discussion of migration problems. These problems inevitably affect at least two countries, and in many cases more, such as the transit country, the country whose flag is on the ship transporting the migrant, etc. In the international institutions at Geneva we have started to survey the whole migration field, and we are, I

think, in a good position to say what points are ripe to serve as a basis for international recommendations.

But the mere suggestion that migration should be dealt with internationally has given rise to objections. It is said that migration is a domestic question, and not an international question. This is a matter of the highest political importance, but I do not propose to discuss here whether migration as a political question can be brought before the League of Nations or not. That is a different problem altogether. So far as the International Labor Office is concerned, however, the declaration referred to appears to be of quite secondary importance. We spend our time discussing matters which, like hours of labor, social insurance, unemployment, native labor, etc., have always been considered as domestic questions, and if they are now regarded as international questions that is because the nations of the world are making up their minds to pursue their ideals of social progress as far as possible along parallel lines. Nobody cries out that these are domestic questions which we must not touch. Why? Because they are not primarily political questions, but primarily social and economic questions.

There is a lesson to be learned there. If we can separate the social and economic aspects of migration from the purely political aspects we shall have taken a big step forward toward settling this very ticklish question. I believe that when immigration countries say that migration is a domestic question they mean that they wish to determine the number of immigrants the country can absorb and is willing to admit and the kind of immigrants it requires. We cannot interfere in those matters, and have no desire to do so. But there remains a very large number of questions concerning the organization of such migration as is possible which can usefully be discussed internationally with great advantage to all parties concerned.

Let me now pass to what the International Labor Office has done and is doing. What rôle can it play in this problem? In the nineteenth century migration was practically free and governments did not bother very much about it. It was left to the unfettered play of economic and other forces in accordance with the individualistic ideas of the period. There were certain advantages in this system, or lack of system, but there were undoubtedly grave disadvantages which, as the population of the world continued to increase with considerable rapidity, were more and more felt at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Countries both of emigration and of immigration commenced to regulate the movement, and this tendency since the war, with its revolutionary social and economic consequences, has been more marked than ever. There can be no question of returning to the unregulated conditions of the nineteenth century, but steps can be taken to insure the best organization of the movement by agreement between the countries concerned. I want to emphasize this definition of our work. It is not the business of the International Labor Office necessarily to further an increase in the number of

migrants, any more than it is to promote a smaller movement of migrants. The numbers must vary in accordance with economic and other conditions; and while it may be desirable to increase the number of migrants at one time, it may be desirable to decrease the number at another. If any country wishes its nationals to remain at home we have no right to intervene. If any country has no desire for labor or additional population, we have no right to intervene. But if, as is in fact the case, there are governments of emigration countries which desire to find openings for their nationals abroad, and governments of immigration countries which desire to attract labor, can we not do something to bring these countries together, and, as is sometimes said, "help to place the landless man on the manless land, or put the jobless man in touch with the manless job." This phrase, like most expressions of that kind, must not be taken too literally. It may suggest that the problem is a simple one, whereas in reality it is an exceedingly complicated one. For instance, there can be no question of taking the unemployed from one country to another. It is highly probable that immigration countries would protest and would say that they do not want the unemployed of other countries. That is not at all what is wanted. What is required is to find suitable workers in one country for whom there is a demand elsewhere, provided they fulfil all the requirements of the immigration country, and then to arrange for their transference in the best possible conditions and with the maximum guaranties that the economic needs of the country of immigration and the social needs of the workers concerned will be satisfied. I think it is of the utmost importance that there should be no possibility of misunderstanding on this point. Unless the workers transferred are suitable for the employment they are going to, and have every chance of making good, it would be not merely useless, but positively harmful, to transfer them, both to the immigration country and the migrants themselves. No doubt town workers can be adapted to agricultural work by training and experience; no doubt some people who fail to make good in an overcrowded country may be able to do very well in a newer and less crowded country; but it is absolutely necessary that every care be taken to insure that those who go comply with the necessary physical and mental conditions, skill, etc., to enable them to do well in the country of immigration. Migration is therefore not at all a transference of unemployed workers from one country to another, but migration may incidentally ease the employment situation in the country of emigration to a very considerable extent, while at the same time contributing to the economic development of the immigration country and the social wellbeing of the migrant.

Let me take an example from the British Empire, which may be considered as a world in miniature. There is Great Britain as an emigration country, the Dominions as immigration countries; there is India as an emigration country, Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula as immigration countries, two good examples of oversea and continental migration respectively. In each case the

movement is regulated to a considerable extent by agreement, although there are not always signed pacts. There are periodical imperial conferences at which migration, among other questions, is discussed, and efforts are made to find the best means of "redistributing the white population of the Empire." A series of agreements has been concluded by Great Britain with Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Southern Rhodesia, the object of which is to organize migration within the Empire with the financial assistance of the governments concerned.

It will be said that only assisted migration is involved, and that much voluntary emigration takes place which is subject to no official control in the emigration country, namely, Great Britain. No doubt but more and more people are being brought under these assisted passage and land settlement schemes as the result of a systematic policy based on agreement between different parts of the Empire. There may be symptoms of dissatisfaction from labor quarters in Australia; there may be some disappointment in Great Britain that progress has not been more rapid than it has; but apart from that there is little objection to what has been done. Great Britain is sending out her sons and daughters to populate the Empire. The Dominions are receiving a large number of immigrants of British stock, and developing their resources. Shipowners are naturally satisfied as more migrants are carried. Why cannot the world as a whole put forward a similar effort of organization?

The first International Labor Conference held at Washington in 1919 recommended the appointment of an International Emigration Commission which, "while giving due regard to the sovereign rights of each state, should consider and report what measures could be adopted to regulate the emigration of workers and to protect the interests of wage earners residing in countries other than their own." There is our problem in a nutshell. The words of the Washington Resolution might perhaps be paraphrased as: first, investigation of the possibilities of employment in different countries, and second, the protection of the migrant. The methods are essentially research, the preparation of texts of draft conventions and recommendations for discussion at the annual conference, and cooperation with other bodies in connection with certain aspects of the question.

The conference has already dealt with a number of questions connected with migration, namely, the collective recruiting of foreign workers, reciprocity of treatment for foreign workers, communication of statistical and other information to the International Labor Office, equality of treatment of nationals and aliens in respect of workmen's compensation, and the simplification of the inspection of emigrants on board ship. There is also an article in the draft convention concerning unemployment, adopted by the first session of the International Labor Conference at Washington in 1919, which says that the operations of the various national and public employment exchange systems should be coordinated by the International Labor Office in agreement with the

countries concerned. This draft convention has been ratified by some twenty countries and steps are now being taken to collect and make available to those who are interested regular information concerning the supply and demand in the labor markets of the different countries based on reports sent in by the governments. This activity can, I think, be extended, and the International Labor Office become to a considerable extent an intermediary between the emigration and immigration countries, subject, of course, to the full agreement of the governments concerned. I do not think there can be any question of transforming the International Labor Office into a kind of international employment exchange. That is not at all the direction in which I see the organization developing its activity on this question. But I think that by extending its information service concerning the employment situation in various countries it can contribute a great deal to the organization of a satisfactory migration movement. The right of immigration countries to control the number and kind of immigrants they are prepared to receive would be left absolutely intact, and the function of the International Labor Office would simply be to act as intermediary between the applicants for employment in one country (who, it should be noted, are not necessarily unemployed persons) and the vacancies suitable for those applicants in another. It is interesting to recall that a system on similar lines existed immediately after the war between Great Britain and Canada. Applications for labor which could not be satisfied in the Dominion were transmitted to London, and if suitable applicants were available they were recommended to the Canadian authorities. It is true that this system was not continued, but that was largely due, I believe, to the fact that the demand for labor in Canada at that time was comparatively small. Now migration from Great Britain to Canada is being carried out largely by means of nominations, which may be made not only by individuals and private organizations but also by the government itself. This is really an adaptation of the earlier system, which may therefore be considered as having proved successful. Interesting suggestions on the subject of the coordination of employment exchange systems have also been made in this country.

On the research side the International Labor Office also has a respectable harvest: the volume analyzing the migration laws and treaties, of which a second edition in three volumes is now being published; our international statistical reports, which it is intended to keep up to date and issue as frequently as possible; our "Monthly Record of Migration," which gives the most recent information concerning migration in all parts of the world. We also publish the texts of laws and regulations as part of the "Legislative Series" of the office. We have prepared special reports for such purposes as the Economic Conference of May, 1927, and we have prepared in cooperation with the United States National Bureau of Economic Research a historical survey of migration statistics from the beginning of such statistics in each country.

By means of these publications we are already, I think, contributing to a

good organization of migration. There is nothing more important in a matter of this kind than to make known as quickly as possible to those concerned in the movement at close quarters, such as governments, transport companies, voluntary societies, and, above all, the migrants themselves, the latest information concerning changes in laws, regulations, etc. This is a service which I believe is capable of being extended and made still more useful. More information might, for instance, be given, as I have already suggested, on the applications for employment and the demand for labor in different countries as soon as the International Labor Office receives regularly the material necessary for the purpose.

What are the conclusions to which our research has led us? To my mind it shows one thing above all others. In spite of all difficulties, in spite of the controversy about domestic and international aspects of the migration problem, steady progress is being made in the conclusion of agreements regulating migration from one country to another. Of the three volumes we are issuing on migration laws and treaties, the third volume is devoted entirely to international conventions and agreements. It is by no means a thin book which can be carried in the waistcoat pocket. These agreements dealt originally only with the movement within a single continent. Thus France, which since the war has been one of the principal immigration countries in the world, has regulated practically all its immigration by agreements with other European States (Belgium, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland). Similar agreements concerning seasonal migration for agricultural work regulate the movement from Czechoslovakia to Austria and from Poland to Germany. These agreements generally provide for equality of treatment of the foreign and national workers, and they deal with questions of social insurance, wages, savings, right of association, etc. They are often supplemented by model contracts of employment. This continental movement is not at all the same thing as oversea migration, but nevertheless the regulation of migration in these countries by means of official international agreements, providing for recruiting through official employment exchanges or other official bodies, and providing for the necessary supervision by the authorities of both countries concerned is very important. It is, however, not exclusively the continental movement which is regulated in this way. Agreements are now being negotiated with reference to oversea migration.

A striking example is to be found in the agreement which was signed by Polish and Brazilian delegates on February 19, 1927, concerning the migration of Polish agricultural workers to the state of Sao Paulo. It provided for 3,000 families of Polish agricultural workers to be admitted to Sao Paulo in the course of 1927 for employment on coffee plantations, and in December of each year the government of Sao Paulo will inform the Polish government of the number of Polish agricultural immigrants who may be admitted to the state during the following year. The agreement contains detailed provisions regu-

lating the movement from Poland to Sao Paulo, model agreements for settlers and workers employed on coffee plantations in Sao Paulo, and agreements concluded by the Polish government with the Sao Paulo Immigration and Colonization Society. The main agreement between the governments was concerned, not only with wage earning employment, but with land settlement (and this is particularly significant), and the Department of Labor of Sao Paulo undertakes to inform the Polish Emigration Office of available land in the state, and in particular cases to give priority to Polish families which have worked for at least two years on a plantation. Further details of this agreement are given in the "Monthly Record of Migration" for February and March, 1928. I have referred to it at some length because in its underlying principles I believe it to be an instrument of the utmost importance in showing the modern tendencies in the regulation of migration. Here we have a striking example of a transference of labor taking place by agreement between a country which is seeking openings for its nationals and another country which is seeking labor to develop its resources, while provision is at the same time made for land settlement.

As soon as the emigration or immigration country which has concluded a bilateral agreement of this kind desires to enter into a similar agreement with another country, difficulties may arise. The third country may desire to adopt new principles and may not be willing to accept a text which it has had no part in elaborating. For that reason bilateral agreements are not sufficient. Some general discussion in which all the interested persons can take part with a view to laying down certain principles underlying such agreements is, I think, desirable, and in that direction the International Labor Office can again offer its services. It is, of course, impossible to go beyond broad principles in a multilateral convention or recommendation, and the detailed application must always be left to the two countries primarily concerned.

In conclusion let me sum up briefly. The International Labor Office is concerned only with social and economic aspects of migration, to the exclusion of political aspects. Its object is to investigate possibilities of employment in different parts of the world and to further the protection of migrants. Its means are research, the publication of information concerning migration, and the discussion of questions within its competence at the International Labor Conference and in the Migration Committee, and cooperation with other organizations working on special aspects of the problem. In that work it must cooperate with others and it hopes that others will cooperate with it.

If we can make an advance along such lines as those we shall, I believe, do much to stimulate the economic progress of the world; we shall be helping in the solution of an acute social problem; and we shall in the long run be facilitating, so far as lies within our powers in connection with one very big question, the preservation of world peace, which is the fundamental object of the League of Nations as a whole.

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

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Migration from the country to the city has been one of the outstanding features of change in the population of the United States for several decades. As a movement of our population it has been equaled only by the westward migration which resulted in the settlement of the Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountain area. These two migrations have a common origin, though one happened to manifest itself on a large scale at about the time the other was declining in importance. It is a general tendency of a farming population, especially in a new country, to increase so rapidly that only a part of the children can find profitable occupation on the farms which they inherit from their fathers. There is, therefore, a natural overflow, a part of each generation who must leave the farms on which they have grown up unless the land is to become unduly burdened with people. From this surplus the two major migrations of native Americans have come.

In the early days the overflow from the older farming areas was split into two currents, the larger seeking new farms in the West and the smaller seeking the cities, which even then were gaining rapidly in importance, especially as the construction of the railroads made possible a greater and greater volume of commerce and a more extensive specialization in productive industry. Throughout nearly the whole of the first century of our national existence, or so long as new land was still available for settlement, this relation was maintained, with a gradual increase in the fraction of the migrating population which went to the cities.

One difference in the character of the two currents of migration may be noted. The migration to the new farm lands was made up to a great extent of whole families moving westward with their stock and equipment to continue their accustomed work of cultivating the soil. The migration to the cities was made up more largely of young unmarried persons eager to try their fortunes in new and unaccustomed occupations amid unfamiliar surroundings. The rapidly growing cities gained a population, therefore, which differed in many ways (aside from the superficial differences which grow out of city residence) from the population of the new agricultural settlements, and still more from that which remained in the older rural areas from which both migrating groups had come.

By the year 1900 practically all of the free land had been occupied, and from this time on there was left only one outlet for the surplus rural population. The many sided significance of this change—of the disappearance of the frontier, which marked the end of our period of geographic expansion and the beginning of a period of intensive development—has been for the most part overlooked, not only by people in general, but even by some of our sociologists.

Its effect in turning increasing numbers of the younger generation toward the city is only one, though not by any means the least important, of its many social consequences.

In general, the increasing movement of the population toward the cities, which resulted from the passing of the free land era, seems to have attracted notice before much attention was paid to the changing land situation itself. Even as early as 1900 both the increasing numbers and the selective character of the cityward migration had been noted. One of the results was a period of agitation for a movement "back to the land." The notion that people ought to go back to the land was based mainly, it would seem, on a sentimental desire to maintain the whole rural population, without regard to the question of whether its maintenance was either necessary or desirable. The fact that the movement away from the land has continued at an increasing rate bears witness to the lack of any real need for more people on the land.

To speak merely of the existence of a surplus in the rural population which must find an outlet in some direction is to tell only one side of the story, however. If there had been no change in the organization of industry, in the distribution of tasks between the farms and the factories, for example, the rural surplus would have been far less than it has been. And in many other ways there has grown up an actual, positive demand for more workers in urban industries. In other words, the cities have been actively seeking new people, not merely receiving in passive fashion the surplus that was no longer needed in the country.

Looking at this side of the question we may distinguish several reasons why the population of our country should become more and more urban and less and less rural, or at least less and less agricultural. In the first place, with the increasing use of machinery on farms and with improved stock and improved technique in farming, there has been a constant increase in the output of farm products per person engaged in agriculture. This means that a constantly decreasing percentage of the whole number of gainfully employed persons will be able to supply the needs of the whole population for agricultural products.

Second, many of the productive activities of the old time farms, including some of the farming processes, have been transferred from the farms to city factories. Spinning and weaving and the making of clothing for the family need not be mentioned. Even the making of butter for farm consumption is now done rather largely in factories. The farmer whose grandfather split rails for fences now purchases factory made wire fence or fence wire and puts up in a few days as much fence as many weeks of labor would have produced under earlier conditions. This process transfers most of the work of making a fence from the farm to the city factory. In order to pay for the fence wire, however, the farmer must raise larger quantities of some crop for sale in the city market. Here is a significant example of the progress of agriculture toward a

money economy (in contrast with the self sufficing economy of pioneer days) and toward an integration with other industries.

Further, not only has there been a gradual transfer of one time farm activities to city factories, so that the old standard of living is maintained under a new distribution of productive activity; but with the gradual improvement in the standard of living there has come an ever increasing demand for additional factory products, without any appreciable increase in the demand for farm products. The new ways of living require automobiles and radio sets, sanitary plumbing and electric lights, household machinery and telephones, silk hose and automatic cigar lighters, daily newspapers in forty page editions, and toys without number both for the children and for some of the grown-ups. But the people of the present day consume materially less wheat per capita than did their fathers or grandfathers, and little if any more of potatoes or meat or of the majority of farm products. The consumption of fresh vegetables has increased, particularly the consumption of southern grown vegetables in northern cities; but this and the few other similar cases represent only a small fraction of the total demand for farm products. Measured in calories, the per capita consumption of all human foodstuffs is considerably lower than it was a generation or two ago, partly because men perform much less heavy manual labor than they did at that time and partly because of changing habits of diet.

There is therefore no demand for increasing per capita supplies of food products. In fact, with the decreased consumption of feedstuffs by work animals, as the number of these grows less through replacement by motorized transportation, there is probably just now an annual decrease in the total demand for food products, in spite of an increase in the population amounting to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per year.

The movement of the population from agriculture and other rural occupations to urban occupations seems, therefore, to be one which we must expect to continue at a rather rapid rate for some time to come. This does not necessarily mean a continuation of the movement from rural residence to urban residence, for we have had, especially within the last ten or fifteen years, a rapid development of suburban residential areas and also a considerable increase in the number of urban workers who live in the open country. This last movement is partly the result of a temporary condition in the real estate market, for in many localities it has been possible to purchase a farm, including a satisfactory dwelling, within two or three miles of a factory town or city at a price considerably less than the cost of a similar dwelling in the town or city. As a consequence many city workers have purchased these farms and use them mainly as places of residence, going to and from their work by automobile. So far as occupation is concerned, these men are still city men. The question as to whether they should be classified as a part of the urban population or of the rural is one of the problems which we have to face in connection with the next census.

We have reviewed some outstanding features of the cityward movement of the population in terms which might be based simply upon general observation. The next demand will be without doubt for some quantitative measurement of the movement. The census figures, which afford our principal quantitative index of population growth and movement, are inventory figures; and inventory figures furnish only indirect information as to income and outgo. The census inventory does give the net result of the movement of population, however, with some indication of its direction and character.

First to be mentioned are the census classifications of the population as rural and urban. Under the earliest of these classifications the urban group included only those persons living in cities of 8,000 or over. These figures are available for the whole period of our national existence, beginning with the first census in 1790. In that year there were only 6 cities having more than 8,000 inhabitants, and these cities contained only 3.3 per cent of the total population. In 1850 there were 85 such cities, containing 12.5 per cent of the population; and in 1920 the number of these cities had increased to 924, containing 43.8 per cent of the population.

It was evident that many cities of less than 8,000 were strictly urban in their characteristics and ought to be transferred to the urban classification. Recent census reports have therefore classified as urban the population of all of those cities or other incorporated places having 2,500 inhabitants or more. The figures under this classification are available for the several census years back to 1880, at which time 28.6 per cent of the population was urban. In 1920 the percentage of urban had increased to 51.4, and it might be said for the first time that more people lived in the cities than in the country.

All of the earlier urban-rural classifications seem to have been made primarily to throw light on the number and characteristics of the people living in the cities, while the rural population appeared as a sort of by-product, including all that was left after the urban population had been taken out of the total. In 1920 a new classification was established, designed to give more definite information with regard to the population living outside the urban areas. This new classification made a separate group of the farm population,¹ which comprised 61 per cent of the rural population and 30 per cent of the total population.

So much for the general classifications which indicate the relative importance of the urban population as compared with the rural or agricultural population and show how rapidly the urban group has increased in relative importance.

Another chapter in the census reports gives some information as to where the people living in each city on the census date have come from. This is the chapter in which the native population is classified according to state of birth. It would be desirable if this classification could go further and give not only the state of birth for each native person but also the city or county of birth.

¹ See *Fourteenth Census Reports*, Vol. V, chap. xiv, "Farm Population"; and also *Census Monograph VI, Farm Population of the United States, 1920*.

It would be practically impossible to tabulate the data in such great detail, however, so we must be satisfied, at least for the time being, with the statement which shows in what state persons were born.

This does not give any direct indication of the number of persons coming into a given city from the rural areas in the same state. For example, of the 95,338 persons constituting, in 1920, the native white population of the city of Memphis, 48,086 were born in the state of Tennessee. This number includes both those born in the city and those who had come into the city from other parts of the state, and is therefore not as significant as one might wish. The 15,186 white residents in Memphis who were born in Mississippi, however, can be counted for the most part as persons coming from rural areas into the city; and likewise with the 4,313 persons born in Arkansas, the 3,920 born in Kentucky, and the 3,000 born in Alabama. The figures for the Negro population of Memphis are perhaps even more indicative of migration from rural areas. The total Negro population in 1920 was 61,152. Of this number 21,998 had come in from Mississippi, 2,931 from Arkansas, 2,871 from Alabama, and 1,133 from Georgia.

Again, the native white population of Kansas City, amounting to 266,197, includes 133,587 persons born in Missouri, 34,693 persons born in the adjacent state of Kansas, 18,385 persons born in Illinois, 10,218 persons born in Iowa, and 5,000 or more persons born in Ohio, Indiana, New York, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania, respectively. The group who came into this city from Kansas doubtless includes considerable numbers born in Kansas City, Kansas, and the group from Illinois may include considerable numbers from Chicago. The 10,000 and more persons living in Kansas City who were born in Iowa may be taken, however, to represent persons born in farming communities who have migrated to the city; and much the same statement might be made with regard to the quota from Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky.

The native Negro population of Kansas City, amounting in all to 30,546, included only 13,068 born in the state of Missouri, supplemented by migration mainly from the cotton states in the South. The Negro population of St. Louis affords perhaps a more interesting illustration. Out of the total number, amounting to 69,753, only 25,603 were born in the state of Missouri, while 11,821 came from Mississippi, 9,973 from Tennessee, 3,702 from Kentucky, 3,646 from Alabama, 3,584 from Arkansas, and 3,252 from Illinois. The group classified as born in Illinois doubtless came in large part from the city of Chicago, but practically all of the other groups can safely be assumed to have come from the rural parts of the states to which they are credited. Table I gives similar figures for a number of selected cities.

Nearly every one of the twenty-odd classifications under which the results of the census of population are presented reveals characteristic differences between the rural and the urban groups, and one of these will throw some light on the rural-urban migrants included in the population of a city reported as born in the state where the city is located.

TABLE I

NATIVE POPULATION OF SELECTED CITIES, BY STATE OF BIRTH, 1920

NATIVE WHITE		NEGRO		NATIVE WHITE		NEGRO	
Chicago, Illinois				Philadelphia, Pennsylvania			
Total....	1,783,687	Total....	108,438	Total....	1,290,253	Total....	132,253
Ill.....	1,372,542	Ill.....	16,274	Pa....	1,125,302	Pa.....	39,701
N.Y....	51,496	Tenn...	13,813	N.J....	38,907	Va.....	31,106
Wis....	49,192	Miss...	12,786	N.Y....	32,441	Md.....	14,331
Ind....	43,803	Ala....	11,105	Md....	17,036	N.C....	10,129
Ohio...	39,686	Ky....	9,084	Del..	13,443	Ga.....	9,137
Mich...	35,420	Ga....	8,794	Mass..	7,658	S.C....	7,376
Pa....	30,636	La....	7,115	Va....	6,769	Del....	3,808
Iowa...	26,228	Mo....	5,056	Ohio..	6,371	Fla.....	3,522
Mo....	23,015	Ohio...	2,985	Ill....	4,295	N.J.....	2,915
Ky....	11,523	Other..	21,426	Conn..	3,407	Other...	10,228
Minn...	10,438			Other..	34,624		
Mass...	9,870						
Other..	79,838						
Detroit, Michigan				Cincinnati, Ohio			
Total.....	662,768	Total....	39,697	Total.....	328,270	Total.....	30,030
Mich....	442,365	Mich....	3,447	Ohio....	258,577	Ohio.....	7,328
Ohio....	38,367	Ga....	6,830	Ky.....	28,400	Ky.....	9,085
N.Y....	36,752	Ala....	5,830	Ind....	12,995	Ala.....	3,677
Pa.....	30,256	Tenn....	3,794	N.Y....	3,770	Ga.....	2,445
Ill.....	21,475	Ky.....	2,743	Pa.....	3,345	Tenn....	2,100
Ind.....	16,839	S.C....	1,948	Ill.....	2,911	Va.....	1,123
Ky.....	7,900	Ohio...	1,912	Tenn....	2,718	S.C.....	990
Mo.....	7,493	Miss...	1,871	W.Va..	1,888	N.C.....	841
Mass....	6,870	Va....	1,521	Mo.....	1,553	Other...	2,441
Wis.....	6,679	N.C....	1,050	Va.....	1,412		
Other....	47,772	Other...	8,751	Other...	10,701		
St. Louis, Missouri				Kansas City, Missouri			
Total.....	599,376	Total....	69,753	Total.....	266,197	Total.....	30,546
Mo.....	447,331	Mo....	25,603	Mo.....	133,587	Mo.....	13,068
Ill.....	62,931	Miss... 11,821		Kan....	34,693	Kan.....	3,075
Ind.....	9,783	Tenn... 9,973		Ill.....	18,385	Tex.....	2,679
Ohio....	9,212	Ky.... 3,072		Iowa...	10,218	Ark.....	1,995
Ky.....	9,116	Ala.... 3,646		Ohio....	8,438	Tenn....	1,595
N.Y....	7,652	Ark.... 3,584		Ind....	6,991	Okla....	1,167
Pa.....	5,679	Ill.... 3,252		N.Y....	5,599	Miss....	1,109
Tenn....	5,426	La.... 1,628		Ky.....	5,558	La.....	988
Iowa...	4,590	Other... 6,544		Pa.....	5,042	Ky.....	944
Kan....	3,645			Other...	37,686	Other...	3,926
Ark....	3,195						
Other...	30,816						
Memphis, Tennessee				Birmingham, Alabama			
Total.....	95,338	Total....	61,152	Total.....	102,466	Total.....	70,191
Tenn....	48,086	Tenn... 26,853		Ala....	68,458	Ala.....	58,866
Miss....	15,186	Miss... 21,998		Ga.....	8,160	Ga.....	5,397
Ark.....	4,313	Ark.... 2,931		Tenn....	6,184	Miss....	2,447
Ky.....	3,920	Ala.... 2,871		Miss...	3,334	Tenn....	869
Ala....	3,000	Ga.... 1,133		Ky.....	1,828	Other...	2,612
Mo.....	2,612	La.... 1,132		Ohio...	1,499		
Ill.....	2,599	Other... 4,234		Other...	13,003		
Other....	15,622						

The classification of the rural and urban population according to sex shows in general either an excess of females in the population of the cities or at least a much higher percentage of females than in the surrounding rural counties. This higher percentage is obviously the result of a more extensive migration of females than of males to the cities. If tables like that presented were made up separately for the male and female population of a city, one would note first of all a very considerable excess of females in the numbers returned as born in the state where the city is located. For example, the native white population of Cincinnati reporting Ohio as state of birth comprised 123,956 males and 134,621 females, an excess of 10,665 females. Since the additions to the population of Cincinnati by birth within the city limits would be approximately equally divided between the sexes, these 10,665 females must

TABLE II
FARM, VILLAGE, AND URBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
BY AGE, 1920

Class	All Ages	Under 15 Years	15-19 Years	20-44 Years	45-64 Years	65 Years and Over	Age Not Reported
<i>Number:</i>							
Total population...	105,710,620	33,612,442	9,430,556	40,555,543	17,030,165	4,933,215	148,699
Farm population...	31,614,269	12,141,076	3,289,414	10,085,973	4,675,341	1,403,797	18,668
Village population...	20,047,377	6,557,171	1,719,284	7,350,213	3,180,744	1,208,512	31,453
Urban population (excluding urban- farm).....	54,048,974	14,914,195	4,421,858	23,119,357	9,174,080	2,320,906	98,578
<i>Per cent distribution:</i>							
Total population...	100.0	31.8	8.9	38.4	16.1	4.7	0.1
Farm population...	100.0	38.4	10.4	31.9	14.8	4.4	0.1
Village population...	100.0	32.7	8.6	36.7	15.9	6.0	0.2
Urban population...	100.0	27.6	8.2	42.8	17.0	4.3	0.2

represent for the most part girls and women who have come into the city from other parts of the state, mainly, it may be assumed, from the rural communities.

The 12,995 residents of Cincinnati who were born in Indiana included 5,606 males and 7,389 females; and the 28,400 who were born in Kentucky included 13,288 males and 15,112 females. Those persons coming into the city, therefore, not only from other parts of the state of Ohio, but also from these two adjoining states, contained a considerable excess of females. A similar condition is shown in general by the tabulated figures for all of the cities, namely, a considerable excess of females in those persons born in the same state with the city and in some at least of the adjoining states.

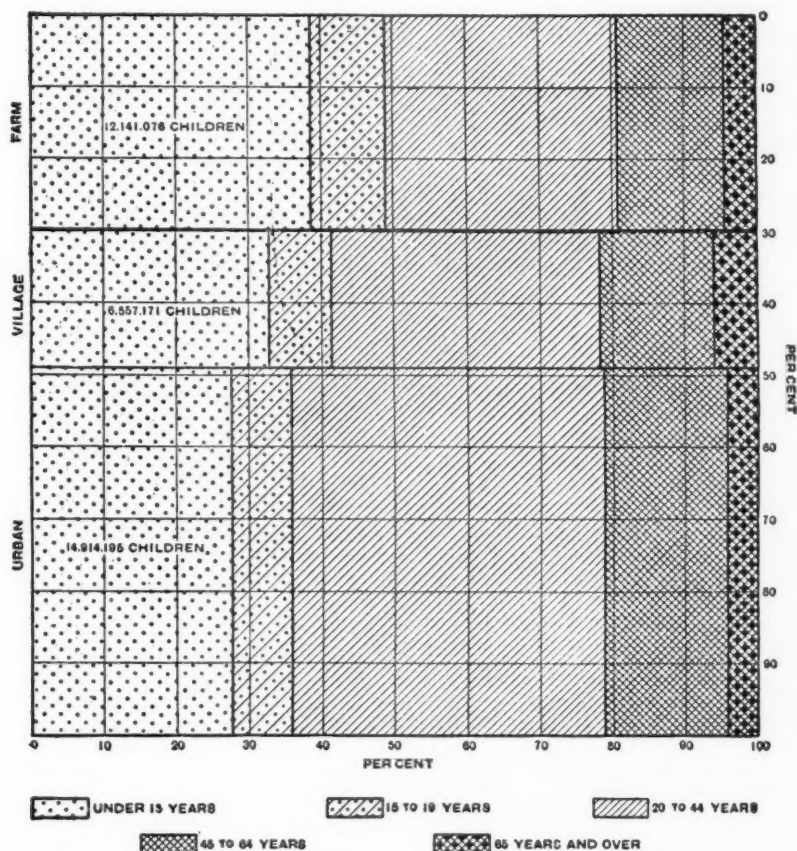
Another marked difference in composition between the urban population and the rural or agricultural population is in the age distribution. The urban population, by reason of the fact that it is always drawing from the rural areas young men and young women at the beginning of their period of productive

activity, shows a larger percentage of persons in the middle ranges of life, from 20 to 44 years of age, say; and a smaller percentage of children.

The age composition of the urban population, the farm population, and the village, or rural non-farm, population, is presented in Table II and shown in graphic form in the following diagram:

CHART I

FARM, VILLAGE, AND URBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY AGE: 1920



Nearly 40 per cent of the farm population in 1920 consisted of children under 15 years of age, while less than 30 per cent of the urban population were children. This contrast is brought out more sharply by comparing the ratios between the number of children and the number of adults in the middle age group (20-44 years of age) who might be termed potential parents. In the

farm population there were 1,204 children under 15 years of age per 1,000 persons from 20 to 44 years of age; in the urban population, only 645. This does not signify by any means that most of the children are to be found on the farms, for the number of children in the cities (14,914,195) was much in excess of the total number of farm children (12,141,076). The higher ratio of children per 1,000 adults in the farm population is partly the result of a higher birth rate on the farms, to be sure; but even more it must be the result of the departure from the farming areas of so many young persons just entering the period of adulthood. For while we have no actual statistics of farm birth rates, the birth rate in cities of 10,000 or more in 1925 (21.9 per 1,000 of the population) actually exceeded the rate in the balance of the registration area (20.9 per 1,000), so that we must abandon the idea of any very great differential between the farm birth rate and the city birth rate.

A study of the age and sex classification indicates not only that the migration to the city includes more girls than boys, but also that the girls make the change at an earlier age. In the farm population of the United States there is an excess of males throughout the series of age periods, while in the urban population there is a very marked excess of females in the age periods 15-19 and 20-24, with the balance returning in the period 25-34, probably toward the end of the period. This net excess of females is all the more significant because the foreign born population, which forms an important element in the cities outside the South, contains a marked excess of males, which would tend to offset the excess of females in the native population coming into the city from rural communities.

One very significant feature of the recent migration from country to city has been the migration of southern Negroes to northern cities. The information to be obtained from the census tabulations on this subject has already been so well presented by Dr. Joseph A. Hill² that it will be sufficient here to refer to two or three outstanding factors especially affecting city population. The whole number of Negroes in the northern states in 1920 was 1,472,309, of whom 737,423, or more than one-half, were born in the southern states. These northern Negroes are found for the most part in the large cities. Sixty per cent of all the Negroes in Illinois in 1920 were in Chicago; 68 per cent of the Negroes in Michigan were in Detroit; 75 per cent of the Negroes in New York state were in New York City; 60 per cent of the Negroes in Pennsylvania were in the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh; and 46 per cent of the Negroes in Ohio were in the three cities of Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Columbus. In most of the southern cities Negroes represented a smaller percentage of the total population in 1920 than in 1910. In many of the northern cities, however, the percentage shows a marked increase for the decade, increasing in Detroit from

² Joseph A. Hill, "Recent Northward Migration of the Negro," a paper read at the 18th annual meeting of the American Sociological Society and first published in the *Monthly Labor Review* for March, 1924.

1.2 per cent in 1910 to 4.1 per cent in 1920; in Chicago, from 2 per cent in 1910 to 4.1 per cent in 1920; and so on.

The limits of this paper permit the presentation of little more than a sample of the statistical material that is available on the subject of rural-urban migration. I hope, however, that the sample may at least have been sufficiently promising to arouse some interest in the further study of the supply of material from which the sample is taken.

Now, in conclusion, let me present briefly a qualitative classification of that part of the population which goes from the farming communities to the city. Three distinct types, it seems to me, are included. First, there is a group who are merely restless and hungry for excitement. These are happier and more useful in the city; and the country can well spare them. Second, there is a great army of those who are born to be followers rather than leaders, who work more efficiently and find greater happiness working under other men's direction, with a stated income not dependent on the exercise of their own judgment or enterprise. These are useful workers on the farms, but their service to society is doubtless greater in the city, where they work under superior direction. Third, there is a group made up of young men who seek the city because they feel that it offers greater opportunities: bigger tasks and bigger rewards. This group is very small in numbers, but it includes a large proportion of the most enterprising and energetic of the country born youth, in particular those who have in them the spirit of initiative. These are the ones the country and the farms can least afford to spare. By their going they often leave the country communities without competent leaders; and yet because the country offers but meager opportunities and meager rewards for leadership, as compared with the modern city, one would hesitate to hold them back.

Such an exchange of population would involve a movement of population from the cities to the farms balancing in part the continued movement from the farms to the cities. The time has not yet come for an extensive exchange of population between the city and the country, however, except as considerable parts of the urban population may elect to reside in the country while maintaining their city occupations; for the increasing demand for products is still an increasing demand for the products of urban industry alone. At some future time, however, when a proper balance has been attained between the output of urban products and the output of agricultural products, we may expect to find many of the children of city families, who have inherited from some farmer ancestor that landmindedness which is the fundamental requirement for happiness in agriculture, leaving the city and establishing themselves on farms. All along there have been many cases where farm born families, having tried city life and found it not altogether satisfactory, have returned to the farms. We can speak truly of migration from the cities to the farms, however, only when there are a reasonable number of cases where men with urban training

and urban background choose to exchange their urban surroundings for the occupation and environment of a farmer.

Another change in the relations between the farming communities and the cities is perhaps only just around the corner. The business of farming has already felt the effects of that tendency toward specialization which has remade other industries within the memory of the present generation. The majority of farmers even now produce mainly for the market and purchase on the market most of the goods which they and their families use. Farmers are coming to depend more and more upon machinery in their work. They are demanding and obtaining more and more of the modern household conveniences which have been until recently limited almost entirely to city homes. They are listening to the same radio programs, and they see the same moving pictures as the people who live in the cities. Thus one after another of the environmental conditions which have made the rural population different in many of its physical and mental characteristics from the urban population are disappearing. The migration from the farms to the cities may continue, perhaps, indefinitely; but its motive and atmosphere will change as agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce are finally coordinated into one unified productive organization, with free interchange of people based upon native aptitudes and upon the needs of the nation as a whole.

Those who are left in the country, after these three groups have gone, are in all too many cases those who are simply content to let things go on in the old way, satisfied with things as they have been. Here and there, to be sure, there is found a young man of marked initiative, in whom the love of the land is so strong that he will not listen to the call of the city, or a man with a new vision of what farm life may become under modern conditions. These land-minded men are the hope of the farming communities for the near future. But the relations between urban industry and rural life will not long remain as they have been for the past few decades; hence, though we grant the adversely selective nature of the recent migration from the rural areas, we need not assume that it is to continue in the same pattern.

The process of smoothing off the differences between the country and the city is making rapid progress, however, mainly through the adaptation of city methods to the solution of rural problems and the raising of rural standards of living. Some mistakes have been made through trying to transfer city devices to the rural communities without the modification required to make them fit rural conditions. But scores of clear thinking men and women are now working on the problem and making definite progress. Eventually, then, as city life and country life—even city occupations and country occupations—lose their present contrasting features, one or the other will be chosen as a matter of personal preference rather than because one is intrinsically better than the other. Rural-urban migration will then cease to be an economic or social problem, as it is now, and become simply an incident in the normal life of the nation.

XI. PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

OPPOSING TENDENCIES IN BUILDING BASIC CURRICULA OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK SPECIALIZATION IN TECHNICAL COURSES OF ARTS COLLEGES AND GRADUATE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

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The wording of this subject bothers me. If this is to be a discussion between advocates of a comprehensive education on one side, and those who believe that training for social work consists solely or even predominantly of gaining skills in vocational processes it has no interest for me, nor do I believe it has for anyone engaged in education for social work. Social work as a professionally gained skill can be secured only as any other profession: by a process of education. I have, therefore, conceived these two aspects of the subject as an exploration of the question: Should education for social work be confined to the broad cultural and scientific courses, or should training schools give disciplines in the technical processes and the specific informational material needed by social workers?

The classical discussion on this general subject is that of Abraham Flexner, at the Baltimore Conference. I wish to take two paragraphs from that speech as my points of departure. Speaking of the need for the use of intelligence and freedom to exercise it as characteristic of a professional occupation, he said, "A free, resourceful, and unhampered intelligence applied to problems, and seeking to understand them is characteristic of a profession. Whenever intelligence plays thus freely, the responsibility of the practitioner is at once large and personal." In a later part of his address he said that a true profession "possesses a technique capable of communication through an orderly and highly specialized educational discipline."

The two papers on this program do not belong in the "true" or "false" category made familiar by recent examination technique. This is not a debate between whether the prospective social worker should be trained by a process of general education or by securing skills in special techniques. I think we may assume that in general we agree that the trained social worker needs both. I know no professional practice—not even the ministry—in which the tradition of cultural proficiency is so deep rooted, in which the practitioner needs a wider general cultural training. Culture, as expressing the crystallization of

human experience, is a vestibule through which one must pass in order to understand human nature. The highest aspirations, the depths of degradation, the many faults of experience, at once the glory and the frustrations of the race, are all set down in a complex mosaic which we call culture. It opens vistas into the spirit of man of which no social worker can afford to be ignorant. It has had time enough to gather under its single hospitable roof the infinite vagaries and norms of social phenomena, setting them in the imperishable framework of literature, the arts, and the humanities. This I take it is not debatable; nor is it debatable that it is possible to become the inheritor of this rich heritage mainly through an educational process.

Only two possible points of debate remain, therefore: first, the specialized technique of social work as distinguished from this general culture is not capable of communication—one possesses it intuitively or not at all; second, this specialized technique may be communicated, but only in the actual practice of social work itself under the skilled direction of a worker of proved capacity.

The first contention cannot be summarily dismissed. I probably have not done it justice in my statement, for there is an aspect of skill, or at least of capacity, in social work implied in such a point of view which demands attention. Most executives are acquainted with the person called "the natural born social worker," usually, although not always, a young woman who shows from the first day of her work in the field an almost uncanny intuition in choice of method of approach to a client or community problem and appreciation of practical measure for its treatment. And we have also seen the reverse of this pleasant surprise: the worker who has had the advantage of good training, who comes with school and degrees, and turns out a dud in the actual field. These differences are probably intuitional, that is, the result of antecedent experience. They make up that most elusive thing we call personality. They are probably to be explained (barring marked differences in I. Q.) by the respective developmental influences through which these candidates have passed. One has acquired that tact, imagination, capacity to care, and the nice balance between a critical intelligence and an outreaching sympathy from the influences under which he was nurtured; he has grown into this paragon of fitness through the richness of the soil of his social setting. He is what he is because of parents, home, school, church, friends, recreation, etc. Nor will he ever change much, barring an emotional crisis, the assumption of a conscious technique which would destroy this desirable set of habits, or a failing mentality. Similarly, his unfortunate brother (or sister) is also settled in his attitudes, trends, and habits, and his change is equally unlikely. If this were all there were to say, the paper could close right here with this fatalistic note: we are or we are not case workers by the time we reach early maturity—so why worry about it? But there are at least three considerations which throw some doubt upon such a conclusion.

First, the supply of the so called "natural born social workers" is piteously

inadequate. If an agency or a training school picks up one each year it is a good average. Fortunately, also, the actual dud is rare, although candor compels one to confess that he is not so rare! The great majority of potential social workers falls into the in-between groups: teachable, possessing a moderate degree of intuitional fitness for social work, and a real aptitude for acquiring a technique. If social work is to be done, it must be by this large middle group, this body of young men and women who show only potentiality at the beginning of their professional training.

On another aspect of this point I am not so certain. I have tried to recall whether there is any indication of the superior capacity for professional growth possessed by the so called "natural born social worker" over the one who has achieved his growth through consciously pursued educational processes. I think, however, we should agree upon the following statements. The brilliantly equipped worker is more likely to develop unevenly if he depends upon his intuitively acquired habits exclusively. The ranks of social workers are quite thickly peppered with such interesting, able, but one sided individuals who have reached their present positions by sheer untutored ability, except the school of hard knocks. It is too early to measure the leaders in the field of social work in terms of scholastically trained and untrained personnel. It is my impression that Conference papers—a mark of professional prominence among the younger workers—and quickly acquired professional advancement are falling increasingly to the lot of the carefully trained; that more and more the intuitively equipped are being crowded out. Another test I should like to see applied, one which is more accurate as a measure of professional grasp, is a comparison on the score of contributions to our professional thinking in conference, committees, magazine articles, and in the processes of social work itself. I confess to prejudice on this point, but it has been one of my sources of keen enjoyment to watch the group of trainees go out into the field and continue to exercise their resourceful and creative intelligences on the problems they are facing. They give me the impression of being creators in a way the non-trained group has not done to the same extent.

In the second place, the question may be raised whether social work has a right to become a testing ground to determine which have and which have not the requisite personality and ability to deal helpfully with people. I have sometimes thought that one of the important services of a training school is to separate the fit from the unfit. There are two objections to having such a separation take place in the field. It is terribly hard on our clients and the communities in which they work. They have a right to be met only by those who have some demonstrated capacity to conduct an interview, to make a social diagnosis, or to give some degree of group leadership. It is also needlessly wasteful of good but unfit capacities in the candidates themselves. It is much better from the point of view of the worker to have a chance to leave his vocational decision somewhat open until he has proved his capacity and before his choice

is irrevocable. In other words, placement, even in the field of social work, is more successfully done through the margin of experimentation afforded by an educational period than by the sink or swim method of selection afforded by the field.

Thirdly, there is no evidence that the candidate well equipped by personality and general culture would not be a better social worker if to such endowment there were added a thorough discipline in the technical processes. This is obvious. The only possible basis for rebuttal would be that the actual teaching is inept, destructive, or hampering rather than affording opportunity for growth. But that is a criticism against the kind of instruction, not against the value of instruction itself. It is inconceivable that a person well equipped by personality and cultural background could be made more efficient in professional technique in every profession except social work. I know this is begging the question, and I am only putting it in this form because of the unique situation claimed by social work if such a statement is true.

Summing up this part of the discussion, Is the specialized technique of social work, as distinguished from its cultural background, capable of communication? the answer is two parts: Personality and that acquirement of culture which determines intuition are of primary value in social work. The personal relationship between the social worker and his client makes an exacting demand upon the intuitional capacity of the social worker. Other professions may ignore these subconscious habits with greater impunity than social work in the confidence that the acquirement of skill in their specific communicable techniques will fit a candidate even only moderately well endowed with cultural and personality qualities for creditable work in his profession. I suppose the reason is that the distinguishing mark of our task is the person, while it is something about the person which concerns the activities of other professions. We need to know how to understand and advise a person. Other professions need to know how to advise a person on his legal relations, on the care of his body, or on his relation with the unknown. Skill in these aspects of the person, as contrasted with understanding the person, constitute the professional attainment in them all except our own. For this reason, incidentally, I believe we should be very careful to watch every analogy with other professions, lest it lead us to violate this unique aspect of our task. However, granting the accuracy of all this, nothing has been brought to light which weakens the contention that specific training in the processes of our own task is outside the area of a "technique capable of communication." All that has been admitted is that Abraham Flexner's first definition quoted is not only of importance in social work, but that to intelligence the social worker must add cultural discipline and possess a certain strength and quality of personality.

Turning now to the second aspect of the main subject, May the specialized technique of social work be communicated only in the actual practice of social work itself, under the direction of a worker of proven capacity, or may it be

communicated by the regular educational channels? I should like to take up the following aspects: First, what are the processes and informations which the social worker should acquire? Second, are there any analogies in other disciplines to guide us in determining the question of whether they may be communicated by an educational process? Third, advantages and disadvantages of the educational as contrasted with the apprenticeship method.

The processes are not numerous. In social case work there are the following: interviewing; interpreting social evidence and synthesizing it into a working hypothesis; influencing the behavior of clients. In group work there are, similarly, gathering of social data; subjecting it to the test of social statistics; creating community programs on the basis of this data; directing the administration of these programs. In addition, all social workers need to master the technique of cooperation, as it relates both to the integration of the work of his agency with that of other agencies, and also as it relates to the program of social work in the community. Finally, all social workers need to gain skill in the technique of interpretation. Of these, three have had ample demonstration as teachable techniques: assembling social data, interpreting them, social statistics. Four of the remaining seven—influencing behavior, creating community programs, directing community programs, interpretation—are being taught with considerable success in other fields, as well as in our own, leaving only three on which there is much doubt: interviewing, synthesis of the interpreted data (social diagnosis), and cooperation.

The activities of some chapters of the American Association of Social Workers are indicating that if there is the proper material and leadership, some of the skill of interviewing may be communicated even by the classroom method. The technique of synthesis, while possibly difficult to teach outside actual case contact has wide usage in all sciences. The method of social diagnosis is essentially not dissimilar from the working hypothesis of the scientist or the conclusions of the historian. I don't know where cooperation is taught, yet I wonder why it is not. Is there any distinction in method between securing a certain attitude between social workers and social agencies, and the task of securing a certain attitude in a client? The values and objectives are different, but each is a task of getting human beings to act in certain manners.

On the second essential of training for social work—information—there is obviously no argument against its being acquired through an educational process. Even though it is probably in this aspect of our subject that this paper should have been written—that is, whether training for social work should consist of a number of specialized courses, informational—I venture to assert that when the situation is followed logically it will be clear that such information as the social worker needs, legal, medical, psychiatric, ecclesiastical, political, cultural, can be secured through an educational process so much better than by any short courses or part time devices as to outlaw the subject at the start.

Other professions are unanimous on the point of the possibility of giving technique through formalized education, and in the use by educational institutions of both the class and the field as a method of communicating such technique. Even the ministry is today using the so called case method, that is, erecting hypothetical situations in church government, personal religious experience, and creedal controversies as the basis for classroom discussion, providing field opportunities where these problems may be met in the person of actual people, and then bringing them back to class for discussion, interpretation, and relationship to the whole scheme of the pastor's function as a leader. The law has done it brilliantly for many years, as has also medicine. Analogy, therefore of the three leading humanistic professions has given us a method, ready made, by which there has been demonstrated the superior value of taking all the specialized skills, informations, and processes up into the general educational curriculum and fitting the student through an educational process for the exercise of the technique.

When we ask ourselves the last question, what are the contrasting advantages of the educational and the apprenticeship methods, I believe the following statements in general hold true: The method of depending upon contact with field experience as a worker in a social agency and upon the special course for one's professional training has the advantages: first, of learning the task under the conditions in which it is practiced; second, of direct contact from the beginning, and especially in class, with some of the leaders of the field, with the resulting inspiration of knowing and working with one on whom the profession has placed its stamp of approval; third, that the apprentice worker is constantly in touch with the new developments in the field as promptly as they are created, and is therefore saved from the danger of learning a method in an educational institution which the practice of the profession has proved inadequate, or failing to learn of a new method which the practice of the profession has discovered but which the educational system has not yet incorporated.

The disadvantages of this method of learning are two: Capacity to do social work is not synonymous with capacity to teach it. As Tufts has pointed out, teaching means ability to make a subject stand out as a living thing, ability to fill the student with enthusiasm for the subject matter studied. A student on the job, as contrasted with a student in training, is forced to take tasks as they come, not as is best for him. This results in at least three difficulties which the student in training may avoid: first, he is given more work than he has proved capacity to handle; second, the work comes to him in the order of tasks in the agency—a student's tasks come in an order which is demonstrably in line with the mind's process of recognition of the task; third, taking one's first plunge into social work as a worker in an agency introduces a needless emotional hazard. If a student can be prepared by classroom discussion and by a graduated series of field tasks so that he will know about what he is going to

meet when he sees the first client, the shock is likely to be less damaging. The shock, of course, may be of various sorts. It may be the shock of thinking there is no problem and wondering why he is interviewing. It may be of consternation that he is asked to help in a situation in which his experience gives him no skill. The emotional factor also cannot be left out of account even in the order with which a student does his field work. A student who masters the processes of interviewing and becomes acquainted with realities of social dislocation by contacts with professional and business sources first goes to the interview with relative and client with a more accurate sense of reality which protects him against disappointment, disillusionment, or emotional conflict. Fourth, the very virtue cited as an argument in favor of the student's taking his training as an apprentice, namely, that he is in immediate contact with the growing real thing called social work, has obvious disadvantages. He needs to learn the fundamental rules before he learns the exceptions, and the worker on the field, in the enthusiasm of the discoveries that are being made or the criticisms centered upon the basic methods, may give to the apprentice worker too meager a concept of the fundamental processes and an exaggerated notion of their shortcomings.

You can see that this paper is not a plea for the short specialized course as the vehicle for training social workers. I couldn't write such a paper. It is, however, an examination of the question whether all these subjects and processes which one thinks of as social work are capable of organization into technical and specialized courses, and when so organized integrated into the curriculum of the training schools, and that the field of social work should look to the training schools to fit their students with whatever of skill and information these courses will give. As a matter of fact, is that not the real task before the training schools today—the demonstration of what these specialized technical courses are, how they may be fitted into the curriculum, and then finding instructors to give them, instructors who are at once teachers and masters of these technical processes? I have great confidence that social agencies will pay premiums to our students if we can train them in such skills. As I see it, it is not so much the unwillingness of the agency to wait for the student as it is the dissatisfaction of the agency with the product which has been turned out. I don't know whose fault it is; probably no one's. And with equal probability the solution will only be reached as the schools study the technical processes which constitute what we call social work, and develop their curriculum on a sound educational basis so that the method of communicating these highly specialized techniques may be discovered and applied to the educational processes which we use in turning out social workers.

THE NEED OF A FEW FUNDAMENTAL COURSES

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Common grounds in education for social work.—Having listened to many lengthy discourses on tuberculosis as the sole cause of all misery, and to the serious proposals of representatives of a number of agencies that the greatest service which a community chest could render would be a reallocation of funds according to lists presented with their agency at the top, I am quite ready to become the champion of the need for a few fundamental courses, so that the social workers of the future might see their work in relation to the field as a whole.

The sociologists and the social case workers show us that there is no one underlying cause, but a large number of causal factors, no matter whether we are considering poverty in general or the troubles of the "B" family. While it is wise to concentrate on the factors over which we have most control, yet reform must go ahead all along the line.

Failure to see that one type of work cannot go ahead alone, coupled with the fact that the more fervent you are for your cause and the more you attribute to it the more money you are apt to raise, has meant badly balanced community programs. With central financing and a council of social agencies interested in a community program this desire to push ahead with no regard for balanced development persists because too many social workers have no common meeting ground. The Community Clinic Service of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene recognizes this in setting forth certain prerequisites before a community is ready to realize fully from a community clinic for child guidance.

Cooperation and understanding are essential among social workers if we are to make headway in our communities. Our community program will not improve if we cannot agree on certain standards, work for their acceptance, and see the place of work other than our own in the community. When we have accomplished this it will be much easier to present the need of social work for adequate financing.

Not only in the field of agency relationships, but on the job itself we need to have more than a limited technical skill if we are to accept more responsibility in supervisory or executive work. The district secretary of a family society needs not only case work technique but organization technique and the ability to interpret facts to her committee.

This does not eliminate the need for the specialist where that specialization means, not a substitution of work, but more work built on the same broad foundation.

The recognition of the need for fundamental courses for social work education is not new. As far back as 1897 Mary Richmond, in a paper at the Na-

tional Conference of Charities and Corrections, pointed out the confusion existing among workers because they were not familiar with the common ground of social work, and gave it as one reason for the establishment of a school of social work.

At the organization meeting of the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work in 1919 the need for theory and practice in social case work, community organization, and social statistics was accepted, not as a requirement, but as a working guide.

Professor James H. Tufts, in his *Education for Social Work*,¹ comments:

If we think of social workers as helping individuals, or administering institutions or social agencies, the practical and vocational courses meet the more immediate and pressing needs. If we think, however, of social workers as discovering the causes of social ills and as envisaging a better society and devising the constructive measures necessary to bring about social improvements, and, finally, as commanding public confidence in the wisdom and desirability of proposed changes, it is evident that we cannot be content with any set of vocational courses unless these rest upon the broadest scientific foundations and are themselves conducted in what may properly be called a philosophic as well as a professional spirit.

To me, even in its limited aspects, social work is hampered by persons with a narrow preparation. The Executive Committee of the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work stated in 1926, "Data collected from social workers and special investigations that have been made recently show clearly that the most satisfactory preparation for social work is that which is conducted on a broad basis of professional education."²

Schools of social work: What they are.—Not wishing to argue for the need for common basic courses for all social workers if the schools were already requiring them, I undertook an analysis of the catalogue material of twenty-four of the schools in the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work. In each case the latest catalogue was taken, only four having been published before 1927, and ten being the 1928-29 announcements, so that the material is up to date.

Twenty-one of these schools are integral parts of universities; three are independent. Thirteen are graduate schools; eleven, undergraduate, though seven of the eleven also have graduate curricula in social work. Only four of the thirteen graduate schools absolutely refuse to admit students without degrees; the other nine make exceptions, but in four instances the special student is ineligible for the degree, and no certificate is given.

These twenty-four schools offer forty-two different courses of varying lengths and with varying entrance requirements; for instance, the same school may have an undergraduate curriculum and a graduate course. Eleven schools offer undergraduate courses leading to a Bachelor's degree; fourteen offer one year courses, five with degrees, six certificates, and three degrees and certi-

¹ James H. Tufts, *Education for Social Work*, p. 164.

² *Social Forces* (December, 1926), p. x.

cates; thirteen offer two year courses, three with degrees, three certificates, four diplomas, three degrees and certificates; one offers a fourteen months' course leading to a degree; three offer longer courses leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The tendency toward a degree (with 29 of the 42 courses offering one) is natural, due to the preponderance of university schools.

Preprofessional basis for social work education.—In view of the desire for "preparation for social work conducted on a broad basis of professional education" we may expect agreement as to preprofessional courses. Professor Jesse F. Steiner, in his *Education for Social Work*, gives as fundamental sciences, sociology, economics, history, political science, psychology, and biology, while Professor Tufts, in his *Education for Social Work*, adds physiology and philosophy to the list.

Fifteen of the schools list prerequisites as follows: seven undergraduate schools and one graduate school prescribe a social science major; seven others list the following courses, all seven sociology, economics, and psychology: four history, three biology, three political science, and two philosophy.

The undergraduate schools have an advantage in controlling the prerequisites, and have students coming to the technical courses with this social science background more complete. One graduate school refuses the certificate until credit is obtained for sociology, economics, and psychology. Another graduate school may require extra work in the social sciences, and another school offers professional reviews of the social sciences for students coming without a degree. For the most part the preprofessional sequence is a hope rather than a requirement.

Recognition of a common body of knowledge for social work.—Eighteen of the schools give a statement of their aims and ideals as regards education for social work. From the unanimity of such statements as the following there seems to be no argument in these eighteen schools concerning the value of basic courses: "Growing recognition that all forms of social work make use of a substantial common body of knowledge, philosophy, and methods," the need for "a balanced and general understanding of social work as a whole," "the spirit, the method of approach, and fundamental training the same," "fundamental subjects that are prerequisite to effective work in any branch of social work," "generalized training," "basic instruction."

What are the basic courses?—Do these general statements refer to the same common body of knowledge? Seven of these schools go further and list the courses which they consider fundamental. All mention social case work; six, research; and six, community organization. All include field work but do not explain whether the practice is to be confined to one of the foregoing techniques or to all.

Since only seven of the schools listed specific courses, the technical courses offered by the twenty-four schools were tabulated in order to see what agreement could be found. Such courses as social legislation, labor problems, psy-

chology courses, community problems offered in the social science departments of the universities were not included. With twenty-one of the schools having such university departments an inclusion of these courses might merely be a listing of the available resources rather than an assignment of importance to them.

All of the schools offer social case work, and all but one offer field work in case work; twenty-one offer courses in community organization, nine with field work available; fifteen offer social statistics or social research or both, seven with opportunities for field work; seventeen offer courses in child welfare; twelve, in medical social problems; eleven, in the administration of social agencies; ten, in psychiatry; eight, in the field of social work or the history of social work; and three, in social work and social philosophy. This latter course is mentioned, not because of its numerical importance, but because it seems one way of giving the student the perspective necessary for real leadership.

All of this tabulation is fallible because the same name for the course does not necessarily signify the same content, and it is necessary to make some interpretations based on the descriptions of the courses; but it is significant that there is agreement on but one course, social case work.

In the proposed standards presented in December, 1927, by a committee of the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work, social case work principles of child welfare, and field work were offered as standard requirements. In view of the practice, social statistics or research and community organization might as well be included.

From a study of the various curriculums it does not seem unfair to say that the sole contribution to education for social work on the part of many of the universities has been the listing of a large number of social science courses together with a few technical courses taken from the curricula of the older schools, and very sketchy provisions for field work.

If we want social workers to be able to discover underlying causes, to advance programs for change, and to assume leadership in their communities, it is significant of the failure of many of the schools that nine provide neither a course in social research nor in statistics.

The offering of courses and what the student takes may be quite divergent. The emphasis of most of the schools on an individualized curriculum for each student plus the variety of requirements in the different courses in the same school, which is in itself significant, made it impossible to tabulate the requirements. We need a study of the actual schedules of the students graduating from our schools of social work.

Specialization.—This consists largely of field work in a specialized field plus a curriculum of allied courses. Seventeen of the schools comment as follows: twelve offer specialized courses only in the second year of the course; one after two quarters' work, one after one semester, one after one quarter, and two at once.

The tendency is toward a postponement of specialization to the second year. This is a decided step forward if we could be equally sure that the students are getting a broad foundation on which to specialize.

What do the graduates do with these courses?—A tabulation of the present positions of the members of 65 classes in 8 schools was made from the lists in the catalogues, taking only those persons who received degrees, or certificates, or diplomas. Two of the schools had graduated more than ten annual classes; five, five or more classes; and only one, less than five, so that social workers with varying amounts of experience are included. At the time the catalogues were prepared, 541 were employed: 59 per cent (320) in case work, 13 per cent (69) in college or high school teaching, 2 per cent (13) in teaching in schools of social work, 9 per cent (49) in research, 6 per cent (31) in group work, 5 per cent (26) in community organization, 5 per cent (28) in industry or employment work, 1 per cent (5) in institutional management.

We have no way of ascertaining from this tabulation how many prepared for the field in which they are now employed. From a study of the graduates of the New York School of Social Work presented by Mr. Walter Pettit at the Denver Conference, 35 per cent were found to be working in fields other than their specialties, so that we have another need for a general basis, acquired either before or after graduation, if they are successfully to pass to other fields.

In the case work, group work, and community organization positions it was possible to analyze according to the supervisory or executive nature of the positions held. Of 377 social workers in these fields, 40 per cent (147) are in executive or supervisory positions. The case work field has 85 per cent (320) of the positions, and 29 per cent (107) of the executive and supervisory positions; group work, 8 per cent (31) of the positions and 4 per cent (14) of the executive positions; community organization has 7 per cent (26) of the positions, all of which are executive or supervisory. Thirty-three per cent (107) of the case workers, 45 per cent (14) of the group workers, and all of those in community organization had gone on to executive positions.

There is not only a passing on to different fields of social work, but an advancing to supervisory and executive positions in the same or different fields. If the graduates are not equipped to do this we may find that our schools are filling only the beginning technical positions, while the positions requiring leadership are being filled from other fields. The schools may well study the numbers of graduates of training schools going into these positions of leadership and the sort of equipment had by others in these positions.

Conclusions.—The growing tendency is toward higher admission requirements, longer courses with specialization in the second year, the recognition of basic preprofessional courses in the social sciences, and the common ground in social work itself in certain techniques (possibly case work, organization, research), and the need for the philosophic point of view. A few schools have completely reorganized their curricula along these lines. In practice, in many

instances, we find things not in line with the foregoing. Students are coming to the schools without the preprofessional courses and it seems impossible to enforce the requirement. The schools, while agreeing that there are fundamental courses necessary for social work, for the most part fail to base their student schedules on this theory. Even in their curriculums more than one-third of the schools lack at least one of the techniques that with our present information seem basic.

The schools are not exercising leadership in the profession. Some have listed sources rather than worked out a curriculum. They are for the most part not interested in research on which to base a curriculum. Practically all efforts in this line have come from the profession itself, and not from the schools. Some are engaged in training for the specialty of the moment, emphasizing always training for fields of work rather than a broad education to include a foundation on which specialization should be based. The local agencies are somewhat responsible for this because of their desire for technical workers at once and at low salaries rather than well educated social workers, and some schools permit this point of view to dominate.

There are too many schools with small professional faculties, small student bodies, and inadequate provisions for supervised field work.

Leadership needed in education for social work.—We need leadership on the part of the schools: first, to determine perhaps in conjunction with representatives of the American Association of Social Workers, what basic courses should be required for all schools, and constantly to review the same in the light of further information; second, to prepare and circulate among all colleges and universities the preprofessional requirements in the social sciences; this might well be correlated with a program of recruiting for social work to secure not only students now but future students who have had the preprofessional sequence; third, to encourage universities with minimum facilities for professional education to withdraw from that field and to concentrate on the preprofessional courses; four, to consider graduate and undergraduate courses in view of their facilities until information is gathered on which to base judgment; fifth, to encourage other schools to concentrate on techniques rather than fields of work, offering a first year basic course, with a plan for the transfer of students to the second year of other schools; sixth, to concentrate the longer professional courses in a few well equipped schools in communities where good field work opportunities exist, bearing in mind that the profession will not be able to support too many good schools.

This will be a start toward high professional standards in all of the schools offering such courses. We need graduates with a broad preparation in the social sciences, equipped with the basic techniques of social work, including both theory and practice; these at present seem to be case work, organization, and research; sound specialization on this foundation, with a development of the true professional spirit. It is from preparation such as this that we may expect real leadership in the field of social work.

PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS IN UNDIFFERENTIATED
SOCIAL WORKTHE PROBLEM OF RURAL AND VILLAGE AREAS
IN MASSACHUSETTS

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To the American mind the word "rural" contains the idea of land, and in some sense an attachment of the dweller to the soil. Hence "rural" in popular thought is a term inseparably connected with an agricultured economy. It will remain so in this land of magnificent open spaces.

But in Massachusetts the word must carry other implications. Rural Massachusetts means residual Massachusetts. One-sixteenth of its 3,852,000 inhabitants are still classified as rural; and it is mainly a submerged fraction. The Bay State is an urban community, essentially an urban status throughout. The visitor complains that he cannot find the dividing line between its thickly settled communities, and indeed it is, for the most part, known only to police and other officials.

Massachusetts contains but 8,266 square miles, a large proportion of which is water, or precipitous hills, or uninhabited swamp. Yet if the uninhabited portions be counted in the equation, the density of population is 418.8 persons to the square mile, the second densest state in the Union. If, for instance, the rural area of Massachusetts were to be compared with the ample reaches of Tennessee, we should find that just a little over five states the size of Massachusetts could be laid down within the boundaries of this commonwealth. As against the one-sixteenth rural population in the one is to be set the four-fifths rural population of the other. If the southern state were populated at the Massachusetts density, it would contain, not 2,337,000 as now, but 19,260,000, or nearly twice the numbers of the great state of New York; its urban population would jump from 450,000 to 18,056,250 at the same time that its rural population decreased from 1,887,000, as now, to 1,203,750.

Strictly speaking, Massachusetts is without an agricultural economy. The interests of her people, their thought, the temper of their daily lives are geared to the high speed, nervous life of the city. Her occupations are hired day labor without the interest and the urge of proprietorship. Her leisure time habits are those of city life, in which a marked line of cleavage separates the hours of labor from the time off, and in which, therefore, the leisure hours are looked forward to with feverish interest for variety, for change, for thrills. It is the setting for commercialized entertainment. Such village life as we do have is only a residential annex to some nearby commercial or manufacturing center. In earlier days the young people of more vigorous makeup left the village and countryside for the city, to return, in these days of congested city life, only in order to find an open space for the children and an eligible roost. The village

as a center of life, an object of pride and a motivator for the upspring of ideals, is fast disappearing before the dirt and the roar of high speed, automatic foolproof machinery.

There is a second aspect of the Massachusetts village that bears on this problem of social work standards. That is the heterogeneity in the population. One-third of the inhabitants of that state are foreign born; another third are native born of foreign born parents. The other third—a vanishing remainder—are of the old native Yankee stock, rawboned, tough hided, frugal, and thrifty; they are unable, nevertheless, to withstand the lower standard of living of the South and Central European. A quarter century ago the stronghold of the Yankee farmer was the great Connecticut Valley. Today, in that portion of it extending through Massachusetts, one can hardly find in the registries of deeds a single native name, so completely have the Poles come in and possessed it. At first the native New England cottage gave way to the Polander's tarpaper shanty; and now, with the prosperity that has followed him, the sturdy European farmer toils in his tobacco and onion fields, his wife and numerous children working beside him. His barns are ample, and his house at least better than the squatter's shanty. The natives have gone west or into the city. The residue, too unambitious to leave, has become the alien's hired man.

This Polander is reasonably law abiding, hard working, fretful of American public health and sanitary requirements, opposed to sending his children to public schools, and demanding that each one shall work in the fields. He is likely to feed the baby salt pork at six months; yet he is healthy and prolific. He has come to stay. Nothing short of a Bulgar could dislodge him. But though he has been on the land ever so little while, you are likely already to find his son running a garage and filling station or serving soft drinks and sandwiches at a hot dog stand on the motor highway that skirts his father's land.

Perhaps the most livid picture of rural endeavor in New England is the hot dog stand which leans back on its haunches and barks its glaring signs up and down every vista of the motor highway. Its most tangible expression of vice is the roadhouse, bad enough to form the chief inducement to the establishment of a state constabulary with unusual powers.

Here, then, is the setting for rural social work in Massachusetts. In the first place, it is to be differentiated hardly at all from urban social efforts. In the second place, there is such a multiplicity of voluntary social work effort carried on with the cities as central headquarters that the whole state is covered. There are in Massachusetts between 1,500 and 2,000 incorporated private social agencies. They have over \$200,000,000 in capital funds. They spend a total budget of practically \$50,000,000 each year.

Outside of this, each of the 354 cities and towns has a fully developed system of public poor relief, enforced by state law. This includes widespread mothers' aid. The state government takes exclusive care and custody of the insane and the feeble-minded, and, to a considerable extent, of the dependent,

the tuberculous, and the victims of cancer. Juvenile correction is almost exclusively a state function, and the care and custody of dependent and neglected children is also handled almost exclusively by the state.

In that very small jurisdiction with its numerous population there is not a child who is too remote from public school for easy attendance. The crippled child gets special state care. The feeble-minded child may have state care in an institution or public supervision, though this is far from sufficient in quantity. The sick have many hospitals to resort to, and 125 homes for the aged, sprinkled throughout the commonwealth, assist the 145 public infirmaries for the aged in caring for many of those who would otherwise be too heavy a burden upon the struggling home.

The child placing agencies of Massachusetts have districted the entire state and stand ready to cover the whole area. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is statewide, and maintains fourteen districts to enable it to reach into the four corners of the commonwealth.

The most fundamental need in the villages and rural districts of that state is a purposeful process of spotting and appraising each of the many foci of hereditary mental defect. These have existed since the days when England emigrated her simples out of her poor law unions to Massachusetts by way of Halifax. Davenport uncovered one of these in his study of the hill folk. The state division of child guardianship has in custody the scions of several more. The late Dr. Walter E. Fernald told me shortly before he died that he could point out on any map of the state at least twenty without consulting his data.

We have a surfeit of palliative charities in Massachusetts. What we need desperately is constructive social service which tends to prevent the spread of defective strains, which helps to decrease the incidence of syphilis and gonorrhea, and which serves to increase the opportunities of normal children as public assets at the same time when it is so busy with broken and defective childhood as public liabilities.

The fundamental tenets of such a constructive service cannot be differentiated, for that commonwealth at least, by the usual division of rural and urban. They demand first a scientific process of fact finding to discover the nature of the social needs of the area served. Second, they call for efficient organization, on a civic basis, to meet the ascertained need; which organization shall involve both public and voluntary effort. Third, they need such a constant process of interpretation of social conditions, social work needs, and social work effort as shall inform the whole public and build a definite good will behind the effort. Finally, there must be such an integration of all enterprises as will permit the emergence of a well knit program which shall be community-wide. The rural social worker, like the rural doctor, must be a general practitioner, but the urban social worker should be more of a general practitioner. Social work is in some danger of becoming a series of departmentalized techniques rather than a human service based upon a clear vision of the public

good. Let the special skills of the engineering and research laboratories, the surgeon, and the lawyer call for specialization to intensify accuracy. Let the service of man to man be inclusive rather than exclusive, cognizant of all human relations, sympathetic through the fulness of its understanding.

THE PROBLEM OF RURAL AND VILLAGE AREAS IN MISSISSIPPI

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In considering the need and problem of undifferentiated or generalized social work in Mississippi three important characteristics of the population should be recognized. Of all the states of the Union, Mississippi has the highest percentage of rural people, the highest percentage of native born people, and the highest percentage of Negroes. About 85 per cent of our people are engaged in agriculture, and the largest city in the state has a population of less than fifty thousand. Very rarely does a Mississippian hear a conversation carried on in a foreign language. Negroes are numerous in all counties, and in some they outnumber the whites six or eight to one. Negroes constitute about 54 per cent of the entire population of the state.

There are eighty-two counties. Three of these border the Gulf of Mexico and present some of the features of a resort section. There are a good number of French creoles and foreigners among the population. A few other counties have lumbering towns that are developing into small manufacturing centers. Scattered through the state are a number of small cities having from ten to forty thousand population.

The typical county in Mississippi, however, presents a situation with rural conditions, problems, and needs. Its shape tends to be rectangular; it has an area of seven or eight hundred square miles; it has a population of about twenty-five thousand; and near the center is the county seat town—the largest in the county—with a population of three to five thousand.

At present there are very few professional social workers in the state. The Children's Home Society employs the largest staff, the number varying from six to twelve. There are four or five county probation workers and one psychiatric social worker in the state. There are the usual institutions for orphans, the delinquent, insane, and feeble-minded. Most of these institutions are providing good treatment for inmates, and some are now building plants with physical equipment as thoroughly modern in every respect as may be found anywhere. There is, however, a serious need of many more trained social workers to serve in local communities throughout the state.

Nevertheless, there is now being carried on a great deal of generalized social work of a very fundamental nature by the state school system. Mississippi leads all other states in the consolidation of rural schools. The teachers in these schools are usually community leaders, and they secure much com-

munity action in improving the social, economic, religious, and health conditions. The consolidated school is the logical center of the rural community. The situation in Mississippi bears out well the findings of Dr. A. W. Hayes and others on this point. In addition to the usual consolidated schools there are many Smith-Hughes schools that give special attention to community needs. Also, a large number of men and women are working as county agricultural and county home demonstration agents. About two-thirds of all counties have county agricultural high schools, and some of these have added one and two years of junior college work. The division of vocational rehabilitation in the state department of education is doing a most excellent work with crippled children, and this extends throughout the state.

This gives some idea of the present situation. It should be added, however, that many counties have full time health units; the state department of public health is very active throughout the state, and a number of counties have Red Cross chapters with paid and trained secretaries. Nearly all county seat towns have one or more luncheon clubs that are interested in social conditions, and many of the numerous women's clubs manifest intelligent interest in community problems.

All of this is to say that the need in Mississippi is not, at present, so great for generalized social work, if by generalized we mean the work of arousing the community to a consciousness of its social needs. While there is some need of this type of work, it is by no means work most needed in Mississippi. The outstanding need in this state is for a social worker who is thoroughly trained in a number of difficult techniques which will connect the people of the rural county with the services of the various state institutions.

First, the county social worker should be able to render intelligent service as county probation officer. Mississippi has no juvenile courts, but there is a special system of provisions in our statutes covering juvenile cases, and both circuit judges and chancellors may appoint probation officers to handle juvenile cases, and the court is authorized to use the widest discretion in guarding the interests of the delinquent child. While we do not have separate juvenile courts, a trained county social worker can, under present provisions, through her service with the courts, give the rural county practically every advantage that separate juvenile courts might give.

Second, the county social worker should serve as parole officer in her county for the state industrial and training school. This institution employs no parole officers, and doubtless it will never have adequate parole service unless county social workers who understand the work and will cooperate with the institution are employed by the counties of the state.

Third, under state laws recently enacted counties are permitted to set aside a special mother's pension fund. Thus there is need of the county social worker who is trained in the administration of this fund and other types of relief.

Fourth, the institution for the feeble-minded needs in each county a trained worker who understands all aspects of feeble-mindedness. There is no good reason why a county social worker cannot be trained to administer intelligence tests and deal in a fairly accurate manner with this problem. Schools and communities are troubled with feeble-minded persons, and in some cases with entire families of them, yet the average community leader does not understand these persons, and many tragedies might be prevented if each county employed a worker familiar with the problem of mental deficiency. It is well known that through the great rural areas are to be found slum sections, and the usual factor in producing them is feeble-mindedness. The county social worker would direct the state institution for the feeble-minded to such cases, and bring about the early training of aments, a need now acutely felt by all who are familiar with the problem. Again, when the moron is trained by the institution and submitted to sterilization preliminary to parole, the county social worker can be of great service in providing proper supervision of the trained ament and giving regular reports to the institution. Some such scheme of things must be worked out if the state is ever to cope effectively and comprehensively with the great problem of feeble-mindedness.

Fifth, the county social worker can render a most valuable service through the rural districts to the hospitals for mental diseases. At present cases reach the hospitals when mental disorder is far advanced. Usually histories are meager or totally lacking. Information essential to proper treatment can be provided only by a worker with fair training in psychiatric social work. Also, in discharging or paroling patients the hospital staff is seriously handicapped in reaching decisions, since there is little or no provision for obtaining information about home and community conditions to which the patient will return upon discharge. The county social worker can supply this, and in addition can give families concerned proper advice. Furthermore, she can gradually bring about on the part of the public an intelligent appreciation of the principles of mental hygiene—a result greatly to be desired.

Sixth, the county social worker should form close alliance with the county schools. There is always the problem of truancy, and cases of this type open the way for an early attack on the major social problems of the community. Also, the worker will find the schools to be the most desirable avenue of approach in securing group action whenever this is necessary.

In conclusion, it must be confessed that the need set forth here is not for undifferentiated social work, but rather for an undifferentiated social worker who is trained in a number of specialized techniques. She should have a college education with good fundamental knowledge of the social sciences. Special training in social work should include probation and parole of juvenile delinquents, the race problem, administration of relief, and psychiatric social work.

Perhaps an imposing task has been set for a county social worker in Mississippi. Perhaps, also, social workers have hitherto been woefully ignorant of

great needs which require genuine professional training for what should be one of the great professions. Too many social workers today are possessed of a vague spirit of uplift, dense ignorance, and traditional prejudices. The need is for strong personality, the scientific attitude, and technical training. When the need is supplied doubtless the state of Mississippi will readily see the public economy of spending a quarter of a million dollars each year for eighty-two county social workers and a central staff at the state capitol.

PROBLEM OF RURAL AND VILLAGE AREAS IN OREGON

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Social work in Oregon presents some interesting contrasts. Oregon is not unique in this respect; but we are gathered here to consider the matter of doing social work in three states which are widely separated, and which, supposedly, present problems of a distinct character.

It goes without saying that the nature of social work and the amount of undifferentiated work are determined very largely by the character of the territory served. There are many different types of territory in Oregon. The number of different kinds of problems will depend in part, also, upon the resources available in the communities. These resources may be provided by the state, county, or municipality, as well as by private agencies or organizations of different sorts. In other words, undifferentiated social work is what remains to be done by a worker who undertakes to do what is not done by any other agency designed for the purpose. In the absence of such agencies, the workers' load is made up of whatever problems arise in the course of events. The advance of social work into communities in which local resources are few or feeble brings to the fore the problem of training workers for such communities, pending the time when the public is sufficiently interested in constructive social service to be willing to pay for an adequate staff of specialists.

The state.—Time does not permit elaboration upon the nature and function of the various agencies further than what is presented in the following outline. There are many different types of territory in the state. These range from a seaport and manufacturing city of 300,000 people to a semiarid county in southeastern Oregon about the size of the state of Maryland.

From the Pacific Ocean on the west to the Idaho line on the east, the length of the state is about 375 miles. From Washington to California its width is about 300 miles. The Coast Range creates a strip of mountainous country down the west end of the state about 40 miles wide by 300 miles long. This country may be compared to the mountains of Kentucky, Tennessee, the Virginias, and the Carolinas. Most of this strip is still covered with a heavy growth of timber. A great section of the south end of it is still almost unin-

habited. Lumber, mining, and fishing communities gather at the estuaries of the short mountain rivers and straggle up their narrow valleys and canyons.

The Cascade Range bisects the state from north to south at a distance of about 100 miles from the ocean. The ridge averages about 6,000 feet in elevation. With its foothills, it makes a mountainous strip approximately 50 miles wide from the Washington to the California line. It is heavily timbered, and much of it is uninhabited. Typical frontier mountain communities and lumber camps and mill towns press up against its western slopes.

In the northeast corner of the state a block of counties covering an area about 120 by 150 miles constitutes a lofty plateau, broken and rugged, and topped by the Blue and the Wallowa mountains. This region is semiarid. There are several typical mining, cattle, and wheat towns in this section, from any one of which you can plunge into the wilderness within a few miles.

In many respects the valley of the Willamette is a favored land. We mention this, not for booster purposes, but because it is responsible for much of the social worker's grief. In wild and almost inaccessible regions of its encircling mountains and sparsely settled sections of their foothills, under the crudest of frontier conditions, a considerable population of shiftless and degenerate people is able to eke out a miserable existence because of the mild climate, the fertile soil, and an abundance of fish and game.

In the whole state, made up of the districts we have described, there are less than a million people. Many of the extractive industries have been mentioned. These are characteristic of a primitive community. In the valley of the Willamette we have the towns, diversified farming, stock raising, dairying and poultry raising, and a flourishing fruit and vegetable industry. The population is probably upward of 90 per cent American stock. The social work situation is further aggravated by the problem of a considerable transient population. Much of it flows northward, following the seasonal fruit and berry harvests, but a considerable part of it is due to the lumber industry with its seasonal unemployment. The much sought after tourist business brings its share of families whose Fords and finances break down together along the highways.

Social work resources.—It may be said that there is nothing in Oregon which corresponds to the state departments of public welfare that are found in Massachusetts, North Carolina, and other eastern and middlewestern states. There is the customary division of social work into public and private. Under the first we list the activities of the state, counties, and municipalities. This list is not exhaustive. Under the second we little more than mention those private agencies which carry on local activities or state programs. These range from organizations conducting an institution to those which have statewide programs like the Tuberculosis Association and the American Red Cross.

The public resources provided by the state, through boards, commissions, etc., are as follows: State Board of Control, having charge of all state institutions, is composed of the governor, the secretary of state, and the state

treasurer, and has headquarters at the capitol; Industrial Welfare Commission and the Board of Inspectors of Child Labor supervise child labor mostly by office work and factory inspection, and have headquarters in Portland; State Industrial Accident Commission has offices in Salem and rehabilitation service in Portland; the State Child Welfare Commission has control of all the state's minor wards outside of state institutions, inspects and advises relation to state institutions, supervises all children not cared for in their own homes except inmates of one institution, supervises adoptions and placing agencies, inspects institutions, and makes field inspections in adoption cases; State Board of Health, including Shepherd-Towner work; State Americanization Commission, has one secretary who cooperates with local school authorities in communities where groups of aliens reside; State Department of Education; State Parole Board, with no parole officer; extension division of state university, including correspondence study department; state librarian; state agricultural college, having a county agricultural agent in twenty-eight counties, a home demonstrator from its domestic science department in three counties, and a boys' and girls' agricultural club leader in five counties; state medical school, maintaining service for crippled children.

Public resources provided by the counties, under the customary county commission form of organization, are as follows: county board of three commissioners, one of whom acts as county judge to administer poor fund, sit as juvenile judge, administer mothers' pension funds, appoint probation officer, and superintend county farm; commissioners who run the county jail through the sheriff's office; county superintendent of schools; county health officer, all or part time; county public health nurses in twenty-three counties; Rockefeller health units in two counties; Multnomah County (Portland) has a court of domestic relations, a public welfare bureau, visiting nurse service, etc.

Municipalities other than Portland ordinarily provide resources as follows: police court, policewoman in a few towns, city health officer in a few towns (part or full time), city superintendent of schools, attendance officers in a few towns, visiting teachers in a few towns.

The private resources, with organizations having statewide programs, are as follows: Oregon Tuberculosis Association, which promotes health education, organizes county health associations, who may employ secretaries, conduct health clinics, and employ county health demonstration nurses, and disseminates information regarding tuberculosis and agitates for sanitorial care; local chapters of the American Red Cross, which has chapters or committees in twenty-nine counties, twenty-three of which can carry on customary Red Cross activities through paid or volunteer workers, employs two public health nurses, and nine county executives who are trained and many of whom do county social work; Boys' and Girls' Aid Society, a placing organization; Rescue and Protective Association; Salvation Army, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, etc.

The organizations conducting institutions do little or no social work outside the institution.

Undifferentiated social work.—With this picture before us, with many communities as large as the state of Maryland served by one or two trained workers, the fact that work is undifferentiated goes without saying.

Experience has shown that the social work load falls upon whatever type of worker happens to be in the field. The presence of a trained worker in the community, whether she is a public health nurse, a case worker, a probation officer, or a policewoman, is the signal for practically all of the local authorities outside of the largest city to unload all their grievous problems on her. More and more she finds the work which she came into the county to do being forced to take a secondary position because of the amount of undifferentiated work that needs to be done. So much is this true in Oregon that practically all organizations which press for the employment of a trained worker of one type or another have accepted the situation and expect their workers to pave the way for trained social work as well as to do the special work in which the organization is interested.

I shall give one illustration from Lane County, Oregon. The county is about the size of the state of Massachusetts. Two-thirds of the territory is backwoods or uninhabited. The county seat is a town of 14,000 inhabitants and the seat of the state university. The worker is a Red Cross county executive secretary. In return for an allowance to the chapter from the county court she administers the county poor fund in addition to carrying out the customary Red Cross program. Following is a memorandum which shows the types of service she had been called upon to render within the last few months. There is a policewoman in the county seat and a limited service rendered by several local organizations. She writes that her load has been lightened recently by the addition of a public health nurse.

For the past three months the case load has averaged 250, including the following types of service: investigation and supervision of widow's pensions; investigation and supervision of county relief applications involving mothers deserted, husbands in jail, wage earners ill, injured or unemployed, and old people either pensioned or placed on county farm; work with dependent children, including orphans, half orphans, and children without proper parental care and guardianship, those placed in other private families or in state or private institutions, investigations concerning mistreatment of children, S.P.C.C. work, and school attendance work; delinquent girls in county outside of Eugene—investigation, supervision, and commitment, including transportation to institution; in health work—assists county physician, refers community chest cases to private hospitals, and for examination and treatment to out of town hospitals (much of this work recently turned over to public health nurse), secures free dental and eye care; examination and commitment of crippled children, feeble-minded children, blind, insane, deaf, and dumb persons; free

legal aid regarding accident claims, collection of wages, estates, guardianship, foreclosure of mortgages, and similar cases; investigations for outside agencies such as the child welfare commission, public welfare bureau, and private welfare organizations such as Mooseheart, etc.; domestic relations work, family quarrels, preventing divorces, handling alimony, investigating regarding custody of children, etc.; travelers' aid work occasionally; reporting to S.P.C.A. public nuisances such as uncollected garbage, broken sewers, etc.; relief, employment, and transportation of transients; employment of women and girls; conduct of bureau of missing persons.

All this is in addition to her Red Cross duties, which are as follows: claims of ex-service men of all wars and their families; work with men now in army, navy, and marine service; hospitalization and medical care of ex-service men; veterans' employment; guardianship investigations and supervision regarding minors and incompetents; relief to men and families; family problems of ex-service men; advice and information on all subjects which arise; location of missing ex-service men.

It will be noted here that this worker's normal load is supplemented by work done for a number of agencies functioning outside of the county and some outside of the state.

Training for undifferentiated work.—Since its inception in 1919 the Portland School of Social Work, conducted by the University of Oregon, has designed its courses to meet the state situation as far as possible. All candidates for training have been given the same training in the first term. This course is basic and designed to be helpful to the student regardless of the field of work chosen. Even the public health nurses do not begin specializing until the second quarter. All others have two full quarters of family case work and three full terms of case work methods. All receive training in community organization. The course for undifferentiated work in rural communities is now established, having been organized in cooperation with the Pacific Division of the American Red Cross and designated as an official training course for Red Cross county executives.

The policy of the school is shaped of necessity by the demands made upon it in the territory which it serves. As yet the number of candidates for training who are willing and able to give more than one academic year to training has been relatively small. As long as this situation prevails, and on account of the extent of the undifferentiated demand, the courses will be arranged to give a maximum of basic training designed to be useful wherever the worker's interest may finally specialize, if at all.

RELATION OF RESEARCH TO PROFESSIONAL
STANDARDS IN SOCIAL WORK

RESEARCH AS A METHOD OF TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK

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Training in research methods is, comparatively speaking, a recent addition to the equipment of a social worker. It is entering by the back door, so to speak, but it comes in response to a real need. To see it in its proper setting it is necessary to revert briefly to historical fact.

Technical training for social workers in this country began, as you know, more than a quarter of a century ago in New York with the establishment of the first summer session of the New York School of Philanthropy. The demand for technical training of social workers came from the agencies because they were unable to recruit an adequate supply of suitable personnel. The question of what should be the content of such training was decidedly puzzling. The work of the volunteers in the agencies had shown that certain abilities and personal qualifications were desirable, but the same experience with volunteers had also shown that something more was needed. The task of the training school was to find out what that something was and then to teach it. The additional qualification for a social worker proved to be a certain point of view toward life, and later the training came to include certain techniques.

The first demand made upon the training schools was that they should train case workers. So case work was the first field in which were developed the techniques of investigation, interviewing, and treatment, with emphasis on evaluation of evidence and the necessity for accurate painstaking case recording. Students were taught that a sound diagnosis and a consistent plan for a family or individual must be based on a written record of all available relevant facts; they were also taught to distinguish between facts, hearsay evidence, and biased statements. Finally, the students were trained to see that individual cases were not isolated problems to be solved and forgotten, but that many misfortunes of their clients were merely phases of more general social maladjustment. For example, the presence of the cripple on the street raised the question of industrial accidents and pointed the way to workmen's compensation and the Safety First movement.

While the case workers had been engaged in the task of learning how to teach case work in the training schools, the group work people in settlements, playgrounds, and program agencies were developing certain methods of organizing and handling groups; they were studying the neighborhoods in which they were living or working and, in trying to interpret their results, discovered that the individual difficulties of their new friends were usually part of some community problems which had to be tackled. For example, when nine-year-old Tony was taken to court for breaking windows it was the settlement people

who realized that the community must be made to provide playgrounds for Tony and all other disadvantaged children. But after the playgrounds were secured the supervisors of them had to learn certain facts about children and recreation. The head residents of settlements and the directors of program agencies found that their leaders needed similar training, and so the demand for training in group work resulted in the addition of departments of community organization to the schools of social work or in the establishment of separate schools for recreational leaders.

The case workers and group workers, therefore, although approaching the problem of social maladjustment from entirely different angles, arrived at a common conclusion: that many problems of individuals were parts of larger community problems which must be solved cooperatively. Moreover, it was soon seen that the solution of these larger problems depended upon the collection of information about individual cases, the classification of such information, and the evolving of a broad plan or solution. Thereupon there arose a demand that people with proper abilities be trained in social research. And this demand has made itself felt in some form or other in most of the training schools today. Sometimes the interest in research is concentrated in one department, but more often it is diffused through the entire staff.

We may say, then, that, considering training for social work from the point of view of the entire country, such training has three forms: case work, group work, and research. In some schools training for all three is found; in others, for only two; and in some schools training is given in only one of them. But there is a growing feeling that a well rounded social worker, while being a specialist in one of these fields, will be at least well informed in the other two. Such an assumption places upon the training schools a multiple responsibility. Not only must the school teach the techniques of case work, group work, or research, and not only must it be sure that the case worker or group worker sees the relation of his job to a research program, but it must also see that the research worker has enough practical experience to keep his feet on the ground!

The extent to which the training schools are meeting such an obligation is a matter with which we are all concerned. On the basis of a recent inquiry eighteen out of twenty-three schools were using research as a method of training for case work and fourteen were using it in training for group work. These figures represent the schools' own interpretations of the term research as the questionnaire intentionally did not define it.

Perhaps we can agree for the purpose of this paper that social research is the use of the scientific method in its simplest form; the collection and classification of social facts; the study of the relationships of such facts with a view to stating the problem and suggesting a method of treatment; and finally the working out of a solution. Sometimes, instead of trying to formulate a new hypothesis, we analyze a situation in terms of hypotheses previously formulated and try to test their validity. There are various methods used in social re-

search: the case method, the statistical method, and the so called experimental method; but time does not permit an exposition of them.

We are more anxious to learn what the schools are doing in their use of research as a method of training. With the exception of two schools, of those replying, all were concerned with graduate students. There is of course no question but that the training of experts in the field of research must be in a graduate school. But nearly half of this group of schools is also concerned with the preprofessional or prevocational direction of undergraduates, the majority of whom will never enter a graduate school. Most of them will, however, fill the vacancies on the staffs of social agencies. Now, if you grant that social research is a field about which social workers should not be ignorant, must you not also grant that some information about research methods must be given by the schools to those undergraduates who are prospective social workers?

If we are to add to case work and group work a third field of social research as one which is essential to social work, what can be done in this field for undergraduates which will be comparable to the classroom and field work which is being given in case work and group work? In replying to the questionnaire many schools complained that comparatively little can be accomplished with students in one year or even two years of graduate work in the field of research because they have had no preparation. What are the courses which would serve as an introduction to research? Statistics is the most obvious subject and one which may be offered as early as the Sophomore year. It may be as intensive as a one quarter, five credit course, so as to allow for laboratory work, and for students entering social work it should be required.

Such a requirement would not replace the type of course in research which is appearing in many of the training schools, but would merely serve as a foundation for it. For example, Mr. Pray suggests that social workers need "an interest in the presentation and interpretation of social data and a basis of judgment in respect to material of this sort, rather than a technical equipment for original intensive work in this field." He believes this interest may be developed best through analytical study of case records, a viewpoint with which we should all agree. But there would probably be no objection to the students in such a course having had a course in statistics in junior college, which would have given them some foundation for the interpretation of social data. Then the student is ready, when he reaches senior college, for courses in methods of social investigation which may or may not include participation in actual surveys. Then, some advanced courses in statistics dealing with the organization of data gathered in a survey and refinement of material by statistical methods should certainly be a requirement for students looking toward group work as a profession.

Only fifteen schools of those replying to the questionnaire were requiring any courses either in statistics or in methods of social investigation, and in many of these schools the requirement was for a single course, sometimes as brief as two quarter credits.

There is another place in undergraduate courses where some work preliminary to research may be done, and that is in field work, especially in the student conferences with the supervisor in the school. Unless you are fortunate enough to have a training district, the supervisor in the district does not have time to give the student what may be called the theoretical side of field work: for example, the stressing of the analogy between the major processes of case work and the scientific processes of collection of data, analysis of data and statement of the problem, and the solution of the problem with which the student was familiar in the biological laboratory; then, the emphasis upon the types of problems represented in her cases, getting away for the moment from the personalities of the clients, or a discussion of the community provision or lack of provision for particular types of dependents and delinquents. The student has had this information in a classroom course, but it has to be synthesized with the particular family with which she is working if the information is not to remain in a watertight compartment in her brain!

The problem of training in research for a graduate student who is preparing for social work is not as simple a matter as undergraduate preparation for research. If a student expects to receive an advanced degree, a thesis will be required in most schools of social work. This may be done under the supervision of one member of the faculty, or in a seminar, or by a combination of these methods, but in the majority of the schools this used to be the student's sole experience in research. The explanation of the situation was lack of time rather than lack of appreciation of the value of research as a method of training. The attitude until recently was that the student must first learn the technique, and then, if a second year of graduate training was possible, there would be opportunity for a thesis, for some research, and a little time for reflection. But a few years ago a new trend in the philosophy of training appeared; the emphasis seemed to shift from technique to theory, and with that shift there has come an increased interest in, and use of, research as a method of training. Graduate students are being given more of the theory and philosophy of social work while in school and are expected to make their own application later. Often this theoretical classroom training is accompanied by work on a research project involving several students, or an individual one, from which the student may develop a thesis later. The primary object of such training is the development of the student's capacity for thinking and for research, and this objective is given precedence over the possibility of contributions to human knowledge, which may or may not result as a by-product.

The method has some points in common with English and European methods of training which have a satisfactory record of achievement. Perhaps one may question, though, whether this theoretical method is not better adapted to mature students who have had some background in experience than to the student just out of college. Is not its success in this country so far due to the fact that many candidates for advanced degrees have been people who have had

considerable experience either in social work or in an allied field before taking professional training?

To state the question simply, we need to know, not only whether the student can analyze situations and suggest a way out, but also whether she can secure the facts with which to make the analysis and can get the way out accepted by the persons concerned. Is there any way of determining a student's ability on these two points other than field experience? Is it not important, therefore, for the student to have some field work before she goes too far in theoretical class room discussions?

This newer method of training is putting more time into seminar experience either in analyzing case records with an attempt to interpret the meaning of certain recurring factors or in working on some other study than a thesis. There is also the policy of presenting thesis material in more than one seminar, a policy which would seem very necessary unless more than one member of the faculty conducts the seminar in which it is being prepared. The research methods of the schools replying to the questionnaire seemed widely different until the classification of thesis titles revealed their similarities.

Over three hundred titles of theses and studies were submitted, and five-sixths of them were in the field of case work. Many different types of case work were represented: family, medical, psychiatric, and many phases of children's work, but all involved the reading of case records. The remaining one-sixth were either in the group work field, such as "The Effective Radius of the Playground, the Organized Club, the Scout Troop, the Community Center," or "The Recreation of Children of a Particular Age, Including a Study of Their Distribution of Time," or, in the field of labor, such as "A Comparison of Open and Closed Shop Policy," or "Labor Turnover," or "Commercial Arbitration in the Movies Industry." Most of the subjects in the case work fields indicated a rather practical interpretation of the case records, although a few more theoretical subjects like "Interviewing" were cited.

Such titles suggest that the students have probably had some such preparation in classroom methodology and field work as has been described in this paper. But there has apparently not been any attempt yet to determine the effect on the students' work of such preparation. Perhaps we shall have to turn the students into guinea pigs and have one group take all the ideal preparatory courses for research and do some research and then have another group plunge into research without such courses and compare the results! We might do it if we could only hold the other factors of intellect and interest constant. We also need to test the effect of research experience upon the student's later practical work. About one-third of the schools reported that a student's record writing improved after she had read a group of case records with a special objective in mind and had tried to isolate a particular factor, but an equal number were doubtful whether any tangible evidence could be found in the improved character of the student's work.

A similar point on which some information might prove interesting is whether students have greater appreciation of the potential value of case records as material for research after they have tried to gather information on a few points from such records. Ten schools were very sure that such was the case, and a few more that it would work out that way, but had no evidence. The question raises a much disputed point as to whether the case record should be concerned merely with the processes of treatment or whether its possible statistical value should also be kept in mind. Mr. Lee believes that many inadequacies of case records are also inadequacies for treatment; that although the case record's primary value is for treatment, if this function is well performed the record will also be found satisfactory for research. It may be that he is right. The most significant fact is that we do not know. We need a great deal more research in the subject of this paper than it was possible to do before this meeting.

In the field of group work the successful leader is constantly gaining information about the neighborhood from which the group comes. In the case of settlement workers such information is absorbed rather unconsciously just from living in the neighborhood. The information is probably just as unconsciously utilized in the management of groups, but for teaching purposes it is necessary to study the process more closely. Such study is especially necessary in the work of program agencies where the leader of the group does not usually live in the same neighborhood as the members of the group. Some schools indicated that such information was being secured and utilized in leadership choice and in program making for groups, but the methods were not stated. Perhaps Miss Williamson's study on methods of teaching group work will have some information.

The limitations of students in research may be classified under three headings: immaturity, lack of time, and lack of background and tool subjects. We may accept the proposition that many students have not the ability to do research and probably never will have. They have no appreciation of accuracy or may even lack a "number sense"; they cannot grasp the meaning of numbers or numerical relationships, or they may be too indifferent to overcome the obstacle to accuracy and reliability. There are others, however, who are too young and immature now, but who may after a few years' experience develop considerable facility in research.

Probably the greatest limitation, though, is in the matter of time, both from the student's view point and from the teacher's. The student has so much to learn even in a two year course that more time devoted to research means a reduction of time for the chosen field of the student's specialty, unless the two can be synthesized. And then again from the point of view of the instructor he must have a very light teaching schedule if he is to supervise the individual research of one or more students. The heavy schedules of the faculty probably is the greatest limitation in developing research in training schools.

But the lack of background of the students must be considered. If a student has never had a course in science and never had a course in statistics or methods of social investigation he is totally unprepared to undertake any kind of a study. Another phase of such inadequate preparation appears in a student's inability to organize his material and to present the results in understandable English. It is difficult to say how far back in the educational system one would have to go in order to inculcate facility in writing. The lack of experience of the students appears also in a limited appreciation of social processes and situations. This lack is demonstrated in the field of social legislation, where the student expects too much from the mere passage of laws and does not appreciate the difficulties of enforcement.

The values of research as a method of training for social work seem very well established. The student may learn accuracy in his thinking as well as in practice. He may learn how "to observe, to classify, and to interpret social phenomena; he may become conscious of variations in trends." But most important of all is what Mr. Lee calls "the critical attitude" which research should arouse in the student so he will be skeptical of results and will want to discover the implications of failures. He must be able to evaluate the methods he has used and be stimulated to experiment with new methods. He will learn to search out the objective factors in a situation.

Since all prevention in social work depends upon research, students must be exposed to social facts and made aware of the problems which have already been discovered as needing adjustment. If they can be convinced of the need for research then they may be interested in making their own experience contribute to the solving of some of the larger social problems.

We may say in conclusion, then, that the task of undergraduate schools consists of requiring those courses in methodology and field work which form a sound basis for the research of those students who enter graduate school and which give to the students entering social work an appreciation of the value of research. The graduate schools will, in addition, offer technical training for those who would make research their profession and will develop in prospective social workers the power to think accurately, the attitude of skepticism as to results, and resourcefulness in thinking out new methods of attack on the old problems of social maladjustment.

RESEARCH AS AN END IN PROMOTING SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL
WORK; THE MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION
OF PROGRAMS IN SOCIAL WORK

Raymond Clapp, Director, Welfare Federation, Cleveland

In my connection with the Welfare Federation and with the Association of Community Chests and Councils a number of problems have presented themselves which may serve to illustrate the topic assigned. It is my hope that, in addition to promoting the cause of research, the discussion of these problems will help toward their solution.

The problem of the number of hospital beds needed in Cleveland may illustrate some of the points to be considered.

During the war years, as a matter of course, new buildings for social agencies were deferred. When we had caught our breath after the armistice we discovered that every hospital, as well as most of the other Federation institutions, was in dire need of a new building. The idea of a grand scramble for building funds appealed to no one. This fact, together with a real desire to plan together for the best community program of hospital and health care, led to the hospital and health survey. This survey concentrated the best public health experience and knowledge upon our problem, and resulted in a series of recommendations, many of which Cleveland started at once to put into effect.

One of these recommendations was for 1,500 new hospital beds, increasing our capacity from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 beds per 1,000 population. A bond issue was passed, increasing the size of city hospital, and several private hospitals added beds until half the needed new beds were provided. Then doubts began to arise as to whether Cleveland would use 5 beds per 1,000 if they were built.

Statistical records of performance then showed an average occupancy of only 70 patients in each 100 beds, with certain hospitals operating at but 50 per cent of capacity. This did not tally with the idea that many patients were suffering because of lack of hospital beds. Other cities similarly situated were found to be getting along with fewer beds per thousand population than we had. We found in the files of the Hospital and Library Service Bureau, affiliated with the American Hospital Association, correspondence that seemed to have been the origin of the use of the figure of 5 beds per 1,000 as the standard of a city's hospital need. Several years before officials of the American Hospital Association felt the need of some authoritative opinion on this point. An inquiry was sent to twenty or thirty leading hospital administrators in this country and Canada asking their opinion as to the number of beds needed. No statistical data were asked or secured. The opinions received as a result of this inquiry clustered around 5 beds per 1,000. The Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey estimated that Greater New York had 5 beds and Greater Boston 4.83 beds per 1,000 population to support its conclusion that Cleveland should build that number.

The more we studied the matter the more convinced we became that it would be better to see what use would be made of the beds then building before building more new ones. Cleveland's population was a million. Therefore the added three-quarters of a bed needed to make 5 per 1,000 had to be multiplied by a thousand, which resulted in an indicated capital investment of six or eight million dollars more and an additional maintenance budget of a million dollars a year. Cleveland's death rate was low compared to that of other large cities. A very efficient health department, an active visiting nurse service, an increasing concern by industry in the health of employees and their freedom from accident, a tremendously increased out-patient and social service in the hospitals, all seemed to contribute to a lessened need for hospital beds. The result then, for a period, was a discouragement of campaigns for added beds and an increased attention toward the more effective use of the beds already built or building.

This problem, together with similar problems in other fields, led us at the Welfare Federation to seek additional and more complete data of what other cities were doing. Federation and chest executives in other cities were seeking similar data. The result was the 1924 "Study of Volume and Cost of Social Work in 19 American Cities," of which a number of you have probably heard. That study showed, among other things, that twelve of these cities had more beds per thousand than Cleveland, which then had $4\frac{1}{4}$ per 1,000. St. Paul, for instance, had over twice that number or $8\frac{6}{10}$; Kansas City and Omaha had over 7; and ten of the nineteen cities had over $5\frac{1}{4}$ beds per 1,000. Our next thought was that some of these cities must have seriously overbuilt. But the test of occupancy did not so indicate. In no city were the beds occupied more than 78 per cent on the average for the total throughout the year, even in those cities with fewer beds than Cleveland; and the two cities with the largest number of beds showed a use of 72 per cent and 75 per cent respectively. Neither could the difference be explained by an appreciably greater service to out of town patients. We were forced to the conclusion that cities could, and did, use many more beds than Cleveland had.

The occupancy figures from other cities helped reassure us that our seemingly low occupancy did not necessarily mean that we had too many beds. Our experience of 74 per cent in 1924 was bettered by only four of the nineteen cities. Allowing for all the if's and and's, these data gave us more courage to believe that the new beds then building would find patients ready for them, and that more new beds could safely be built. Experience has supported this conclusion. Cleveland now has $4\frac{1}{3}$ beds per 1,000, having gained slightly on the growing population. The average occupancy has gone up to 81 per cent, indicating increased efficiency of administration.

A beautiful new 325 bed hospital, St. Luke's was opened last winter. This is 145 beds larger than the old St. Luke's, which is to be abandoned. Another hundred beds will be added when the new university group is completed next

year. A bond issue for added chronic and psychopathic beds at the municipal hospital failed by a very narrow margin last fall and will be resubmitted this fall. The privately endowed Cleveland Clinic Hospital is gradually expanding. Two or three other hospitals are laying the groundwork for building fund campaigns.

But it takes 140 new beds a year to maintain our ratio in the face of a growing city and, as these projects will do little more than that, we are going ahead with confidence that these new beds are needed. Do not let me give you the idea, however, that we are content with the information now at hand, or that the data mentioned are all that have been considered. We hope some day more fully to analyze the data so that we may better know the demand, the supply, and the need of beds for tuberculosis, obstetrics, pediatrics, and each of the other specialties, and so that we may have some hint of trends in each. For instance, before recommending the bond issue for new chronic beds, a census was taken of all chronic patients known to social agencies, with information as to whether they needed, and were not receiving, hospital care.

This long account is somewhat removed from professional standards, and is certainly a very elementary form of research. It illustrates, however, one of the ways in which the spirit of research is beginning to react on community planning. The truly scientific mind will abhor the drawing of conclusions from data so inadequate as those on which we have acted, and rightly so. But decisions have a way of forcing themselves upon budget and capital account committees. These committees may act on hunches, prejudice, pressure, or salesmanship, or they may act on the basis of such facts as can be secured. They may be diligent or not in the quest for understanding; but in any case they must act. At least once each year, for instance, the budget committee must determine the financial limitations within which each agency will be expected to live for the coming year. In so doing it is profoundly affecting the extent and the standards of social work in its community. A thoroughly scientific attitude toward budget problems would defer every conclusion until all the facts bearing upon the given problem are in hand and all the conceivable alternatives examined and tested. That would mean, however, denying about 99 per cent of the requests that come before the committee. Obviously such denials are decisions in themselves. The only reasonable plan, then, is to do the best we can do with the facts available, and to plan for the future so that more and more decisions can be made on a fact basis.

The type of mass statistics mentioned in the foregoing reference to the need for hospital beds is a branch of research in which the welfare federation can make a peculiar contribution. No one else has ever been in so favorable a position to develop this class of data. If the registration of social statistics now being attempted by the Association of Community Chests and Councils and the University of Chicago can be developed into a permanent institution, it may mean to social research what vital statistics means to medical research. But

vital statistics in no way replace the type of research going on in hospital laboratories or in communities where individual cases or small groups of cases are studied. Vital statistics are most valuable in the questions they raise and in the direction or emphasis they may give to case study and localized activity. In the same way mass statistics in other parts of the social welfare field will contribute most in pointing the way to further study. The hypothesis it may suggest must be tested in the field. And here the community organizer must depend upon the specialized agency and upon the specialist. We find, for instance, that a test indicates that 50 per cent of the wage earning families in Cleveland may be registered at the social service clearing house as known to medical agencies. That immediately leads to a closer analysis by a hospital social service department of its standards of admission. It also is one factor in starting a joint study of this problem by the Academy of Medicine, the welfare federation, and the health and hospital councils. The 1924 "Volume and Cost Study" showed that one city had twice as many dependent children as most of the others. This knowledge has helped to bring in representatives of a national agency to make a study which will probably result in a radical improvement of standards of child care in that city.

The large amount of energy and expense going into character building activities is leading here and there to a questioning, by some adventurous soul, of the effect, for instance, of the elaborate systems of awards and insignia so prominent in some of these movements. One eastern organization is even attempting to test the benefits of the two week summer camp period.

Ralph Hurlin's reports have been of great value in helping to justify and maintain growing costs and standards of relief. They likewise have stimulated specialized inquiries to secure a better understanding of some of the trends they indicate.

One of the most interesting and vital problems we have to face is that of establishing and maintaining standards in governmentally administered social work. Great progress has been made in the fields of education, of health, and of recreation. Similar progress will be made some day in the fields of delinquency and dependency. How this can best be done is one of the questions most on our minds in Cleveland. A recent suggestion, which has caused much discussion, is that we may learn something more of the possibilities and of the difficulties of governmentally administered relief by a study of the work of the Detroit Department of Public Welfare, using the work of the Cleveland Associated Charities as a background. The two cities have many similarities, in size, in climate, in ethnic composition, and in industry. But they differ widely in general policy as to the administration of relief. In Detroit a municipal department distributes relief on a relatively generous basis with a comparatively small staff which is experienced but not trained according to orthodox case work principles. In Cleveland the municipal department has been abandoned. A single large private agency (excepting the Jewish group) gives relief as a last

resort and sparingly, as part of a case work program which is administered by a comparatively large staff, thoroughly supervised and trained according to the accepted case work principles. There is no question but that, in a period of unemployment, the Detroit plan is much more costly in money, but the experience following 1920-21 has led the Detroit people to question whether there was a pauperizing effect from what amounted almost to an unemployment dole. In spite of the fact that Detroit spent about three million in relief to Cleveland's one million that year, the relief dropped off so rapidly on the resumption of employment that in 1924 our comparison showed that in Detroit only two families were receiving relief per 1,000 population; in Cleveland the corresponding ratio was 2.01 per 1,000, and only one other city of the nineteen studied had a lower ratio than these. This did not seem to bear out the theory that relief without adequate case work was pauperizing. Some of us have been wondering whether there is any way of testing results in the two cities which would throw new light on this theory. A committee of the Welfare Federation of Cleveland has voted against such a study as unlikely to be worth the time and trouble involved, but the question can be reopened if new facts become available.

Perhaps these several instances are enough to illustrate some of the ways in which, to quote Professor Chapin, "social work executives and others interested in policies and principles are finding it advantageous to look more and more to scientific research as a means of fact gathering and fact interpretation, to the end that decisions on policies may eventually be based upon adequate analysis of facts and that the results of programs of social work may be brought to the test of scientific analysis by means of research."

ARE THERE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES BASIC TO PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS IN SOCIAL WORK?

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Three abstract general phrases—"underlying principles," "basic policies," "professional standards"—confront us. The practical questions back of these weighty abstractions seem to be: Are there underlying principles of social life or society? If so, to what policies do they point or lead in the practice of social work; that is, what action is taken in the light of them? And, How is it insured that those who undertake to carry out these policies know them and their underlying principles and are equipped to carry them out faithfully and efficiently, in a professional manner?

The distinguishing characteristic of social work in relation to sociology and the social sciences is that it practices as well as learns. It is both learning and doing at the same time. It neither sets out on a line of action based on an

absolute principle of social relationship, nor does it start out primarily to learn about modifications of social relations with the doing processes merely incidental to the learning process, as is the case with laboratory work. It tries to maintain a balance between doing, carried on for immediate utilitarian purposes, and learning, accomplished through the cultivation of an attitude of inquiry in regard to the efficiency of the process and the accomplishment of the ends in view. One of the principal differences between what would be regarded as a scientific professional job in social work, as distinguished from the unscientific and unprofessional job, is this pragmatic attitude and the refusal to accept a cut and dried program of action for continuous operation. It is the difference between the work of a person whose mind is completely made up as to the value and worth of what he intends to do or is doing, both as to objective and as to method, and the person who sees a changing world, in which objectives of social processes shift and the nature of the processes themselves undergoes change.

Are there principles underlying social work?—If we do not accept absolutist programs, what have we by which to go? It might be said that there are a few established and accepted assumptions which underlie the policies and procedures of the professional social worker. Can it not be said that every social worker assumes that human volition can determine changes for the betterment of human lives and of society? While he has evolved no all embracing formula or set of prescriptions for the improvement of society, so far as he can see and understand, he is not alone in this dilemma. In *The Public and Its Problems* John Dewey points out that

"Laws" of social life, when it is genuinely human, are like laws of engineering. If you want certain results, certain means must be found and employed. The key of the situation is a clear conception of consequences wanted and of the technique of reaching them, together with, of course, the state of desires and aversions which causes some consequences to be wanted rather than others. All of these things are functions of the prevalent culture of the period.

Social workers are, of course, concerned in the sociologist's search for general laws of society, and, when they are discovered, will be attentive to the problem of finding their practical applications. So far, however, the discussion among sociologists seems to be largely a question of whether such general laws can ever be found. Professor Morris R. Cohen, of the College of the City of New York, comparing in Ogburn and Goldenweiser's recent book on *The Social Sciences* the social sciences with the natural sciences, apparently clings to the hope of finding such general laws when he says that

The social reformer, like the physician, the engineer, and the scientific agriculturalist, can improve the human lot only to the extent that he utilizes the labor of those who pursue science for its own sake regardless of its practical applications.

But he later answers his own question, "Are there any social laws?" as follows:

In any case, those who think that social science has been as successful as physical science in discovering and establishing laws, may be invited to compile a list of such laws and

to compare the list in respect to number, definiteness, and universal demonstrability, with a collection such as Northrup's "Laws of Nature."

Certainly there are no scientific formulations of what constitute unchanging social relationships in any field of human life, although there is a vast array of customs and legal enactments. From the standpoint of science we do not know what social relations actually exist throughout the world, in any domain of life; nor do we know what they ought to be. Consequently, social workers can set up no absolute standards of what constitutes proper social relations. Probably most of them would agree with Professor Dewey when he cautions against supposing that absolutistic ideas regarding social relations will ever be attained. He says:

While the backwardness of social knowledge and art is of course connected with retarded knowledge of human nature, or psychology, it is also absurd to suppose that an adequate psychological science would flower in a control of human activities similar to the control which physical science has procured of physical energies. For increased knowledge of human nature would directly and in unpredictable ways modify the workings of human nature, and lead to the need of new methods of regulation, and so without end.

From the assumption of social workers that life can be improved and the general dearth of information or theory on ways and means, they clearly recognize the present necessity for continuous scientific testing of the operation of social programs and measures of alleviation. We cannot do better than to refer again to Professor Dewey. This principle implies

that policies and proposals for social action be treated as working hypotheses, not as programs to be rigidly adhered to and executed. They will be experimental in the sense that they will be an entertained subject of constant and well equipped observation of the consequences they entail when acted upon; and subject to ready and flexible revision in the light of observed consequences. . . . Differences of opinion in the sense of differences of judgment as to the course which it is best to follow, the policy which it is best to try out, will still exist. But opinion in the sense of beliefs, formed and held in the absence of evidence, will be reduced in quantity and importance. No longer will views generated in view of special situations be frozen into absolute standards and masquerade as eternal truths.

All over the field of social work such pragmatic thinking is in progress, and illustrations of many kinds could be cited. Perhaps the most conspicuous are those changes that are going on in the field of child caring. The number of agencies that regard their programs as working hypotheses, subject to constant and well equipped observation of the consequences entailed and amenable to ready revision in the light of observed consequences, is growing. The interest throughout the field of social work in record keeping of a type that will reveal results attained in the light of measures adopted indicates a widespread scientific spirit such as Professor Dewey has described. It might be said that in a sense the whole movement for councils of social agencies is predicated upon a point of view that recognizes the experimental character of social work and inquires regarding the results of the experiment in the light of well established community needs.

May we summarize our discussion regarding underlying principles by saying that the social worker is consciously or unconsciously guided by the pragmatic theory that, first, life can be bettered through the exercise of human volition, and second, the processes for the achievement of this purpose require continuous scientific observation and measurement.

What are some of the hypotheses of social work?—It might be said that some policies, or working hypotheses, are beginning to emerge from the mass of charitable and philanthropic activities out of which social work has come. Without an attempt to catalogue these working hypotheses, or policies, a few illustrations may be mentioned. The first one that suggests itself is in common everyday application throughout many fields of social work. It is to the effect that unless there are unusual and positively detrimental conditions in a child's home, assistance shall be so rendered as to keep the child with his family. As we all know, group after group of social workers have made this a part of their working plans. It finds expression in family case work, among the better equipped child caring agencies, in legislation, such as that for mothers' pensions and workmen's compensation, in legal theory regarding modification of bequests for non-family forms of care, and it has found expression in certain forms of recreation and group work. In Boston the whole technique of the children's club work of an important organization has been developed around the idea of having club meetings of children in the children's own homes, rather than in some place outside.

A second illustration of the working hypotheses upon which social workers proceed is that neighborhood conditions influence favorably or unfavorably the development of character and personality. It is believed that they can be appraised and improved and that there are processes by which this can be done. Some measures must be repressive and coercive, while others may provide outlets that compete with and thus minimize those conditions that are regarded as harmful in their influence. At present the enrichment of neighborhood and community life is the main problem.

Family conditions and neighborhood conditions have to a very large extent occupied the attention of social workers, but not exclusively. They have been interested in measures that make for more satisfying experience in industry. While they have not perhaps made their views very specifically articulate, they regard as a fundamental policy the idea that they are to use every legitimate opportunity to contribute to the building of an industrial organization which will give the ordinary rank and file of workers a wage sufficient both to provide a minimum standard of living and working conditions under which they may maintain self respect and a fair degree of satisfaction in work. Thus far the means to these ends have largely been legislative measures to control the worst conditions in industry and research and educational efforts to promote the positive phases of industrial development.

These illustrations may be enough to indicate what social workers would

regard as working hypotheses, upon which the whole fabric of their work rests. Most social workers would concede that there might be differences of opinion about all of these questions, but for the time being these are assumptions upon which we work. We may say that we have a pragmatic philosophy and that we have a set of more or less well defined policies. It might be added that a great deal remains to be done in the formulation of these policies, and that the policies now in general operation should be catalogued.

Professional standards.—Besides a pragmatic attitude and some working hypotheses, we have evolved methods for doing specific jobs. Often we are accused of having exalted our methods and techniques and magnified their importance out of proportion to the attention which we have paid either to the policies adopted or the measurement of results in the light of broad criteria of advancement in the character of social relations. Reflection will perhaps support the contention that these three elements are each essential to the others. Without a fairly effective technique we cannot do justice to our hypotheses, and there will be scant and defective material as a basis for learning. This is where professional standards must be brought into play.

The professional social worker needs the pragmatic attitude, a knowledge of policies, and skill in the operation of processes. He must have all three of these forms of mental equipment. Obviously, among the people practicing social work, the development of each of these three factors varies widely, but each one should be present, in some degree at least, in every professional social worker. Otherwise we develop either into philosophers without technique or technicians without philosophy, and either type is seriously handicapped in the profession of social work.

The fact that we have no basic underlying laws of society by which to check up our operations and our policies, and the fact that we must maintain an attitude of continuous testing of our hypotheses, make the question of professional standards and education much more difficult and complex than it might otherwise be. How to give people a pragmatic attitude toward their work, how to transmit a knowledge of policies and skill in processes, are difficult questions. As this paper is to be followed by one dealing particularly with these questions that subject can be left to more competent treatment.

UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES AND COMMON PRACTICES IN SOCIAL WORK

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I understand the object of this paper to be the finding of elements, if there are any, which are common to the several special fields and forms of social work and which may give us the material for the deduction of some principles which are basic to social work as a profession. These common elements

or units may be of content, of objective, of method, of working condition, and of philosophical concept. Some such, I am convinced, exist. What they may indicate as to fundamental principle we can perhaps discover when we have agreed as to what they are.

Inquiry into this subject may help to clear our ideas as to the old question of whether or not social work is a profession, a question of academic rather than practical interest, perhaps, in comparison with the other question of the interrelations of our special fields, yet with practical implications. In 1915 Dr. Abraham Flexner delivered before the National Conference an epochal paper on the subject. His six criteria were reviewed by Mr. Hodson three years ago. It may be permissible to refer to them again here.

Dr. Flexner said that social work met the professional test of being constituted of intellectual operations carrying responsibility for decisions, the test of having its basis in scientific learning, and the test of self organization, and had, if anything, too altruistic a general objective. He said that social work seemed to fail to meet the test of having a definite practical purpose of its own, accomplished by direct effort. As to the test of the "educationally communicable technique," he was doubtful, and he quoted an educator of social workers as saying "We don't know exactly what to teach them." Dr. Flexner said that the social worker both utilized the professions—medicine, law, education, ministry—to give needed services, and supplied the social complement to those professions. He said that personal qualities such as judgment and understanding were the desirable equipment of the social worker, rather than technical skill.

It is true that social work has been practiced as a part of medicine, a part of psychiatry, a part of the legal or judicial system, a part of education, and a part of church work, besides being practiced under its own auspices as family and children's case work and as community organization. It is true, too, that these several alliances have developed a tendency in social work to separate into specialties, and that education for social work has been to a considerable extent preparation for special fields of practice rather than education in common social work techniques and knowledge. And it is true that social case work, even when practicing under its own organization, depends much upon the community's professional resources for the effects it wishes to see accomplished. Have we, then, as a group of social workers, disintegrated, and do we see ourselves as an interstitial or as a catalytic element in society, supporting the functioning cells, or stimulating the ions to complete activity?

On the contrary, I believe that the most significant developments in social work now in process are in the integration of social workers as a group, the defining of common interests, objectives, and methods, and the working out of a basic education. I see social work entering upon an era, not of specialization, but of generalization, and not of supplementary, but of intrinsic, function. What may come after the generalizing we can only surmise from the growth of

other highly organized human activities. The experience of society with law and medicine, together with the content of social work as we see it now, would lead us to expect another period of specialization upon the general foundation now being laid down.

The specialization of the present is not, as I see it, evidence of any late stage of development of social work. It is rather, as Dr. Flexner found it, evidence of undevelopment. It is a pre-general rather than a post-general specialization; not a differentiation of a vast homogeneous body of subject matter, but a preliminary upgathering in various quarters of the subject matter which will be assembled and organized as the common basic material of social work. As yet we practice as specialists in social work rather than as social workers, and our common foundation is not clear to us because it has not yet been built.

This is by no means, I believe, an unprecedented experience. "Science is born of art"; practice precedes principles; our activity is specific first of all, meeting specific needs which upon later inspection are found to have much in common. There were among primitive men, Osler tells us, specialists in trephining the skull thousands of years before there was general surgery. Later, among the Egyptians, medicine was practiced "on a plan of separation." "Each physician," says Herodotus, "treats a single disorder, and no more; thus the country swarms with medical practitioners, some undertaking to cure diseases of the eye, others of the head, others again of the teeth, others of the intestines, and some those which are not local." There may have been some generalization of medicine then; but still later, in Europe, the main divisions of medical practice, medicine, surgery, and obstetrics, developed among separate groups before the common foundations of anatomy, physiology, and pharmacology were laid in the universities.

A few years ago a group of representatives of national social case work organizations, the Milford Conference, began meeting to discuss their working interrelationships. The first question they could not collectively answer was, What is generic social case work? Accordingly they appointed a committee to which they intrusted the task of answering this simple question. After two years the committee brought in a tentative report. I wish to quote some of the main propositions of that report, and to ask you to consider their bearing, not only upon social case work as a whole, but also, perhaps in some modified form, upon community organization as well, and to say whether they do not suggest elements which are common to social work and which may yield us some fundamental principles.

The first statement has to do with the kind of human situation with which social case work deals. "Social case work deals with the human being whose capacity to organize his own normal social activities may be impaired by one or more deviations from accepted standards of normal social life of which the following are typical." Then follow about forty "deviations," personal and environmental in nature, a list intended to be indicative and concrete rather than exhaustive or logical.

This statement at once suggests the distinction between the individual client of social case work and the group client of community organization. At the same time it suggests an objective common to both divisions of social work, namely, capacity to organize normal social activities. The difference between individual as member of group and group as made up of individual members implies many differences in problems attacked and in methods of attack, as between case workers and community workers. Yet these concepts are the same for both: the individual in his social relationships, the group to which an individual belongs as suffering or profiting by his relationship to it, self maintenance as socially desirable for individual and for group, organization of social activities as a necessity of social life, norms of social activities.

Other professions have social concepts and social objectives, but I think that only social work never has a purely individual objective. The lawyer will defend his client against all other persons, against the state if need be; the physician's patient may be bounded by the skin; the teacher's aim is the growth in knowledge of each single student; to the church each soul is in itself of value. But the most individualistic of social case workers must think as he treats his client of the reaction of such treatment upon the client's family, associates, and community. It is for the purpose of furthering his capacity to organize his own normal social activities.

Miss Richmond's definition truly says that social case work "consists of those processes which develop personality, by means of adjustments . . . between man and his social environment." The development of individual personality as such, however, seems to me more normally the aim of the teacher, psychiatrist, and priest than of the social worker, whose concern is with the personality in interaction with the social environment. The psychiatric social worker, who is prone sometimes to follow exactly the psychiatrist in his pursuit of personality objectives, probably becomes less of a social worker and more of a psychiatrist's aid in proportion as she lets the patient's group subordinate itself to the patient in her work. This is true of medical social work equally, and indeed of all the special forms of social case work. It was a physician who made me realize that to take a sick person out of an environment responsible for his sickness and let a well person take his place in the same environment was poor social medicine, and not social work at all.

I have said that a concept of normal social activities was common to all forms of social work. Have we then any accepted definition of social norms? No; and that is one reason why the specific purpose of social work has been obscure. But norms do not have to be defined in order that the concept of a norm may be active. The Milford Conference committee report says, "A recognition by social case work of norms of human life and human relationships is implied in its concepts of deviations and of social treatment." This, I think, could be said of community organization as well as of social case work. A chapter of social science dealing with normal social activities should be the logical scientific basis of social work; but where is it? I believe it cannot be written

until, through social study and treatment of deviations, the normal structures and functions appear. It seems to me inevitable that social work should produce the material for such a chapter of sociology. Every case study and community study which appears is a contribution to it if the study gives us any truth as to what is socially wrong, and why, in a given situation.

Granted that social work has a common objective, namely, the capacity of communities and individuals to organize their own social activities, has it any means of its own of reaching that objective? Dr. Flexner says that the social worker brings to bear the expert resources of the community, but has no tools for direct treatment of a situation. The Milford Conference committee, however, lists certain "established methods" in use by social case work in all its fields. Many of them are methods of community organization also. My own list, made with the whole of social work in mind, would include investigation, diagnosis, planning, treatment. Investigation and treatment are by means of technique, namely, interviewing, group conference, organization of experience. It is clear that these procedures are, in one material or another, common to other professions. Directed to the object of social work, they have taken on specific character and I think we can fairly say that we have a communicable technique.

The whole method seems to me more closely allied with educational method than with the method of any other profession. The essential difference between social work and teaching seems to be that whereas in teaching there must usually be a well understood subject to be taught, as well as a student, in social work the subject and student are one and the same. You teach your client to himself, your community to itself. The practice of social work is pedagogic, but not academic.

A principle inherent in this common method of social work is one which has been called participation. The client or community takes active part in making and carrying out the plan of social organization. In group conference and in some interviews the practice of "interpenetration" calls for participation by each member of the group or party to the interview in the production of joint thought. Such interpenetrative conference interviews seem as definitely tools of social work as argument, instruction, and psychoanalysis are tools of other professions. The Milford report speaks of the "particularization of concepts of normal life and activities and of deviations from them" by means of the facts assembled in the social case history. Here again a distinction is evident between social case work and community work, but the principle of particularization seems to remain for both an essential.

The Milford committee says, "Nowhere in our analysis of social case work does its essential unity appear more strikingly than in the comparison of the range of social history which is considered important by the different specialized fields." Comparison of the range of social history of communities considered important in community organization does not show any such unity of

form and detail, but such publications as the recent *Case Studies in Community Organization* (W. W. Pettit) bear out my contention that in this field, too, the situation dealt with must be particularized as well as classified, and that by means of historical facts, including, as the case history does, both past and present, both personal and environmental data.

One more statement of the Milford report seems to have bearing on the question of underlying principles: "Inherent in the practice of social case work is a philosophy of individual and social responsibility and of the ethical obligations of the social worker to his client and to the community." This statement just as it is phrased seems to be true equally of social case work and community organization. For the definition of our philosophical concepts we are almost as much at a loss as we are for definition of social norms. Here again practice comes before preaching. And if it is true, and I think it is, that we do in fact expect social workers to maintain in their practice certain kinds of relationships to and between community and clients, then sooner or later the philosophical thinking in regard to those relationships will find expression and we shall have a social philosophy as well as a social work sociology to discuss for us our underlying principles.

To sum up, I suggest the following as some of the underlying principles of social work, based upon common elements in the practice of the several special fields: First, it is an objective of social work to develop normal interrelationships between members of social groups; second, self maintenance on the part of individuals and of groups is an interest of social work; third, social activities can be organized, both by groups and by individuals; fourth, social work is methodical and proceeds by investigation, diagnosis, plan, and treatment; fifth, the method of social work is primarily of educational character, the subject taught being the social life of the client (individual or group), past, present, and future; sixth, particularization of the situation under treatment is necessary in all fields of social work; seventh, participation of client (individual or group) is essential to the securing of a social work result; eighth, inherent in the practice of social work is a philosophy of individual and social responsibility.

THE PLACE OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE CURRICULUM IN THE ARTS COLLEGE

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To orient our discussion may I at the outset express some fundamental propositions of a more or less accepted character: first, social work ultimately, in its more important aspects, is a matter of public administration involving the motives of education, restraint, and the development and protection of

moral and physical standards; second, the task of selecting and educating the right persons to lead in the performance of these necessary public functions is primarily a responsibility of our universities, especially of our state supported institutions of higher education; third, such institutions have been somewhat slow to accept their responsibilities in this regard, due to the persistence of an older academic tradition concerning the proper functions of an university, and also to the fact that what hitherto has passed as social work often has scarcely merited the interest of those who are accustomed to see things in terms of intellectual analysis and synthesis; fourth, we are now observing a convergence of interest between social work and university programs of study, because of the disintegration of the exclusively academic ideal of education and because the social workers themselves are developing a group morale with intellectual and professional standards which are commanding attention.

Changing character of the literary college.—It is clear to anyone who has watched the course of American higher education that the traditional ideal of the undergraduate college course has been undergoing change. Before commenting upon the wisdom of this change we may simply recognize an obvious fact. That traditional ideal was well adapted to the theory of higher education which held it to be the privilege of a leisure class who could afford time and money for a period of detached study of the humanities, including the classical learning, history, literature, and the arts. The introduction into the curriculum of courses in modern science was the first disintegrating influence; and it is well known that the natural sciences have had to fight their way to their present degree of recognition. The social sciences have undergone a similar period of struggle, and it is by no means clear that in some of our older institutions their battle has been entirely won. Of the great institutions of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Pennsylvania only the last has a department of sociology. Both the natural and social sciences make a break with the older ideal of learning in that their materials are directly derived from the physical and social environment surrounding us. Moreover, studies in these fields are motivated in large part by a desire to control this environment in the interest of human life. From one point of view it may seem incongruous that the term "humanities" has been monopolized by studies in the classics and polite literature. Still, no sensible person would wish to make a change in this ancient and respectable usage.

Another attack upon the solid wall of tradition which was wont to surround the college of the arts has come from the professions. No sooner had the older professions of law and medicine established their own graduate schools than they began to reach down into the college course, demanding that a share of it be devoted to studies which would prepare their candidates for admission to professional study. The result was to give the arts college a distinctly vocational outlook in place of one of detachment. This was but the head of the inevitable camel. As other callings became sufficiently self conscious to claim for their votaries specialized intellectual discipline the whole hulk of the beast

came lurching onward, dismaying the potentates of the sacred tent as the new situation demanded organized curriculums in many and varied specialties, including pedagogy, business administration, forestry, journalism, nursing, domestic science, and a host of others, including, most recently, our own partly nourished supplicant, social work. The fact of the matter is that instead of higher education being the pursuit of an élite leisure class of detached interests, it has become, of necessity, a task of orienting a larger number of students with respect to their intellectual and vocational interests, and of preparing them, with due emphasis upon selection, for active and useful contributions in their chosen fields.

This shifting of the center of gravity in college education from generalized studies devoid of practical intent to innumerable disciplines with a professional outlook should not be carried too far, and is undoubtedly attended by a certain degree of loss. Thoroughness and detachment characterized the more uniform college course of former days, and these qualities produced distinguished leaders in all walks of life. As for thoroughness, it is often conspicuous by its absence in much of the college work of today. Regarding the capacity for intellectual detachment, it is certain that no great achievement in any field whose basis is scholarship can be attained without it. But may it not be that the possibility for detached intellectual interests, so dear to the heart of the older academic tradition, is becoming under the pressure of modern circumstances, a by-product of an engrossing job? The test as to whether training for any particular form of work should have place in a college course lies in its power to yield problems that will challenge the abilities of our best minds. No thinking person that has not a closed mind, and who will look squarely at social work, having regard for its content and aspirations, will hesitate to place this new interest among those which justly warrant recognition by our universities.

In the course of development of specialized professional interests in the American college many of them have been shunted off into separate schools where they can work out their particular problems somewhat independently under regulations of their own making. This is probably an ideal outcome for university courses in social work, provided that sufficient funds in the way of endowment or otherwise can be secured for its maintenance and proper development. Until that time comes, and even when it does, it is imperative that education for social work be kept well integrated with the thought and standards of the university as a whole. If I may refer to a paper read before this group two years ago, I repeat that social work, at its best, is not merely a craft, but a significant form of modern culture, making an intellectual and practical synthesis of elements in our traditions of democracy, science, and religion, and looking toward a real elevation of human life. As such its materials for preparatory study will be drawn from many fields now organized under separate administrative units or departments of our universities. On the other hand, through its organic point of view it can make its own contribution to the inte-

gration of the intellectual life of the university, especially in the social sciences. But to do so it must not only be tolerated by the authorities, but be given a niche of importance and dignity. Whether it is so awarded depends to a considerable extent upon the standing and importance of the profession in the community at large.

Theory vs. craftsmanship.—I have said that the logical and desirable, though not necessary, development of social service training is toward a school of social work; I may add that it is equally desirable that this be a school of graduate status. It is beyond the province of this paper to deal with problems of such a graduate school, though it is pertinent for me to add a word concerning the relation of graduate to undergraduate training. The terms of this relationship are sometimes conceived to involve the idea that the student should have finished his theoretical training during his undergraduate course, and that the graduate period be given over entirely to craftsmanship. There is some logic in this division of aims, yet I think I can show that it can be carried altogether too far. Observe, for example, what is happening in some of our law schools. I think I am right in saying that in them the craft ideal has largely predominated, with the result that lawyers as a class are often inept when it comes to visualizing the law critically in relation to the vast social and economic changes of our day. At any rate it is significant that the Yale law school has recently appointed a social scientist, Dr. Walton Hamilton, to give work relating to the historical development of the property concept. The Harvard law school has long been preeminent in the development of a sociological theory of legal institutions. When through such means progressive law schools can turn out future leaders of the bar affected by an evolutionary concept of the law, we may hope for a more facile adjustment between traditional legal theory and acute social needs. But if this comes to pass it will be because the law schools have directed their efforts, not only to the training of skilful technicians, but also of legal philosophers.

A lesson may also be learned from the situation in regard to graduate training in another field, namely, that of the ministry. Here the traditional division between theory and practice has led to opposite results from what we have observed in connection with legal training. Except for a little random instruction in the art of preaching, our theological schools have been largely concerned with matters of theory. With variations according to the type of school, they have been concerned with philosophy, dogmatic theology, textual criticism, comparative religion, and many other necessary and valuable disciplines. On the other hand, there has been a tragic lack of emphasis upon social ethics, pastoral care, or the study of the character and religious problems of communities in which young ministers are likely to find themselves. All these deficiencies, I believe, have contributed to that "decay of Protestantism" about which we hear so much in these days.

If I am not elaborating too much upon these analogies I may add that the

business schools, also, can ill afford to divorce theory from practice. Whether as organized on a graduate or undergraduate basis they are under the intellectual and moral obligation of orienting their students with respect to the social and ethical responsibilities of modern business enterprise, in other words, a theory of business that is integrated with community values, as regards city planning, labor standards, housing, case work, and other related interests upon which the welfare of the community, though not necessarily business success, depends.

The outcome of this discussion is to aver that theory and practice cannot be sharply divided in professional training in any field. It does not follow that there should not be a difference of emphasis in the graduate and undergraduate course. Undergraduate work must still be relied upon in education for social work to give the underlying disciplines in biology, economics, political science, sociology, history, labor problems, statistics, and so on. It would be desirable for our students to have courses in these fields given by men who are familiar with the kind of problems the social workers are likely to meet, just as there is a desirable emphasis in courses in biology, physics, or chemistry which are required of premedical students. Our better institutions are coming to realize this need for courses of different types, even within the same field and for students of the same degree of advancement, though of differing interests. In economics the prospective social worker needs economic history and social economics; in biology the need is for social biology; in statistics we need work dealing with social data; and so on. When this need is realized and met it will be seen to be one more of those forces which are bringing diversity into the old fashioned uniformity of the undergraduate curriculum.

Another important point to bear in mind relative to these fundamental studies is the desirability of holding before the student the idea of the organic unity of the social sciences. Unfortunately, because of the departmentalized character of our college curriculum this organic point of view is often lacking. I think that one does get it in a good general course in sociology, though I know that to say so may seem to lay us open to the charge of hostile critics who say that sociology generalizes about everything, without having any specific content of its own. There is a developing agreement as to the unique character of sociological studies, but it may be said to their merit that they do keep before the student the concept of the organic whole of social life. With the exception of anthropology, I know of no other subject that does reveal this total relatedness of social data. The social worker's need of the concept is experienced daily in his every effort to analyze and treat conditions of poverty, delinquency, family maladjustment, or any other situation whose roots spread widely throughout our complex society.

Regarding the specialized training courses in the undergraduate curriculum a word may now be said. The justification of introducing something of this character into the college course is as follows: first, in accordance with our former argument, it is neither desirable nor possible completely to divorce prac-

tice from theory in any stage of education for a definite purpose; second, if we do not give students some contact with the field and some knowledge of social work technique before they graduate many of them will not get it at all as a part of their formal educational experience. Graduate work is beyond the immediate means of many of our students, and beyond the educational vision of their parents. Even in business administration—an admittedly lucrative field—it has not been found expedient at my university to make it an entirely graduate course. There the business school is entered by the student during his senior year, while he is still enrolled in the literary college. Moreover, in the training of teachers practice work is given place in the undergraduate course. If, then, precedents mean anything for us, we have an abundance of them in these other fields.

Another reason for the inclusion of some actual contacts with the data and technique of social work during the undergraduate course, either in formal class instruction or in supervised field work, is to be found in its beneficial effects upon the students themselves. I have observed many of our students, who get in their senior year even a small degree of practical contacts in specialized courses or in field work, respond with glowing enthusiasm, as though they had attained, not only deeper levels of understanding, but also a stronger purpose to achieve in a useful field of human endeavor. If such results are not what we are looking for in our expensive institutions of higher education, then I, for one, am at loss to know what it is all about.

The foregoing considerations, however, should not blind us to the fact that the student in his undergraduate course should plow as deeply into fields of general human culture as his time and interests will allow. All genuine knowledge is grist for his mill in social work. English literature, language studies, philosophy, the arts and sciences, all lead to the enrichment of personality—an educational objective rivaled only by the need for a vocational or professional outlook. The crying need is to make workshops of our colleges, to curb the tragic waste of time and money that goes on, to eliminate the male and female flappers, and to increase the cooperative morale between teachers and students in this precious costly enterprise of education. My conviction is that a curriculum in social work in a college course can become one of the many diversified programs of study that will help the authorities achieve these desirable ends. No organized undergraduate group of studies can presume to give a complete professional education. But it can supply the orientation and motives which are a necessary prelude to further graduate work.

The curriculum at Michigan.—A concluding word may now be said concerning developments in this field at the University of Michigan. Our curriculum in social work was authorized seven years ago upon the urgent request of the social workers in Detroit that the University do something of a more definitive character to assist and direct those students who wish to enter social work. In accordance with precedents in such matters at the University of Michigan,

a curriculum in social work was organized in the College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, in which, however, graduate students, as well as undergraduates, might be permitted to enroll. There is no official registration of students in this curriculum, and there is little compulsion involved, except that those students who wish the University certificate in social work, which is described further on in this discussion, must have had a reasonable amount of work in the social sciences and must have taken the course in case work. The curriculum suggests a consecutive group of courses in economics, sociology, political science, biology, ethics, statistics, and related fields, offering, during the senior year, more specialized courses in case work, child welfare, hospital social work, psychiatry, the administration of social agencies, and other subjects. The field work available to undergraduates is restricted to six hours of university credit, one hour of credit being given for each three hours of field work. This practice work is of necessity limited to what may be done in connection with the social agencies of Ann Arbor, including our University Hospital, and the State Psychopathic Hospital.

Following graduation there is now the possibility that students who have conformed to the curriculum in a reasonable measure (to be determined by an examination of the courses and the record of each student) may apply for the University certificate in social work. This will be granted upon the student's having fulfilled a period of at least three months as an apprentice under the supervision of some accredited social agency in Detroit or elsewhere. This certificate may be granted to students who have received the degree of Master of Arts, as well as to those who have only the degree of Bachelor of Arts, except that the former, in addition to other requirements, must have completed an extensive thesis upon some problem arising out of their course or field work. Finally, it may be said that at present there are developments on foot in Detroit looking toward the organization of more extensive facilities for graduate training in field work.

There are many problems in connection with the administration of the foregoing plan, but on these we need not dwell further here. The newly organized University College at the University of Michigan, covering the first two years, should help us in the selection and direction of students in relation to this field. My own conception of the curriculum is that its primary aim is to make of prospective social workers social scientists. If in addition to this we can give them something of the specialized technique of social work, and, above all, assist them in placement, we shall be making a contribution, not only to professional social work, but also to the general problem of education in our times.

SUMMARY OF GROUP DISCUSSIONS

GROUP DISCUSSION NO. 5.—SCIENTIFIC EVALUATION OF RESULTS OF SOCIAL WORK

The discussion was led by Mr. Ralph G. Hurlin, Department of Statistics, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, who asked that two assumptions be admitted: first, that there are great difficulties in the way of measuring results of social work, but second, that such measurement is not out of the question, and that discussion be confined to definite suggestions of methods for measuring results.

Mr. Raymond Clapp, of the Welfare Federation, Cleveland, opened the discussion by describing a proposed study of the effectiveness of work with families in need of relief in the two cities, Detroit and Cleveland. These cities show similarity in many respects, including size, racial composition, industries, climate. In each city the problem of family relief is handled mainly by one agency, in Detroit by a public, and in Cleveland by a private, organization. In one much more money is spent on monetary relief than on other service, while in the other approximately as much is spent on other service as on monetary relief. Here then appear to be two closely similar situations in which sharply contrasting methods are employed. Are there ways, Mr. Clapp asked, of measuring objectively the results obtained in these two situations? For the purpose of discussion he suggested the determination of the extent of recurrence, or continuance, as relief cases in properly selected samples of the families given relief by these two agencies at some period in the past.

There was general participation in the discussion. Such points as the following were raised and discussed: The apparent similarity of the two situations cannot be assumed, but should be thoroughly tested. It might be possible to obtain better control for such an experiment by varying the methods used in different districts of one of the two agencies. To be representative, the two samples of cases must be selected scientifically. Lost cases in the sample, such as those which had removed from the city, must be accounted for. Acceptance of relief from relatives or friends as well as from an agency would require consideration. The extent of recurrence as relief cases, although subject to objective measurement, may not be a satisfactory index of the value of work with these families; wide difference in the frequency of recurrence in the two samples would, however, be a fact of significance.

In summing up, emphasis was placed on the importance of analyzing and defining objectives in attempting to measure results. Accomplishment of specific purposes, such as to economize in relief expenditures, to prevent recourse to alms on the part of families, or to prevent recurrence of receipt of alms can be more easily measured than accomplishment of general purposes. The eventual possibility of establishing normal expectation for the outcome of certain kinds of cases was suggested. Before satisfactory tests of the results of social work are developed, it was concluded, there will have to be experimentation.

Such experimental attempts at measurement are needed now in social work.

Reference was made to three papers¹ dealing with this subject, presented at the last annual meeting of the American Statistical Association, copies of which were available for distribution.

THE STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL PROCESSES AS A TOOL FOR PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Miss Susan M. Kingsbury, Director, Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College

In every training course for professional social work the question must arise of how to teach the student in the limited time allowed enough about the problems he must handle to enable him to tackle them adequately and intelligently. In the field of industry, the student of personnel work, of factory inspection, and of vocational guidance needs to acquire a vast range of detailed and accurate knowledge of processes and jobs. Factory experience, as a part of his training, partially meets the requirement, but it fails to satisfy it. In community organization and social case work, while he has not to learn actual operations as in industry, he has, in common with his colleague in the industrial field, certain definite techniques to master, however much variety he may then inculcate into them.

The problem of teaching these things accurately yet critically is not yet solved. The problem of recording the students' observation and experience is always equally troublesome.

This year at Bryn Mawr College a new methodology has been tried out, an engineering methodology which may assist the solution.

Mildred Fairchild, Research Assistant, Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College

"The Social Significance of Specialization in Industry in Relation to the Skill of the Workman, and the Source of His Satisfaction in His Work" is the title of a piece of research being conducted at Bryn Mawr College this year. The study, as the title indicates, centers around the question of skill. Its purpose is to obtain objective evidence of the relation between specialization of the job and the skill required of the workman performing it. At the outset it faced two problems: first, evaluating or measuring the job of the workman; second, evaluating or measuring the skill involved in its performance. In the methodology used to obtain these measurements rests the principal contribu-

¹ By Edgar Sydenstricker, Porter R. Lee, and Harold A. Phelps, *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Statistical Association*, 1927.

tion of the investigation, a contribution to the fields both of social research and of the training for social work.

The study is being conducted in the seminary in social and industrial research given by Professor Susan M. Kingsbury. It continues an investigation initiated by the writer under the direction of Dr. Dorothy M. Sells, and will be submitted when completed as a Doctor's dissertation at Bryn Mawr College. As members of the seminary, six graduate students have served as field investigators. One of these, Miss Ann Shaw, a graduate from the University of Edinburgh, has assisted in the development of the methodology needed and has started a study of her own on skills and satisfactions which will continue for further development the work of this year. Throughout the project has had the advice of Dr. Lillian M. Gilbreth, of Frank B. Gilbreth, Inc., consulting engineers and originators of Gilbreth motion study and job analysis, who has given liberally of her time and interest.

The methodology used is an adaptation of motion study and charting, combined with a new technique of skill study and charting which developed in the course of the year's work. Through motion study and process charting was found the measure of the job; through an accompanying skill study and charting was found the measure of the skill required in its performance. The adaptation of motion study and process charting is the tool which should be of interest to this conference. To demonstrate its use will require a further explanation of this project.

In its completed form this investigation may be termed a type study. The types were selected from the metal trade industry, from four specific plants, namely, Leeds & Northrup Company, making electrical measuring instruments, Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, making power generators and steam condensers, Stokes & Smith Company, making paper box machinery, and the Hess-Bright Manufacturing Company, allied to the S. K. F. Industries, and making deep groove ball bearings. The types were chosen from operations or processes, workmen and jobs, in accordance with their capacity to represent the industrial situation. The metal trades, because of their rapid development in recent years, offer the varying degrees of specialization within one industry and the variety of product and process needed. The plants and operations selected are typical of certain kinds of metal manufacture. The workmen chosen represent a "good average" in skill and in output, as based on the judgment of the managements of the plants. They are never the men below the average; usually the successful workmen; occasionally the excellent ones. Where the men did a variety of work, the jobs were selected as typical of their performance.

A case study of each workman has been made, not of his whole experience and personality after the psychiatric method, but of his total situation as it concerns his industrial life and job. It has covered, first, the man on the job, that is, (a) the job itself, (b) the skill demonstrated in its performance, and

(c) the training and experience required for its exercise. It has included, second, the conditions surrounding the job, (a) the physical factors, plant conditions, hours of work, and the like, and (b) the social factors, the man's relation to the management and to his fellow workmen, his opportunities for social activity in the plant, and his use of them. It has sought, third, for each workman a picture of his social background, of his home and family, and of his leisure time activity. In short, the study has attempted what Dr. Gilbreth terms a "twenty-four hour picture" of the man in relation to his job.

To obtain the needed information has required three distinct techniques: that of the plant survey, that of the personal interview with both workman and management, and that of the specialized and thorough analysis of the job. All three demanded close observation and keen power of analysis.


The survey of the plant, its appearance and conditions, its product and markets, its organization and personnel policies is covered by the Factory Schedule exhibited. One of these for each of the factories studied served as background material and introduction to the problem.
















The personal interviews seeking case information regarding the workmen, together with a study of the plant wage and employment records, are summed up in the Worker's Schedule exhibited. One of these for each of the ninety workmen so far selected presents the twenty-four hour picture of the man.










Further discussion of these two techniques is unnecessary at this point. They follow established procedure as used by Professor Kingsbury in her investigations. They will of course constitute an essential part of the report.

The analysis of the selected jobs and their attendant skills, an adaptation and expansion of the Gilbreth technique, produced the Simultaneous Motion Cycle and Skill Chart, several examples of which, together with their keys, are on exhibition.

The Gilbreth technique of motion study is familiar to industrial engineers. A full description of it will be found in the book, *Applied Motion Study*, by Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth. Motion study, according to the Gilbreth method, consists first in recording by the observer, accurately and in order of sequence, every significant movement made by the person studied. The record of this motion study is called the process chart. It may be done for the clerk in the ten-cent store selling phonographic records to a youthful customer, and it may be done for the college professor preparing his tomorrow's lecture for his graduate seminary. It is difficult to do for a rapid and highly skilled industrial process, yet this is its field of greatest application.

Where the movements are too rapid for the eye to follow, or a high degree of accuracy in the time consumed for each motion is desirable, the micro-motion film records a moving picture of the operation, including with it the micro-motion clock which records the times in $1/2000$ of a minute, or in "winks." The movements are then analyzed into their motion elements, or "therbligs," arranged in varying sequence. These elements are: (1) search, ; (2) find,

 ; (3) select,  ; (4) grasp,  ; (5) position,  ; (6) transport loaded,  ; (7) assemble,  ; (8) use,  ; (9) disassemble or take apart,  ; (10) inspect,  ; (11) preparation for next operation,  ; (12) release load,  ; (13) transport empty,  ; (14) wait (unavoidable delay),  ; (15) wait (avoidable delay),  ; (16) rest (for overcoming fatigue),  . Each therblig has a symbol to facilitate its use and a color to aid in its charting. The therbligs are then charted in the simultaneous motion cycle chart, or simo-chart, as it is sometimes called, which records the elements of motion and their times vertically, the various working members of the body horizontally.¹ The chart gives a complete visualization, therefore, of: first, the various members of the body engaged in performing the operation; second, the motions and elements of motion used by these various members; third, the relative and actual time consumed by each element of motion.² This technique adapted to the requirements of this study procured the measure of the job in terms of motion elements. Process charts have been made by the students of all the selected jobs. These in turn have been analyzed into simo-charts showing the unit of measure as an element of motion of uniform and arbitrary length. The time element, except in a few experimental and special cases, has necessarily been omitted.

The analysis of skill and its charting which have developed with the study are a logical continuation of the Gilbreth technique. The analysis in terms of industrial usage was based in part upon the outlines of certain apprenticeship courses available to the study, in part upon a classification of skill worked out by one of the plants studied, in part upon statements of various shop superintendents as to machine shop practice, and in part upon the observation of the students. This analysis, as included in the Worker's Schedule, then served as a basis for further culling with criticisms and additions from certain of the engineers associated with the Gilbreth laboratory. Finally Miss Shaw conceived the idea of charting the skill shown in the operation, and worked out a series of symbols comparable to the therblig symbols and a scheme of charting to supplement the Gilbreth simo-chart. The analysis of skill as finally accepted and the symbols as Miss Shaw developed them are as follows: (1) knowledge of mechanical principles,  ; (2) knowledge of machine,  ; (3) knowledge of materials,  ; (4) knowledge of tools,  ; (5) accuracy of movement,  ; (6) motion saving,  ; (7) speed of movement,  ; (8) accuracy of work,  ; (9) adaptation of energy to need,  ;

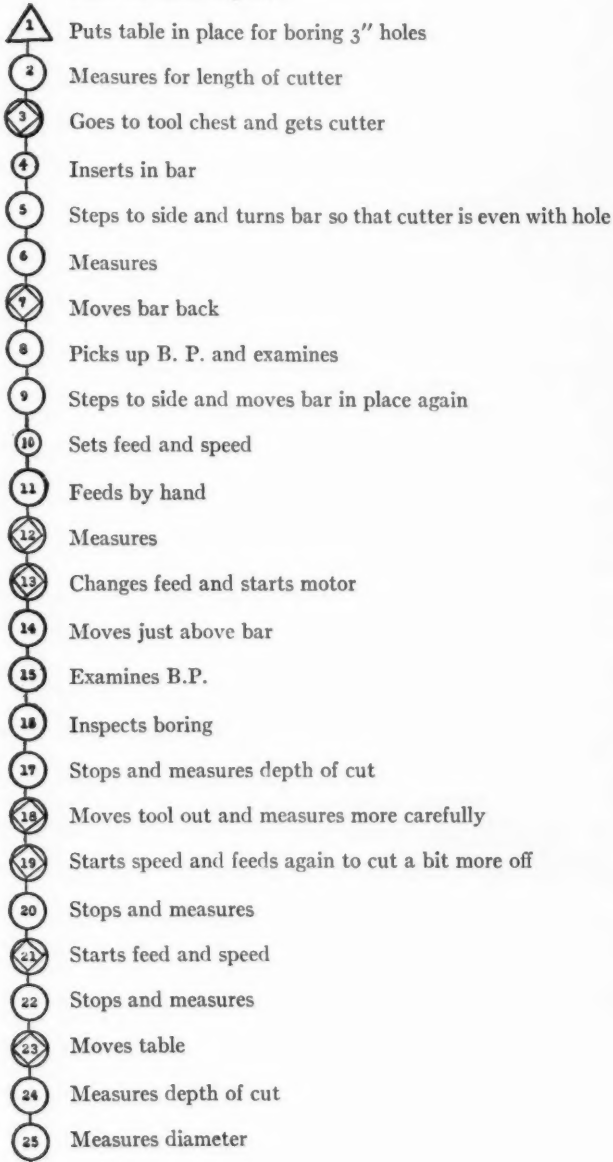
¹ See Frank B. and Lillian M. Gilbreth, *Applied Motion Study*, chap. iii. Also "Motion Study for Crippled Soldiers." a paper presented at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Columbus, Ohio.

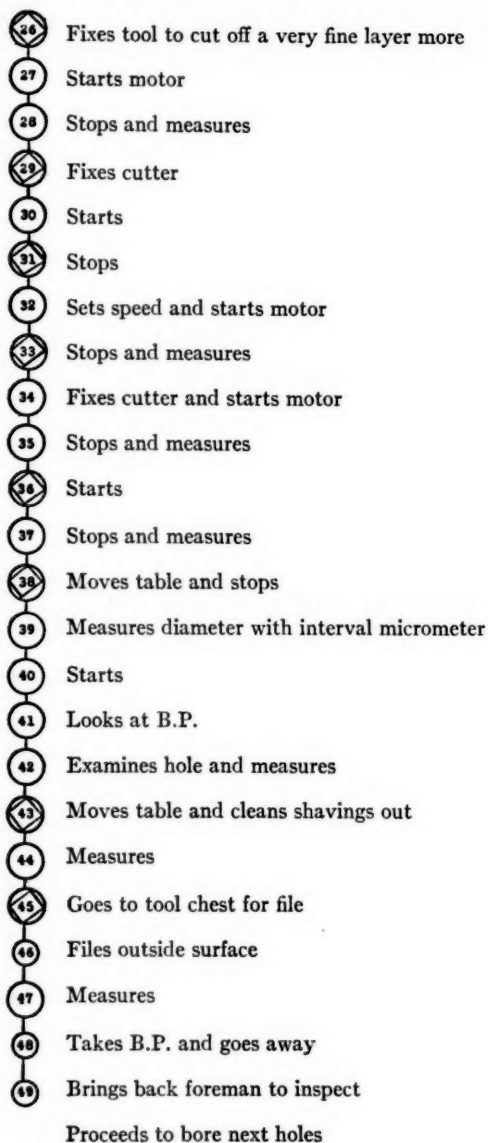
² *Op. cit.*

PROCESS CHART

Machine: Horizontal Boring Mill Part: Cylinder Cover
Operation: Finish Bore and Chamfer

Piece on table in place



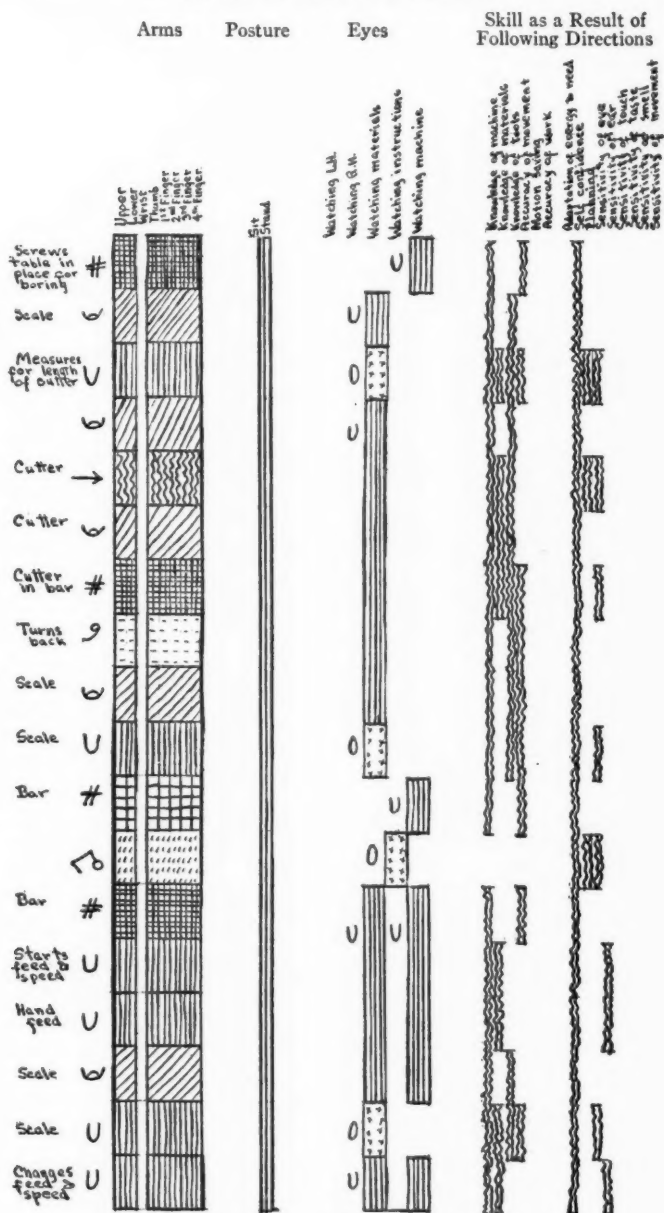
PROCESS CHART—*Continued*

SIMULTANEOUS MOTION CYCLE AND SKILL CHART*









Machine: Horizontal Boring Mill

Part: Cylinder Cover

Operation: Finish Bore and Chamfer



*The subjects "Legs," "Skill as a Result of Training," "Skill as a Result of Own Initiative" have been omitted from the chart, but data are available.

(10) self-confidence,  ; (11) plan,  ; (12) sensitivity of eye,  ; (13) sensitivity of ear,  ; (14) sensitivity of touch,  ; (15) sensitivity of taste,  ; (16) sensitivity of smell,  ; (17) kinaesthetic sensitivity,  . These were charted as related to each of the motion elements appearing in the job. The elements of skill were arranged horizontally; their relation to the elements of motion and, where available, to their times of use, were arranged vertically. The skill developed from training, the skill developed from experience following directions, and, where it could be detected, the skill developed by the workman's own initiative were charted in parallel columns. The data obtained from the study will be available then in two forms: first, the simo-chart covering a typical job of a selected workman, and the skill shown in its performance; and second, the schedule, covering the related factors of working conditions, personality, social background, and liking for the job.

With such a mass of material, for even so limited a number of cases, the statistical analysis and interpretation constitutes a serious problem. The first requirement is to obtain from the simo-chart an index of the skill of the workman in relation to the job, as shown in the operation charted. This may be done by comparing the units of skill to the units of motion evidenced, and the resultant ratio to a determined norm. The possibility thus arises of obtaining a skill index, or skill quotient, which may serve as a basis for grading the so called industrial "skills" both within a plant and between plants. The tabulation of data and the correlations of the various factors will then be treated according to the usual technique. For the purpose of this conference further explanation of methodology is probably not necessary. The contribution which the study has to offer today is the result of its experience with process charting as a means of teaching.

The students were, with one exception, without previous knowledge of the metal trades. Several had never visited a machine shop and knew nothing of its practice or even of its terminology. The facility with which the Gilbreth technique enabled them, previously untutored in the intricacies of the operations they were to observe and analyze, to handle the task set them was astonishing. After a few days most of the six students had charted intricate operations with surprising speed and accuracy. The favorable comment of the foremen and plant superintendents, as well as their readiness to continue the study at a cost of considerable time and trouble to themselves, have proved the students' success. Certain students have found difficulty from the outset, and have done the work with some stress of mind and effort. A fear of the whole project, including an initial terror of the machine shop, has perhaps complicated their problem. In spite of this they have completed the work successfully.

The technique offers two advantages: In the first place it gives a rapid

comprehension of a new problem. Through process charting their selected operations, the students gained understanding of the operations without detailed knowledge of their principles, somewhat as a child in a modern school learns to read sentences and words without detailed knowledge of spelling. Learning the principles, like learning to spell, came more rapidly and accurately after, rather than before, the comprehension of the whole. In some cases, indeed, for this study learning the principles was not essential; their recognition only was germane to the purpose. In the second place, the technique teaches a detailed and accurate observation essential to scientific research and increasingly necessary in all professional performance.

If the student is preparing for industrial relations or personnel management the application is obvious. Process charting can serve to accumulate knowledge of processes which is increasingly recognized as essential for personnel work. It might well supplement actual experience on a limited number of jobs, for an understanding of the jobs of both workmen and management is a vital part of the appreciation of industrial problems. If the student is preparing for vocational guidance, a knowledge of jobs is equally essential, and often over a wide range of occupations. To be able to perform a large number of them is obviously impossible. To study them closely and to analyze them, including perhaps, when the method has been perfected and proved, the skills required for their performance, is thoroughly practicable. For training in factory inspection, the licensing of home work, and all types of industrial investigations and surveys process charting should prove invaluable. Factory inspection and home work licensing, at least, ought to require an extensive knowledge of machines and jobs for adequate protection to the worker. Again, the range of occupations, of which some knowledge is essential, is so great that to know how to perform the operations is probably impossible. Process charting them would give an accurate knowledge and one sufficient to be useful not only to the student but to the professional worker as well.

Nor is the method limited to the study of industrial processes. The chart exhibited is of a commercial process. Its use might well be extended to a very much wider field. Wherever training requires mastering a technique definable in terms of sequence of operation such charting should be applicable and might prove extraordinarily stimulating.

If the student of community organization should try process charting, not only his own experimental attempts at club work, but those meetings which he attends in part for observation, however much or little he participates in their direction, he would certainly find, out of a series of such charts of actual club meetings as they occurred, a rich field for study and selection. Any such methodology for training in so unstandardized a field of activity must of course be applied with intelligence and care. The method suggests no rule of thumb procedure. It does, however, capitalize close observation and classification of results. Moreover, the whole experience of this study emphasizes the value of the

graphic method of presenting data as a means of bringing out relationships which otherwise might not be apparent. The extension of its use must, however, depend upon the needs of the individual subject matter investigated.

"Motion study causes invention automatically" is the statement of the Gilbreths in a study entitled "Motion Study for Crippled Soldiers," offered as a rehabilitation measure. A similar possibility might materialize from the adaptation of its fundamental principles to the wide field of social service training. It has proved true in the Bryn Mawr research study described.

XII. EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

MEETING THE PUBLIC MIND: A CHAUTAUQUA LECTURE ON SOCIAL WORK

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Mr. Borst has asked me to present this address as a sort of case study in social work publicity. He has informed me that it must meet three requirements: it must be scientifically valid; it must be ethically sound; it must be of such a nature as to arrest the attention and inform the intelligence of the man on the street whose information about organized social work is based, not on first hand contacts, but on the casual remarks of his associates. It must be, he says, such an address as I would present before a representative audience of my own community.

If this address is to realize its purpose as a case study in publicity it can only do so with your thorough going assistance and cooperation. It is necessary that you should assume now, and hold throughout the hour, a twofold orientation: first, you should forget that you have any technical knowledge at all about social work, and assume that you are citizens of Indianapolis of not more than average civic interest; second, you should forget that I am a college professor, supposed to talk about what everybody knows in language nobody understands, and think of me as a layman of average sanity who is endeavoring to present the case for organized social work in such a way as to win for it your intelligent understanding and emotional approval.

Have you now accomplished this twofold orientation? If so, may I say, as the athletic coaches do, "On your marks! Get set! Go!"

The approach of the annual community fund drive raises in the minds of thoughtful citizens some very disquieting questionings about the whole program of organized social work in the city, about what it is, and why it is, and what its ultimate effect upon our community life will be. Indeed, if these questions are not already existent, the very facts we are putting before you in order to make the drive a success will inevitably call them forth. For we can expect your continued and adequate support only on the basis of complete information as to the facts. You are therefore being told that the community fund is this year asking for three quarters of a million dollars to be spent in the service of our fellow citizens less fortunate than ourselves. You are being informed that in order to render this service we are maintaining thirty-eight private social agencies, each with its office organization and staff of trained workers.

But as thoughtful citizens of this community you will remember that this

is not all. You will recall that you are already maintaining a score or more of tax supported agencies, and that these agencies add more than a million and a quarter of dollars to our tax budget every year. "And all this," you exclaim, "all this on behalf of our fellows less advantaged than ourselves! How many of these disadvantaged folk are there to whom we render this service, on whose behalf we incur this cost?"

To this question we can only answer frankly that we do not know. No accurate statistics of the persons served by our tax supported agencies have ever been collected and compiled. But we do know that the thirty-eight fund agencies served last year over sixty thousand people, or one person out of every six in our city. Fifty-eight organizations! Two cool millions in cost! One person out of every six at least, perhaps as many as one out of every four, the recipients of their service! Are not these figures startling enough?

Perhaps they are, but they do not tell the whole story. We have, in addition, to face the fact that in this respect our city as compared with her sister cities is not leading, but lagging. It makes no difference what the basis of comparison may be; in her entire program of service to the handicapped and disadvantaged, our city, as compared to other progressive municipalities, is loitering far behind. In per capita giving, such cities as Cincinnati, Ohio, Rochester, New York, Cleveland, Ohio, and San Francisco, California, outstrip us by from 200 to 300 per cent. In number of organizations, in quality and extent of service, in proportion of population served, we are also loitering and lagging.

It is not because our population is of a higher type than that of other cities; it is not that we are more efficient and self sustaining, for in spite of our fifty-eight agencies and \$2,000,000 budget there remains in Indianapolis a vast unanswered need.

I have stated the facts bluntly, for it is out of these blunt facts that your disquieting questions grow. Why this multiplicity of agencies? Why these mounting costs? Why point to these other cities that are more highly organized than we, and that spend more? Shall we compete with them, to see who can organize most and spend most? Is it not time to call a halt? Was it not time long ago? Do not both the community fund and the tax budget have too capacious maws already? Do they not demand the more, the more we pamper them? Whither are we drifting, anyway? Are we not weakening the very people we profess to help by destroying their self dependence and removing from them the necessity for the strengthening discipline of struggle? These questions, especially the last one, constitute a direct challenge to our whole social service program. It is a challenge that comes, not from our chronic objectors alone, but from some of our sincerest and most intelligent citizens.

I propose to meet that challenge frankly, not primarily on behalf of those who receive this service, but on behalf of you who give it; not on behalf of those whose disadvantages you lessen, but on behalf of you who must bear the cost.

Social work is a part of the inevitable price we must pay for human progress. Human progress comes only as the more select standards of the few broaden out and become the standards of the many. What has in one epoch been thought of as the special privilege of the few becomes in later centuries the right of all. Consider education as an example. There was a time when education was a private monopoly. There was no provision for education in the tax budget. There were no great private endowments. The services of the teacher then, like the services of the surgeon and lawyer now, were available only to him who was able and willing to pay the price. Plato, Aristotle, and their contemporaries conducted such schools. They were schools conducted largely for young aristocrats, and Aristotle became the tutor of princes and kings. In the days of the Greek Sophists teaching became a lucrative profession, and the successful educator could hope to become a rich man out of the fees he could collect.

But gradually society came to see that education is too valuable a social good to be withheld as a privilege of the few. It must be made a free gift to all. Especially with the rise of democracy men came to see that government can be no more stable and efficient than the intelligence of the masses will permit, and we went forth to make education universal; not only public and free, but compulsory upon all. Education ceased to be a private profession and the teacher became a servant of the state. Since then no teacher has become rich by his profession. It has been hard on the educators, but society cannot afford to keep the many in ignorance that a few may become wealthy through teaching. Society has been gradually increasing the minimum of education which it demands that each of its members who is able to receive it must have. We have raised the level of compulsory education to fourteen and sixteen years, and above that have placed almost free facilities of secondary, collegiate, technical, professional, and university education. Our neighbors may own no property, they may pay no taxes, but you and I are taxed to educate their children. We bear that burden in our own defense, for if we did not our society must sink back to the level of semibarbarism.

We are beginning to take the same attitude toward the public health. We are beginning to understand that there is a certain minimum of health, as there is a certain minimum of education, below which society in its own defense cannot permit its members to fall. The next step is to make the minimum of health, like that of education, at least available if not compulsory for all. My neighbor's disease is more of a menace to me than my neighbor's ignorance. As we provide schools and teachers, so must we provide hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries, physicians, surgeons, dentists, psychiatrists, and nurses. The slogan of the public health movement might well become "A minimum of health, physical and mental, for all, or there can be security for none!"

And what of justice? Any middle class American who comes for the first time into contact with such facts as those contained in R. H. Smith's *Justice and the Poor*, or Kate H. Claghorn's *Immigrant's Day in Court* must be

shocked at the frequent denials of justice to those who are too poor to pay for proper legal service. Legal aid societies and public defenders are the answer to our realization that there is a minimum of justice below which we dare not let any class of our population, even the humblest, fall. For it is out of human rights outraged and justice denied that revolutions have ever been born.

Consider recreation, too. "The proper place for a child to play is in its own back yard," we have naïvely said, but in our smug middle class complacency we have forgotten two essential facts: first, that the child of the disadvantaged family usually has no back yard to play in, and nothing to play with; and second, that with our declining birth rate the upper class child that plays in its own back yard can play nothing but *solitaire*! Our delinquency surveys are showing to what a large extent the youthful offender gets into trouble because of lack of leisure time direction, and how, as the recreation program expands, the delinquency areas contract. We need not think to make much permanent headway against delinquency until we have provided a wholesome outlet for activity through a chance for all to play.

Give them a chance! If you slight them now
Tomorrow you'll have to pay
A larger bill for a darker ill;
Give them a chance to play!

Those of you who are parents know with what grave concern you must look to the standards of your neighborhood, and how hard it is to maintain your own standards of family discipline too far above the level of those prevailing in your street.

Surely the intelligent citizen will realize that we cannot have social progress on any other terms than these! We cannot maintain our own advancing standards unless we make a certain social minimum of education, health, justice, and well invested leisure available for all. This is the great preventive, constructive character building program of modern organized social work that strengthens all who are the beneficiaries of it. How any citizen who understands it can fail to support it I do not comprehend. In assuming this responsibility to society at large we are only promoting our own enlightened self interest.

But what of family service and relief? Does not our own enlightened self interest call for that program, too? Is there not a social minimum standard of family life below which we dare not let our fellow citizens fall, except at our own peril? Of what use is it to educate and protect the child outside the home, to provide schools and playgrounds and dental and medical care, if the home furnish the child with naught but foul soil into which to strike its spiritual roots; if in the home it is cold and starved and cramped, either in body or in mind? "It is in a man's social relations," said Dr. James J. Putnam, "that his mental history is largely written," and the further we push our researches in

the field of mental hygiene the more significant we learn the early years of childhood to be for the future social adjustment of the citizen.

Any community that is concerned about its own continued progress will guarantee to every member born into it the social minimum which I have described. To be more concrete and definite, let me point out in specific terms just what sort of social service program this minimum implies.

Personally, I would say that such a program should begin with the denial of parenthood to certain classes who are too seriously handicapped ever to discharge the duties of parents. I am not now thinking about the hereditary character of these handicaps at all. As a matter of fact, human heredity is a subject about which we have altogether too many dogmatic opinions, and altogether too little scientific knowledge. Fifteen years ago we were talking with a good deal of assurance about the inheritance of feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, and other defects, on the assumption that these are simple Mendelian unit traits whose method of inheritance is known, and such writers as Wiggam, Stoddard, Grant, and the more prolific and journalistic popularizers of eugenics are talking about it with a good deal of assurance still. But the experimental work of the past ten years of such careful laboratory investigators as Jennings, Child, Morgan, and others has revealed that the inheritance of such simple traits as red eye color in the fruit fly is a vastly more complicated matter than we had supposed, and that speculations based upon the assumption that human intelligence is inherited as a simple Mendelian unit are not only unwarranted, but positively misleading. Whatever may be the inherited basis of certain handicaps I do not know, but as a sociologist there are some things I do know. I know that a person who is epileptic or feeble-minded or who has been once or more insane, or who is so badly deformed either of body or of sense that he cannot maintain a decent economic standard even for himself, is unfit to assume the obligations of parenthood. This sociological fact none disputes, and it gathers added force if what the mental hygienists are telling us about the profound significance of the early years of childhood in personality development is true.

Let us look at the problem from the sociological standpoint, and the biological controversy about what heredity really is becomes to a large degree irrelevant for immediate social policy. The fact that certain types of insanity, feeble-mindedness, and epilepsy are proving not to be as wholly determined by hereditary factors as we had once supposed does not make the person so afflicted one whit more competent as a parent.

I am insisting upon these matters here, not because they are all important, but lest you should think I had forgotten them; lest you should come out at the end where you entered at the beginning, with a conviction that if we could only prevent the reproduction of the socially inadequate classes we would need to do nothing more. Such is not the case. If we could give the eugenicist complete power over human reproduction we would be able to reduce somewhat the

present magnitude of certain social problems, it is true; but if we did nothing more, our social problems would still be with us, and they would go on multiplying until the end of time. The eugenic program is still largely in the field of theory. Let us as practical people then, turn to the social service program that is already in the field of fact.

If we care about the future of our own community we will first of all make sure that every child born into it is as well born as the human stock it springs from will permit. This calls for a program of maternity and infancy hygiene, with its prenatal and post natal clinics; a service that is at present largely tax supported. But the child that is well born must also be well nourished. It must be protected against contagion and infection and breakdown of organic functions. This calls for our program of public health and preventive medicine, with its nutrition work, its classes and clinics, and fresh air schools, supported by taxes in part and in part by private funds. But the child, well born, well nourished, protected against contagion and infection and organic breakdown must be taught those physical and mental habits that in adulthood will make for strength of body, for clarity of thought, and for poise of spirit as it grapples with the problems of maturity. It must be taught to think straight, to work effectively, and to play wholesomely. This calls for our total program of education and recreation, delinquency and truancy prevention, and child protection. No community is safe, none can progress, that does not guarantee to every child this social minimum of opportunity for a fair start in life.

But what of the family that cannot or will not provide enough housing or fuel or clothing or food to attain the minimum standard that decency requires? Said a prominent Indianapolis woman whose family name has been associated with the best things of this city for decades, and has of late been often in the headlines of the press (and not in connection with the grand jury investigations either!): "It is their own fault. They didn't save when there was plenty of work at good wages. Now they must be penalized by want." But the matter is not so simple. Unemployment and low wages are matters over which the individual, whether as employer or as worker, has very little control. Furthermore, it is we of the middle classes who are responsible, to a certain degree at least, for the thriftlessness of the poor. We advertise, we display goods, we lure and cajole the buyer, we extend credit, we put on high pressure campaigns to "smash sales resistance," we flaunt tempting banners, "Pay As You Earn," and "Five Dollars Enrolls You," and then we wonder why the poor do not save! If I am told that this is a part of the inevitable price that we must pay for economic progress I shall but become the more insistent that our economic community face its moral obligation to repair the damage it has done and to set upon their feet those whom it has thrown down by the way. What right have we to "penalize by want"; to punish a wife for her husband's joblessness,

or to starve, freeze, and humiliate little children because their father has no bank account?

Our program calls for decent home care for every child, in its own home if possible, but if through death or incompetence of its own parents this is impossible, then in a home which we must find and supervise. Our social minimum therefore calls for the complete program of child care and family service of the Family Welfare Society, and for our own protection, lest we lay in an embittered childhood the foundations for a rebellious citizenry.

There still remains for our consideration the whole program of institutional care: orphanages and day nurseries and rescue homes and homes for the aged. I know that in the emphasis I have laid on family relief, and now on institutions, I may seem old fashioned; for modern social work de-emphasizes these things as merely palliative, and stresses preventive services. But I am not in disagreement with this ideal. I insist that a community with a conscience is one which has reduced the need for material relief and institution care to the lowest practicable minimum. A community with a conscience is one whose hospitals stand with idle beds, for our public health program has banished contagion and infection and preventable illness. It is a community whose orphanages and homes for the aged are empty, for we have learned how to care for their former inmates more humanely, in normal family groups. It is a community with juvenile courts deserted, for education and recreation have absorbed and directed the interests and activities of youth into wholesome and constructive channels. It is a community whose family welfare executive can say, "We grant no relief, but only service. We pay no rent, we buy no food, we send no fuel; for we have learned that if we provide clients with adequate health and regular employment at good wages, they will be able to secure all these things for themselves." But this I recognize as a counsel of perfection, an unattainable goal to strive toward, but beyond our reach. It is like Jesus' counsel to his disciples that they should be as perfect as their Father in Heaven, though he knew the material heaven would forbid them ever so on earth to be.

Let us emphasize service, then, to the utmost. Let us reduce the need for relief and for institution care to the lowest practicable minimum, but let us be practical. Let us recognize that in our present society, and perhaps in any conceivable sort of society, there remains, and probably will always remain, an irreducible minimum of need for relief and institutional care.

The dominant slogan of modern social work is service, but it must be balanced service; that is, it must be service adapted to meet every community need. Where institutions are unavoidable we will build them; where relief is essential we will provide it. We will permit no considerations of abstract social theory to act as an insurmountable barrier to any essential human service.

Equally important is the concept of adequacy. Social service must not only be balanced; it must be adequate. That is, when we provide service let it

be the best that science knows. When we build institutions let us build them so that our wards may not only exist in them, but live in them: a vastly different thing! When we provide relief, let it be enough to lift our families above their misery, not merely enough to prolong their pain.

But if you should actually carry out this program I have described you would have upon your hands nothing but a dead perfection. For I have not yet touched the heart of the matter. I have rested it all upon the basis of enlightened selfishness. I have said that to protect ourselves, to safeguard our standards, and to provide for continued progress we must make sure that a certain minimum of what were once privileges of the few shall become the rights of all. If I should here rest the case I would be worthy of my own contempt and of your scorn. For I have as yet issued no challenge to human sympathy, none to creative imagination. I have called for no human insight, demanded no social vision. And without all these, social work can never reach its best.

By sympathy, vision, imagination, insight, I do not mean that we should find some way to dispense with our organizations and substitute spontaneous charity. I do not mean we should get rid of the trained social worker with her scientific technique and substitute the soft sentimentality of the amateur. Yet there are many of our citizens who propose to do just that. They say that in the simpler American communities of our grandparents people were interested in their neighbors. When any need arose it was met spontaneously and directly by personal friends. Now, they say, what we need is to find ways of getting people again humanly interested in their neighbors and we will not need our organizations and professional social workers.

This point of view rests upon a misconception. It assumes that in our simpler rural neighborhoods there were few disadvantaged folk, and that their needs were adequately met. The social workers of every city know that some of the gravest problems lie, not within the city itself, but in the simpler rural communities just outside their borders. A nutrition survey of the schools of Indianapolis and of the rural sections of Marion County just outside its limits four years ago showed that some of the worst nutrition conditions locally were in the country schools. A survey of almost any other social problem would show the same results. We are becoming aware that pure milk, pure minds, and pure morals are not the inseparable rural trinity we had supposed, and one of the serious problems now facing us is to determine how far beyond our borders we should extend our service, and how wide a territory we should canvass for its financial support.

What is true of the rural areas of our county is true of America at large. I am told by people in small communities everywhere that of course they have very little need for organized social work, when I know from my own investigations that by a short walk in any direction I can reach such conditions as no urban social agency would for a moment tolerate. Indeed, the records of our

urban social agencies today teem with cases which represent nothing more than the cumulative neglect of simpler rural communities of thirty and forty years ago.

Spontaneous human interest of people in their neighbors cannot meet the social needs of cities. It is not now meeting the needs of our simpler rural communities, and it never has. I speak here out of the bitterness of my own experience. My earliest memories go back to the frontier conditions of Kansas in the early nineties, when the countryside was struggling with the problems of crop failures, of insect pests, and of price depression. The families not confronted with some special crisis fared reasonably enough. But many were not so fortunate. They faced maturing mortgages. They suffered from unanticipated reverses. They were burdened by illness or broken by death. Those families, and they were many, passed through fearful years. My own family was one. Mortgage, illness, blindness, operation, death! These followed in swift succession, and the memory of those years has seared my soul. When as a child some kindly neighbor gave me an apple or a bit of fruit I would clutch it in my baby fingers and bear it home to mother that she might cook it up with bread and so provide enough for all. Those years of childhood were spent beneath the pall of worry that clouded my father's face, of anxiety that I read in my mother's eyes. It is a pall that haunts me still. When I say that spontaneous charity and friendly neighborliness are not adequate, it is out of the anguish of my own past that I speak. And the hymn of praise for the disciplinary value of struggle is one I have no heart to sing. It is a fine thing to philosophize about how good misery is for the discipline of the soul, if it is some one else's misery, or your own misery so far in the past that it has lost its bitterness and its pain.

The toad beneath the harrow knows
Exactly where each tooth-point goes;
The butterfly upon the road
Preaches contentment to that toad.

I know it is easy to cite the cases in which the struggle against adversity has served to strengthen the fiber of the soul; but these are the exceptions—a Jesus solitary in his Nazareth, or a St. Francis lonely in the medieval church. In the vast majority of cases the struggle exhausts the energies and blasts the hopes.

By sympathy, imagination, insight, vision, I mean something vastly different from this naïve assumption that we can dispense with social agencies if we can get people interested in their neighbors; that if we can enlist friendly amateurs we will not need professional social workers. Let me illustrate concretely what I do mean. If my own loved ones are ill, I want them near me. I want them where I can answer their every call, where I can minister with my own hands to their every need. But I have imagination and insight enough to realize that my home is not good enough to care for them, my untrained hands not

skilled enough to serve them. I demand for them the best service that modern science has to give. When my neighbor has the same need I have the insight and imagination to understand that if home care is not good enough for me and mine, it is not good enough for him and his. I will not ask him to trust his loved one's fate to the amateur service to which I will not trust the fate of mine. If any need or disaster overtakes me, I want for myself the service of the soundest knowledge and the greatest skill the community contains. I want my neighbor to have the advantage of that same knowledge and skill. To abolish social agencies with their professional service and to depend on spontaneous friendship and amateur self help instead means that we are so lacking in sympathy, insight, and vision that we are willing that our less fortunate families shall suffer until their need is accidentally discovered by some one not especially commissioned to find it, and that to meet their need there shall be brought to bear only such limited community resources as the untrained amateur knows about or can think of.

May I finally, in a single sentence, state the gist of the whole discussion. Organized social work is the means whereby we can provide for the service of others less fortunate than ourselves the same knowledge and skill which on our own behalf we demand.

INTEGRITY IN SOCIAL WORK PUBLICITY: A PLATFORM OF FACTS AND A PLATFORM OF ETHICS

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To undertake the statement of a platform of facts and a platform of ethics which is adequate for integrity in social work publicity requires a large amount of presumption on the part of the one who makes the attempt. It is, therefore, with much misgiving that I have prepared this paper. It is not for the raising of the question stated in the subject for which I ask your indulgence, but for the inadequate answer that is proposed. The conscientious questions which directors of social work publicity put to themselves regarding their work deserve consideration, and this paper will try to emphasize their importance. Furthermore, the question raised is important because the future of social work depends upon a convinced public and because the nature of the social worker's functions demands that his personal integrity be unimpeached in his own eyes.

Social work publicity requires a body of facts. When a statement is made to the press it has to contain real facts or alleged facts. The statement presumes that social workers know what are facts and how to obtain them. But what are the significant facts in social work? Is our work so compounded of subjective and objective factors that we cannot disentangle certainties from

surmises? Some social workers have been so baffled by the complexity of the results of social work that they have said that social work, especially social case work, cannot be measured, and that we might as well accept our limitations. They have insisted that social work must be judged by faith in its objectives and by case empiricism. But let me quote a dissenting voice. The following statement was recently made by Mr. Porter R. Lee:

Until the data of adjustment [in the case work process] can be accurately measured and mathematically added, purely quantitative methods have little value in testing the efficiency of the case work agency in the most responsible part of its task. Nevertheless, the acceptance in a given field of some common standards of achievement and of some definitely established methods of work is an indication that within the minds of social workers at any rate an evaluation process is going on. No reputable case work agency in these days justifies its work to the community solely in terms of its program. It tends constantly to substitute in its appeal for support faith in its results for faith in its program. An agency's faith in the results of its work in these days is not based altogether upon assumptions. It is based largely upon evidence of the value of its work, and such evidence is always the product of a certain evaluation process. The first attempt to get away from sheer faith in a program as justification of the work of an agency led to an attempt to show results largely in terms of illustrative cases. To be able to produce a successful case is in itself an evidence of success. Social agencies, however, long ago realized that their programs must stand or fall by the percentage of success in their work as a whole, and they are now engaged in the effort to find ways of measuring results rather than indicating those results in the use of illustrative cases. Not much progress has yet been made, but we believe that we are at least in its path.¹

Mr. Lee fully recognizes the difficulties in our way and the small success in measurement so far achieved, but the viewpoint expressed in this quotation is far removed from the defeatist attitude referred to before. It would seem to be better logic to recognize the coexistence of subjective and objective factors and set about to disentangle them. Absolute scientific determination of results of social work would require a complete knowledge and measurement of all factors involved, subjective and objective, but proximate scientific determination of results may be obtained by rigorous study of the objective factors. The empirical results of a study of subjective factors may then be an aid in the interpretation of the proximate results of scientific study.

In the face of this factual problem which confronts the publicity director, what is the ethics of the situation? What, practically, can he do? He can smother his doubts and make the most of surmises and case empiricism. That is casuistry. If he convinces his public and obtains support for his program, social work is moral. Morality consists of the approved rules of conduct in a particular community at a particular time, but ethics depends upon demonstrable fact and constitutes a rational basis for moral conduct. Publicity which is ethically defensible is based upon a reasonable estimate of the percentage of success. Commercial advertising is casuistical or moral, but it is rarely ethical. It is casuistical when it falsifies or exaggerates the qualities of the

¹ Porter R. Lee, "An Experiment in the Evaluation of Social Case Work," paper read before the American Statistical Association (Christmas, 1927).

commodity concerned. It is moral when it stays within the local rules of conduct with respect to truth telling. The business man's criterion for justifying the sale of his commodity is popular demand. He is not required to bother about social utility in an ethical sense. If he can sell his commodity, the community gives its approval commensurate with his success. Up to the present time social work has made assumptions quite similar to those of the business man in his publicity. A demand has been created for social work by utilizing certain psychological principles involved in advertising. That social work is moral is shown by the personal and financial support which the community gives to it. That it is also ethical, that is, receives the moral support of the community and is also scientifically defensible, we cannot say too emphatically. We hope it is.

There is still another aspect of the ethical question. Suppose the publicity director can demonstrate a degree of success in social work. Perhaps an evaluation of the work of his agency indicates that in 40 per cent of the cases carried there has been successful treatment, but in another 40 per cent success is only partial, and in 20 per cent treatment has been a total failure. What would be the effect on personal and financial support if he should publish these percentages? Support would almost certainly fall off if they were published without any explanation of why the failures occurred, but an analysis of the failures in the annual report would probably appeal to the interested public. To the public success that looks like failure is failure, but failures explained intelligibly are not so bad. Obviously the meaning of success differs in all vocations, and the public does not understand what variable concepts of success are involved in social work. A relief agency which made it a practice to give relief in every needy case could report 100 per cent success, but if it is a case working agency also and attempts to reconstruct the family situation so that relief will not be needed again, it weighs the dice against success in the case work sense.

Let us take an illustration from children's work. Here are two examples of the percentage of success achieved in placing children in foster homes. The first is an example of the children's work which is under the supervision of the Indiana Board of State Charities. The children's department of the board is not equipped to do good case work; they have to limit their work to investigation of prospective foster homes and institutions and occasional visitation after placement. But the work of this board illustrates an effort on the part of official social work to evaluate its results. This board classifies the children placed according as they are "doing well," "doing fairly well," or "doing poorly." That is obviously a rough, rule-of-thumb classification, and each class is relative to how the child was doing before it was placed by the board. This is even clearer from the percentages in each class: during the last five years 83 per cent of the children are reported as "doing well," 13.6 per cent "doing fairly well," and only 3.4 per cent "doing poorly."

The second example is taken from the study by Sophie Van Senden Theis,

entitled, "How Foster Children Turn Out." Her study is concerned with 797 of the 3,363 children placed in foster homes by the New York State Charities Aid Association between August, 1898, and January, 1922. All of the 797 foster children were eighteen years of age or older and had been under the care of the Association for at least one year. Miss Theis says that in estimating the capability of each child "... an evaluation of personality and character was based solely on accomplishment and judged by comparison with the good standards of his own community, and not by an arbitrary standard." With these criteria in mind she asks, "What is the proportion of the subjects who were successful, compared with those who failed in some way?" "Six hundred fifteen, or 77.2 per cent of the 797 subjects whose general ability was known are 'capable' persons. They have proved themselves able to manage their own affairs with average common sense, to keep pace economically with their neighbors, and to earn the respect and good will of their communities. In other words, these subjects have 'made good.'"²

The percentages of successful cases in these two examples represent an effort to evaluate results. They are as good as we have at present, even though open to some criticism. Could the publicity director make use of these percentages in his statements to the press? He probably could. To indicate 77 per cent and 83 per cent success would be impressive to the public. If the percentages were half as much as they are, regardless of the problems involved and the difficulties of treatment in any way, it would be doubtful business to publish them without explanation of the failures, and it would result in a public judgment of social work wholly unjust to social work.

A few figures will point the seriousness of the factual and ethical questions discussed in this paper. Mr. Raymond Clapp undertook a study of the cost of social work in nineteen cities for the Association of Community Chests. This study was published in 1926 and gives the costs of social work, public and private, in these cities for the year 1924. The nineteen cities had an approximate population of 10,180,032, and they spent \$110,537,222 for social work in 1924. That is over ten dollars per capita population of the cities. The public contributed 58.7 per cent of this, or \$6.37 per capita; the balance was obtained from services rendered. But the amount which the public contributed in these cities in the year 1924 is immense in the aggregate. Further evidence of the cost of social work was given by Dr. Thomas J. Riley at the meeting of the American Sociological Society in 1926. He pointed out that New York City alone spends between seventy and eighty-five millions of dollars per year for social work. Dr. Riley mentions 117 foundations with over one billion dollars in assets whose main interest is social work. This indicates to some extent how firmly established social work is. If comparisons could be made between years, it would certainly show a growth in the amount of expenditures for social work during the last decade, though, when inflation of prices is

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26.

given due consideration, this increase is probably not as great as is sometimes thought. However, the best measures we have of the volume of social work at the present time indicates an upward trend in real budgets. What are our accomplishments? Are they commensurate with the cost to the public? Do they show an upward trend? Is our social work publicity merely casuistical and moral, or has it a factual basis? What do we know about this factual basis? These are the questions which should be answered, but this paper does not profess to do more than suggest some difficulties and point a few illustrations of what has been done toward estimating the factual basis for the claims of social work.

We shall now turn to three types of measurement of the results of social work to see what has been ascertained: first, measurement of results in terms of costs; second, measurement of results in terms of problems and services; third, measurement of results in terms of expert judgment.

Results in terms of costs.—To a limited extent it is possible to show the results of social work in terms of rising or diminishing costs per capita population. We might be able to show that with trained social workers and efficient administration the same volume of work is done with less cost per client, and we might be able to demonstrate further that more lasting results have been obtained. Unfortunately we have had no such studies on a comprehensive basis. The best data readily available at the present time for such a study are probably those relating to the costs of official public social work.

Measurement of the results of this type of social work will be illustrated by some statistical studies which have been made in Indiana. The data used are taken from the annual reports of the Indiana Board of State Charities. Statistics are available for state institutions from 1890 to 1926. In some cases, however, the figures do not cover the entire period. The trend of the volume of work, measured in terms of persons aided per 100,000 population, is shown by the following facts: the number of children aided was fairly steady from 1900 to 1919, but has decreased somewhat since the latter date; the number of misdemeanants and felons in jails and state prisons has increased rather steadily; the number of insane has increased from 163.7 in 1899 to 226.2 in 1926 per 100,000 population; indoor relief has had a slight downward trend. Considering all kinds of official social work, it would seem that there has been a slight increase in the number of persons under care. During the thirty-five year period there is no questioning the fact that the facilities for official social work have improved. Now, what do we find with respect to cost of maintenance? Physical equipment is not considered in this study of costs. Actual expenditures have been deflated with the price index of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and are then expressed in per capita figures. The average annual increase in costs per capita has been .606 of a cent a year, or the increase is \$606 per 100,000 population. The average annual increase of persons aided per 100,000 population has been 6.9. It costs \$180.30 per person aided to

maintain the institutions. If costs had increased at the same rate as persons aided, the average annual increase in costs per 100,000 population would have been \$1,244. As a matter of fact, it was less than half this much. Therefore, we can say that a relatively larger number of persons is being cared for at relatively reduced costs. Turning now to the other large factor in public social work, official outdoor relief, in Indiana, we find similar results, but in the case of outdoor relief both the number of persons aided and the cost per capita have decreased. The average annual decrease in costs per capita between 1896 and 1924 has been .619 of a cent, or \$619 per 100,000 population. The average annual decrease in the number of persons aided per 100,000 population would have been \$162.61, but, as a matter of fact, it decreased 3.8 times that much per 100,000 population. There has been no change in the law during the period which would materially affect the amount of relief given, and there is no evidence to indicate that township trustees are increasingly parsimonious. Hence it is reasonable to conclude from these figures that decreasing costs have occurred because of more efficient administration.

Obviously the measurement of the results of social work in terms of costs is a superficial gauge. However, from the viewpoint of the supporting public it has a value, and it is worth something to administrators to know the trend of costs. But in the light of the objectives of professional social work, economy is a poor argument for social work. When the emergency is met successfully, professional social work has just started. It aims to reconstruct the situation so that the emergency will not recur. Much of the public social work in Indiana is unquestionably constructive, but we have no way of measuring most of it at present!

Can the publicity director use such facts? He probably can. If he puts alongside of these facts the fact that average annual income has gone up several times faster than costs for institutions, he has some ground for asking for more money to improve service in other ways. Since outdoor relief has decreased, he can certainly use this fact in publicity.

Results of case work in terms of statistics of problems and services.—Many case working agencies have adopted a statistical card for their cases upon which are listed the most common problems with the corresponding services. This is an advance over mere cost accounting. If ten problems are found in a family which has been referred to an agency and five corresponding services are completed during the year, we have some reason to hope that in time the other problems will be met, and that the family may be so adjusted that it will no longer require the aid of the agency. Of course the more obvious and the easiest problems may be solved first, and possibly there is one single problem fundamental to the whole situation which cannot be solved, in which case the constructive value of the work is very small. This limits very sharply the value of the statistical card as a record of achievement, and when the problems and services on a large number of statistical cards are added, the deficiencies are

simply increased in number because we have not made sufficient studies of services rendered to know whether the law of large numbers would operate to equalize the errors which would accumulate as a result of solving the simpler problems in many, or perhaps in most, cases.

Another limitation on the use of statistics of problems and services is the fact that no society publishes a report which analyzes all the family situations separately. Problems and services are classified under various headings, and each time one or the other appears in connection with any member of the family or the whole family it is checked on the statistical card. Hence large totals are all that this method of reporting gives. The chief value of it lies in the fact that officials of the organization can see the kinds of problems which occur oftenest and can plan to provide the services. It also centers attention upon outstanding conditions and perhaps leads to special research, such as that done by the New York Charity Organization Society on feeble-mindedness and venereal disease. A few illustrations of the statistical reports of problems and services will be given.

First, we shall make reference to the published report of family case work of agency A for 1925-26. The report properly states that some services, even more important than those listed, "such as friendship, understanding, and encouragement, defy statistical analysis." These are some of the imponderables of case work. But the statistical cards showed 5,080 problems checked and 5,366 services rendered. It is unnecessary to point out that these gross figures mean very little as measures of the constructive results of social work. In the first place, more services than problems are reported. The report does not indicate whether some of these services were merely "initiated," "refused," or not performed because of "inadequate community resources," or that they were all "completed." If they were all completed, it would seem that the families should have all their problems met and be restored to self sufficiency. They would even have a few services in savings account. The same report lists 2,189 cases of illness and 2,384 health services obtained, a difference of 195. In some cases the same persons might be checked under services for hospital care, clinic treatment, visiting nurse service, and attention of a private physician. It is not difficult to understand how problems and services fail to correspond here. The problem units and the service units in medical matters are incommensurable. The same may be said of other special problems and services.

Turning now to the report of family case work in agency B for 1926-27, we find similar difficulties in using the statistics to measure results, but the statistics of these agencies have been analyzed before publication in a way which makes them a little more definite. The B lists 18,839 problems with 9,984 services "completed," 3,413 "initiated," and 2,008 "refused." Completed services are 53 per cent of the problems listed. It may be assumed that the contact with the society resulted in the successful solution of these particular problems. The services initiated may be expected to have some percentage of

successful results later. Services in connection with physical treatment equal 65 per cent of the problems. The percentage of medical problems solved is higher in the three societies than the percentage of services, when all problems are considered. This fact may be due to the presence of more adequate facilities for physical treatment than for other problems, and it may be affected by the fact that it is rather easy for the case worker to know when a case of illness has been successfully treated, but the checking of two or more services for one case of acute illness is still possible. Again, it should be emphasized that the incommensurability of the problem units and the service units diminishes the value of all these percentages as measures of the results of case work.

A different kind of analysis of problems and services was made with the cards of one of the districts of agency C which I was allowed to examine. From the cards for 1925-26, 127 were selected which represented cases that had run through the year and were still open at the end of the year. The statistical cards for the same cases were used for 1926-27. The ratio of services to problems on each card was computed for each year. The ratio could range from 0 to 1. The average of the 127 ratios for 1925-26 is .46, but the standard deviation was found to be .27. That is an extremely wide variability. It indicates that the average means almost nothing. There is no uniform trend in percentages of services so far as time is concerned. If the standard deviation has been, say, .05, we would be able to say that the probability that the ratio of problems to service of .46 is fairly significant, provided these cases are a representative sample. That could not be determined except in a theoretical way without testing other samples from agency C. But the standard deviation is nearly six times five; the dispersion of the ratios is so great that we can say nothing about an average. Coming to the same cases a year later, one would expect to find better statistical results because 59 of the cases (in the second year only 124 out of the 127 are used) were closed before the end of the year 1926-27. In none of the 59 cases did the services equal 100 per cent of the problems, and in 24 of them no services were indicated at all. Taking all the ratios, the average has dropped from .46 in the preceding to .36 in the second year, and the standard deviation is .31, which shows a much wider spread than in the first year. The coefficient of variability in the first series of ratios is .59, and in the second series it is .86. It is probably safe to say that statistics of problems and services are utterly useless as measures of the results of social case work. In mass the data are so heterogeneous that no uniformity of any sort is indicated, and in the individual case the problem units and service units are so largely incommensurable that we can conclude nothing as to what has actually been accomplished.

In making these statements no judgment is passed upon the quality of the case work done, and no criticism of the statistical cards for other uses is made. But as records of data for the measurement of results in social case work

they are just about worthless, and publicity which is based upon such comparisons of problems and services is in fact baseless.

If we turn from the consideration of social case work problems and services to the effect on the death rate of the public health movement, we are rather surprised to find that the results as actually measured are uncertain here also. Declining death rates due to tuberculosis, diphtheria, smallpox, typhoid fever, diseases of infancy, and so on are everywhere obtainable. Every state department of health and the United States Public Health Service publish monthly and annual reports of mortality due to specific causes, and the decreases are obvious. Dr. Louis I. Dublin has demonstrated increasing longevity time and again, and he has worked out in an elaborate way the economic value of the years added to life. He shows that the death rate per 100,000 population from diphtheria decreased from 43.3 in 1900 to 12.1 in 1923. In Indiana it has decreased from 13.5 in 1916 to 5.6 in 1925. Deaths from typhoid fever have shown a similar decline. The national death rate for tuberculosis has been cut in half since 1900. Referring to an experiment which the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company has made among its industrial policyholders, Dr. Dublin says that from 1911 to 1925 deaths from tuberculosis dropped 56 per cent, deaths from typhoid dropped 80 per cent, deaths from communicable diseases of children dropped 55.5 per cent, and diphtheria dropped 62 per cent. He states further that the Metropolitan spent twenty million dollars in health education and nursing service among these policyholders, but that the returns to the Metropolitan were forty-three million dollars. He concludes that "In every important condition the death rate has declined among industrial policyholders fully twice as fast as has occurred in the general population." While Dr. Dublin's studies seem rather conclusive in favor of public health work, there are others in the public health movement who have doubts. Dr. Edgar Sydenstricker, United States Public Health Service, read a paper before the American Statistical Association last Christmas in which he discussed the results of the attempt of the tuberculosis workers to conduct a controlled experiment in Cattaraugus County, New York. The rate has been consistently downward, but Dr. Sydenstricker has not been able to demonstrate just how much the decline is due to public health work. He drew no conclusions for or against tuberculosis work, but confined himself to measurement of results. Without going so much into details, he referred to a similar effort to measure the results of a controlled experiment in the use of diphtheria toxin-antitoxin in Providence, and the scientifically determined results were equally inconclusive.³

These illustrations of efforts to measure the results of public health work in terms of a reduction in death rates do not imply a criticism of public health work. They prove nothing further than that we need more proof of what we are doing. They demand suspended judgment among those who wish to take a purely scientific attitude toward public health work.

³ *Proceedings of the American Statistical Association* (March, 1928), pp. 155 ff.

Results of case work in terms of expert judgment.—In the preceding examples we have seen how inadequately the results of social work are indicated by the study of costs and of the statistics of problems and services. But in general social workers regard such problems as can be statistically considered to be more or less mechanical. They feel that the essential factors of case treatment are entirely non-statistical. It would be unscientific to assume that the results of social work cannot be measured statistically, but as yet little has been accomplished in this direction. There is one other method of determining results which at present may be of more value. It is the determination of the percentage of success in terms of expert judgment.

In social case work the decision to close a case implies a judgment on the whole complex of attitudes and values with which the worker has dealt. This judgment represents the carefully considered conclusions of both the case worker and her supervisor. If this judgment were recorded in the closing entry in terms of success, partial success, and total failure, could we add such judgments together and say that the agency had achieved such and such a percentage of success? There is a difficulty in the way of this kind of an estimate. Most social agencies have several districts in the city in which they operate, and we have no way of knowing whether the case workers and the supervisors in the several districts have the same standards of success. In fact, we are safe in saying that they do not have the same standards. Consequently, if we add the judgments returned from the several districts, the sum includes apples, stones, and Irish potatoes. Before a judgment made in the closing entry can be of much value, we shall have to standardize the means of arriving at such judgments much more definitely than they are at present.

But if all the judgments are made by the same persons in conference, we have a different situation and a greater probability of dependable results. Several studies of the accomplishments of social case work have used this method, and some examples will be cited here to illustrate the method. Miss Florence Nesbitt has made one that is interesting. She compared "the condition of the family when the treatment began with the condition when contact ceased, in order to discover what change for better or worse had taken place. The records of 184 families were carefully studied to discover the success or failure with these families in promoting a normal family life, the goal of family social work." The criteria of success listed in her article published in *The Family* would require too much space to quote here, but they seem to cover the family situation rather completely. The following results were found: families considered as having a successful family life, 13 per cent; successful in most aspects of family life, 40.2 per cent; successful aspects about equal to the unsuccessful, 35.9 per cent; unsuccessful in most aspects of family life, 7.6 per cent; general family situation unknown at close of contact, 3.3 per cent.⁴

⁴ Florence Nesbitt, "Success and Failure in the Promotion of Normal Family Life," *The Family*, VII, 8.

One of the most interesting and important efforts yet made to determine the results of social case work is that reported by Mr. Porter R. Lee to the American Statistical Association last Christmas. This report deals with the work of the New York Bureau of Children's Guidance.

The objectives of the Bureau in each of the 591 cases carried through the treatment period could be stated as emotional adjustment of the child through better understanding of his problem. The attainment of this objective implied a change in his own attitude and changes in the attitudes of his parents and his teachers, with resulting changes in the active relationships between the child on the one hand and his parents and teachers on the other.

Mr. Lee fully recognizes the fact that the evaluation of the work of the Bureau involves subjective factors in so far as the judgments are concerned with qualities not susceptible of exact measurement. Of the 591 cases mentioned by Mr. Lee, a sample of 196 was selected for special study for the purpose of judging the Bureau's success. The results were as follows: success in 48 per cent, partial success in 31 per cent, and failure in 21 per cent. Mr. Lee's most interesting and impartial analysis of the data concerned is too long to summarize here, and we shall conclude this reference to his paper by quoting his closing paragraph: "From the point of view of the general problem of evaluating results of social experiments I believe this particular project has this much significance. In so far as such experiments are dealing with data which are not capable of precise measurement, indications of the quality of results must be largely in terms of the judgments of individuals. This particular experiment would seem to indicate that the cumulative judgment of different persons in a position to form a judgment may be both significant in character and possible of tabulation."⁵

Probably the most comprehensive study of the work of a family service agency is that which Mr. Maurice J. Karpf made in Chicago. Mr. Karpf has been particularly interested in the time element in case work treatment and has reached the conclusion that problems are likely to be solved within fifteen months after the case is opened, or they are unlikely to be solved at all. He finds that of the problems adjusted in the case of boys, 85 per cent were solved within this period. Studies of other types of cases show similar results. The Jewish Social Service Bureau of Chicago has been particularly interested in the rehabilitation of families through enabling them to be financially independent. Families are set up in business by the Bureau and agree to repay the Bureau the loans received upon an instalment plan. Nearly 73 per cent of the repayments have been made according to agreement, and 85 per cent of the families are independent of aid from the Bureau. The sample taken for this study was small and is subject to the limitations of small samples, but the results of this kind of case work are clear and satisfactory in so far as this sample is concerned. Certainly publicity based upon findings of this sort would appeal to the public, and it is preferable to mere case publicity.⁶

⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶ Maurice J. Karpf, *A Social Audit of a Social Service Agency*, secs. 7 and 8.

In connection with the success of social case work, brief reference will be made to treatment of juvenile delinquency. The recent work of Healy and Bronner on the evaluation of their results must suffice to illustrate this type of case work, because more space cannot be given to summarizing experiments in measurement and evaluation. Healy and Bronner have studied the results of their work in both Chicago and Boston. Success in treatment has been gauged by the percentage of juvenile offenders who later got into the adult courts. Of the 311 boys committed to correctional institutions in Chicago, 219 (70 per cent) were failures, while of the 109 not committed, but treated in other ways, only 37 (34 per cent) were failures. Of the 169 girls committed, 92 (54 per cent) were failures, while of the 86 not committed, but treated in other ways, only 25 (29 per cent) were failures. Of the 118 boys committed to correctional institutions in Boston, 34 (28.8 per cent) were failures, while of the 282 not committed, but treated in other ways, only 50 (17.7 per cent) were failures. This is a very meager statement of the results found by Healy and Bronner, but it serves our purpose and shows that there is considerable factual evidence for the opinion that probation is superior to commitment to correctional institutions as treatment of juvenile offenders. Similar evidence is available for adult offenders, but for lack of space it is omitted. It should be pointed out that so far as outcome is concerned we have a rather objective test of success here. Treatment of a juvenile offender was judged a failure if he later got into the adult courts. Subjective factors are thus reduced to a minimum in Healy and Bronner's study of the results of social work as represented by correctional institutions and by probation.⁷

Summary and conclusions.—Through its appeal to sympathy and other non-rational motives social work has kept faith in its program, and this has been to a very large extent a substitute for faith in the results of social work. To the extent that directors of publicity are honest with themselves and with the supporting public in recognizing that they are basing their appeals upon faith in the program they retain their integrity, but in the use of case empiricism as the sole basis of publicity they are constantly by implication impeaching their integrity, because the case is representative of only a part of social work. An abundance of isolated cases can be found which in themselves are convincing, but it is highly probable that they do not represent the average achievement of the agency. They are much too good. Yet the illustrations cited in this paper are evidence that publicity is not without a solid factual basis. We have some reliable results in the fields of official outdoor relief, institutional treatment, child welfare, family welfare, and juvenile probation. These small evidences of percentage achievement should be comforting to the publicity director, but just as he is beginning to take comfort he is confronted by the specter of adverse public reaction to such partial success. He

⁷ William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking*, see especially chap. v and Appendix, Tables 14-16.

has to choose between this reaction and a more favorable one which is derived from announcing success without telling how much success, and this is plain casuistry. He may decide to tell the percentage of success and then explain the failures. That would be an ethical procedure, but it might reduce support from some quarters. Verily, the way of the publicity director in social work is hard; for when he has searched heaven and earth for the truth, he may find that the public prefers the casuistry of case empiricism.

BUSINESS AS AN ALLY

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Can business, whose mainspring is profit, and social work, whose motive is public service, cooperate successfully in common enterprises? What are the principles that should guide? That is the theme for discussion at this meeting. How can social workers use business as an ally? Or, putting the question from the special point of view of this division of the National Conference of Social Work, how can business and social service best join forces in social education?

Chronologically, social work passes through three stages: first, the relief of suffering, including rehabilitation; second, preventive work; and third, constructive efforts to advance the standards of civilization. In the great adventure of building constructively for better standards, social service finds itself shoulder to shoulder with other great forces, including religion, education, government, as well as industry and business.

It is not only social work which is growing broader and undertaking new tasks. Industry and business are doing this too. New ideals of humanitarianism and service are leavening the world of business. In industry new relationships are developing between employer and employee. Capital and labor more clearly understand their interdependence. Industry is moving toward a basis wherein employer and employees are partners rather than rivals.

For many new ideals and practices industry is indebted to social service. Social workers quickly sense human problems in shops and factories, and gladly cooperate in meeting human needs. Industry, in dealing with the welfare of workers, has borrowed from social service experience and from social service personnel. As a result there is an impressive list of social service activities conducted today by industry: programs for better housing, recreation in many forms, medical and surgical service, dentistry, nursing and health education, hygiene of workrooms, safety and accident prevention, classes in citizenship, English, and many other subjects, vocational guidance, libraries, lunchrooms, relief for illness, accident, and unemployment, group insurance, pensions, thrift and saving plans, profit sharing, stock purchases by employees

with special cooperation from the employer, plans to prevent seasonable unemployment, employee participation in management and control.

All this is no small matter. In dollars alone the expenditure involved is important. Only incomplete statistics are obtainable on this subject, but for such data as can be secured, it appears conservative to estimate an expenditure by industry for health and welfare and employee cooperation of more than \$150,000,000 a year. There are single corporations whose expenditures for these purposes each twelve months reach seven figures.

Thus do industry and social service work together in substantial manner in processes of production. What, then, shall be said as to processes of distribution? Does social service in its broadening program cooperate with commerce? Can business and social service be allies in public education?

Business, too, is broadening out and adopting new points of view. More and more business recognizes that legitimate profits come only from service rendered. "Let the buyer beware" is supplanted by "He profits most who serves best." In commerce and trade, as well as in the operation of public utilities, "The public be damned" is succeeded by "The public be served." Business leaders today commonly take pride in sharing in public service, not only as individuals in leisure time, but also in the marts of trade and through the very commercial enterprises whose destinies they guide. To an increasing degree trade and commerce justify the title that an advertising man applied recently to his new book, *Business the Civilizer*. One is reminded of the observation made seventy years ago by Ralph Waldo Emerson: "After all, the greatest meliorator of the world is selfish, huckstering trade."

Business touches the life of the people. Every year it expends hundreds of millions of dollars to influence and mold their desires and habits. To a degree no man can measure the thoughts and actions of consumers—and not simply their buying habits—are swayed and directed by advertising, by sales promotion, by activities originating in a hundred ways in commerce. Advertising, sales, and related influences are a factor to be reckoned with, not simply in moving products into consumption, but also in their vital effect upon character and modes of living. To capture and guide some part of this tremendous modern force, to use it for social education, to direct it into channels of genuine service is a challenge worthy of attention. Especially may these possibilities command consideration from every social worker who understands the importance of publicity and organized educational activities in changing standards of living and conduct.

"Established to promote public welfare by teaching the value of cleanliness"—so runs a line used again and again in the advertising of Cleanliness Institute, founded and financed by the soap manufacturing industry of America. This industry, thoroughly familiar with advertising, believes that public welfare can be promoted through common effort and through a well rounded plan in which both advertising and social education play their parts.

"Established to promote health and to lengthen life"—so might run a description of the Welfare Division of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. The public service work so well done by this company has led the way to similar activities by other insurance companies and by the Life Extension Institute.

"Established to promote health through better diet" is a fair description of educational activities of many of the food industries, including the producers and distributors of milk, some of the large cereal products companies, some of the fruit growers, etc. Especially important has been cooperation between the dairy industry and health and home economics forces of the country.

"Established to promote public welfare through more artistic homes"—such is the aim of many educational departments of manufacturers and distributors of materials that enter into the furnishing of homes and that are frequently used actively by the home economics extension workers of county, state, and nation.

"Established to promote family and public welfare through the modernization of used homes and buildings"—such might readily become the spirit of the new Home Modernizing Bureau set up less than a month ago by the building industries of the United States. This bureau expects to promote in every state and community effective organization and effort to bring about the remodeling and reequipping of old homes and buildings. Here is a new program of far reaching significance initiated by industries whose combined annual business reaches the staggering total of from six to eight billion dollars. As this program gathers momentum and comes into your communities all over the United States, shall it be actuated simply by the desires of manufacturers and builders to do more business, or shall there be added the ideal of public service for the good of the home and the community? In part, at least, the answer will depend upon whether social workers and other leaders with social vision will cooperate with, guide, and direct this work in their communities, or whether, because this new movement is sponsored by commercial interests as a business builder, it shall fail to win cooperation and guidance from socially minded groups and remain, therefore, commercial in motives and character.

Tremendous possibilities for service open up when there is an economic or business reason for a socially sound program; and where there is such a program, great strength to both business and social service may result from a working alliance rather than indifference or antagonism.

A recent example of an industry cooperating with social, health, and educational agencies is the Association of American Soap and Glycerine Producers, which a year ago established Cleanliness Institute. Soap manufacturers are by no means insensible to the economic advantage to be gained through this movement. They believe, however, that the promotion of higher cleanliness standards is a public service, which will best be furthered through a social service and educational organization. Therefore, while the manufacturers in

this industry stood ready to finance an organized cleanliness movement, they desired that it be directed by workers familiar with public service and qualified to guide its activities in accord with the best traditions of social service agencies. Such was the stand announced at the opening meeting of Cleanliness Institute in June, 1927. Strict adherence to this policy, and a fine quality of work done, are among the reasons for the widespread acceptance of Cleanliness Institute as a sincere and useful organization functioning for public welfare.

The program of Cleanliness Institute is social and educational. It deals with cleanliness in its broadest scope—its relationship with good manners, character, self respect, and the higher values of life—as well as with practical questions of health, comfort, and efficiency. It occupies a field distinctive to itself, yet related to many others. It cooperates with schools, health, social service organizations, and other public welfare agencies, and stands ready to assist any such who are interested in cleanliness and desire to promote higher standards in this field. This is neither the time nor the place to deal in detail with the program and work of Cleanliness Institute. I touch it briefly, however, because it illustrates general principles applicable to organized cooperation between business and social service groups for effective promotion of educational activities. Other speakers on today's program will approach this general subject from other angles, and then it is hoped that further discussion will illuminate this comparatively new subject. I venture to express the thought that other divisions of this Conference in the future may find in this theme—cooperation between industry, business, and social service—a field for vital and absorbing consideration.

In direct organized cooperation between business and social service the first essential is that each side shall respect the other. There are still social workers, educators, and others who apparently see in the profit motive of business a negation of the ideal of public service. In the light of facts today, this is a narrow point of view. For economic as well as other reasons business more and more must rest upon the foundation of public service. It is true that the business man must make a profit or he cannot stay in business. But he has the same right to profit from participation in sound social programs that social workers or public officers have to accept salaries for service rendered. We must not let the profit aspect of business prevent us from recognizing that many business leaders today have true and sincere ideals of service in their business occupations. The social worker who refuses to concede this point discourages, rather than encourages, the growth of the social spirit. Not every business man who pays lip service to the public interest is sincere, but many of them are, and the wise social worker will encourage this spirit whenever he finds it.

Especially fortunate in this respect is the industry with which I am associated. Perhaps no other in America has contributed more outstanding names to philanthropic endeavor of a high order. I have but to mention such family

names as Colgate, Procter, Fels, Lever (or Leverhulme) for an audience like this to recognize the general spirit of fine service which these and many other representatives of this industry have evidenced in their lives and work. To that spirit I pay tribute for the breadth of conception and the sincerity of purpose which lies back of Cleanliness Institute. This favorable condition rendered easy in the case of Cleanliness Institute what I regard as the second essential whenever business undertakes to back in a fine way a social service program. This essential is that the program be worked out by professional leaders of experience and ability, whose guidance and advice must be respected by the industry concerned. Every worker on Cleanliness Institute staff is a successful and capable leader in his or her given field. This is as it should be, and is one of the reasons for the respect that Cleanliness Institute already holds from other educational, health, and social service organizations throughout the country.

A third essential to mutual satisfaction in cooperative endeavor of this character is that there be a real field for service in which a sound program can be developed that can produce results both social and economic. Since coming to Memphis a member of this Conference has told me how the first "certified milk" came into use. Physicians in Montclair, New Jersey, he said, desired a better quality of milk for their own children. They went to a dairy whose standards were already good and suggested still further improvement. Then came the idea that milk produced under these ideal conditions would be good for other babies too. Therefore they suggested to the dairyman that they would "certify" his milk and that he could compensate himself for the extra expense involved by a higher charge for the milk so certified. From this simple beginning, if my information is correct, the idea of "certified milk" has spread all over the country, and is today an important element in the milk business and in public health. This is a good illustration of a real need met by a program sound both in service to the community and in profit to the industry.

In the case of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, state insurance departments at first raised serious question as to whether the Welfare Division could render a business return that would justify expenditure of insurance funds. That question has long since passed because the actual saving in policyholders' lives has rendered dollars and cents returns far greater than the entire cost of the welfare work, even though that has run into many millions of dollars.

In the case of Cleanliness Institute, some raised a question as to whether there was any need for such an organization, and any useful purpose to be met through its establishment. Cleanliness, like the poor, was presumed to be always with us. Such attention as it received in school education was largely casual. It was assumed that the general public was familiar with the relation that cleanliness bears to comfort, health, and general well being, and that all who could practiced cleanliness anyway. Every mother, it was thought, knew

how, and how often, to bathe her baby. Cleanliness standards, it was said, were so obviously for the public good as to make it unnecessary to stress them. Cleanliness and sanitary standards, it was maintained, were enforced in industry, and the health both of workers and of the consuming public was thus being adequately protected.

How far this was from the facts has already been developed in the experience and study of the Institute and others with whom the new work has brought us into contact. Many health and social agencies, we find, are acutely conscious of the need for education in cleanliness among great groups with whom they deal, and in whole sections of their communities. The creation of the Institute and the publication of statements by it on the need of cleanliness work have aroused wide comment in, and corroboration by, leading authorities in many fields of endeavor. Recently the Consumers' League of New York disclosed conditions of uncleanness in an important food industry that led the local health authorities to take immediate action. An exhibit of the work of the Health Commissioner of Dayton in the inspection of dishwashing in public restaurants has been followed by the announcement of programs in Cleveland, New York, and elsewhere. In schools, the foundation of our educational system, we find often that facilities for cleanliness among the children are lacking. Evidence accumulates every day that this subject we have taken for granted needs, and will richly repay, special attention, and that Cleanliness Institute has before it a genuine field for service.

Summarizing, I have said that social service is broadening its horizon and undertaking tasks of which social workers a generation ago scarcely dreamed. I have pointed out that, in conspicuous and successful fashion, industry and social service are working together. I have expressed the opinion that business and social service may also at many points cooperate in social education, and have mentioned some specific instances in which this cooperation is already under way. I have said that for effective organized cooperation in this field three things are necessary: first, respect by the social worker for business leaders who are sincere in their desire to undertake tasks of this character; second, the recognition by these business leaders that social workers have a special experience and ability to direct enterprises of this nature; and, third, the necessity that there be a real need to meet and the possibility of a program both socially sound and capable of producing economic or business returns.

I would ask social workers to utilize business when possible, not for the sake of social service alone, but also for the sake of business and for the sake of the community. Why should not a housing campaign use the resources of building industries? Why should not a health campaign seek the cooperation of industries concerned with foods, with exercise, with cleanliness, with rest? Why should not recreation associations ask for, receive, and utilize the active cooperation of manufacturers and distributors concerned in this field? Safety and accident prevention is another field where such cooperation is possible.

Thrift campaigns are another example. Doubtless many possibilities not yet thought of along this line will suggest themselves as the minds of social workers begin to be alert in this field. Why should not social workers everywhere seek and utilize the cooperation of business and commerce wherever the conditions for such cooperation are right?

At the beginning I estimated that industry expends \$150,000,000 a year, or half a million dollars each day, on employee health and social service. Add to this the financial contributions which business and industrial concerns make to social and educational agencies, add again their expenditures for such advertising and education as is of a public service character, and I believe the total investment is easily doubled, rising to \$300,000,000 a year, or \$1,000,000 each working day. Our own small industry during the next two years will expend in Cleanliness Institute, and in closely related advertising and publicity, more than \$1,250,000.

These are sums, and movements, of significance. The time has come, I submit, when social agencies may well examine those forces in industry and business which are making for a better and nobler world. Industry and business on the one hand, and social service and education on the other, have much to gain from closer contact. Through such contact, I am confident, there will develop more effective organization and cooperation, leading constructively to improvements in social and living conditions as important, perhaps, as any yet undertaken.

BUSINESS AS AN ALLY

*Helen Crosby, Welfare Division, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company,
New York City*

I am speaking on this subject from the point of view of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and on the basis of my experience in its Welfare Division. This is not primarily to tell you about the work of the division, but possibly to suggest methods by which the Metropolitan and other business groups can line up their activities so they will be more directly usable and valuable to the professional social and welfare agencies.

As you probably know, this division has always had as its function the extension of health information and activities to the industrial policyholders, a group of about twenty-five million working men and their families. It was started nineteen years ago, in 1909.

I think there have been three sets of reasons accepted by the company for doing this work. These have changed as there has been built up a set of results by which the value of the expenditure could be measured. They have reflected also the changing attitude of the public toward the invasion of business into the social work and health fields. In the first stage the reasons ad-

vanced for the work, and rather honestly accepted, were probably largely philanthropic and sentimental. The second stage was the realization on the part of the strictly business group in the company that this work was good advertising. Now, with the development of detailed statistics on mortality of policyholders since 1911, the company has accepted the fact that the expenditure has been justified on the basis of direct financial return. Right at this point I feel that agencies which want to justify their expenditures could use the experience of the Metropolitan to help prove their case. Briefly stated, we think that as a result of expending \$32,000,000 since 1909 we have saved \$64,000,000 in deferred death claims due to increased length of life among policyholders over and above the increase in the general population.

The methods developed by the Metropolitan are familiar—visiting nursing service, health literature, films, film strips, radio talks, exhibits, window displays, etc. The unique part of the program is the use of the agency force of the company to get this material distributed and used. Twenty-five thousand agents visit the homes of one-fifth of the population of the United States and Canada weekly. They are expected to distribute appropriate pamphlets and to extend the use of the nurse as a regular part of their business. At special times they are asked to advertise community health activities such as bond issues for sanitorias, playgrounds, and other health equipment. In the last few months in Massachusetts they have distributed special material on safety for the state safety council. In Detroit, under the supervision of Dr. Vaughn, the health officer, they have taken his diphtheria material into every home in the city. Within a few months they will be asked to distribute 300,000 cancer dodgers in North Carolina. During the last year they have been particularly involved in diphtheria toxin anti-toxin campaigns, circularizing the material of official health agencies in eleven statewide campaigns and over two hundred local campaigns. An extremely ambitious project to get information on medical care and costs from 45,000 families all over the country is now being contemplated. This force is unique, and while it has its decided limitations, can be used to reach a group hard to get at through the ordinary channels.

These are the direct health activities of the company, and you all are somewhat familiar with them. There is another group of activities which I feel has not been as generally known and which opens up possibilities for co-operation between the company and the agencies. These are the studies and researches which the Metropolitan has to make to get information for conducting its business, either insurance or health. These studies are being developed all the time and might well synchronize with your activities if planned or suggested cooperatively. I will outline briefly some of these studies to indicate the type of subject matter.

The cost of nursing study was financed by the Metropolitan and made under the auspices of a committee of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing for the primary purpose of determining how much should be

paid by the company for a visit made on one of its policyholders by a nurse in any one of the 4,000 or so communities which has such an organization. From the point of view of the nursing associations, however, it has given them an accounting system by which they are studying their whole office and professional set up. It has shown huge visit costs in some places due to nurses spending so much time on clerical work or transportation. It has given a basis of deciding when it will be cheaper to increase the office staff or buy an automobile and thus make possible an increased number of visits per nurse per day.

The cost of burial study has just been completed by a committee entirely independent of the company, headed by Mr. Purdy, of the New York Charity Organization Society, with Mr. Gebhart, formerly of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. The company was interested in determining the relation between industrial insurance and a burial fund, but social workers may find other valuable information in the report.

Definite findings by the Influenza Pneumonia Commission, on which \$300,000 has been spent since 1919, must have their effect on health work, though the company's direct justification for financing the commission was the expenditure of twenty-four million dollars in claims during the influenza epidemic.

In the study of municipal health department practices the local and state health officers probably represent the group with which the company has worked most closely. We are primarily interested in extending health activities, and many of these, such as smallpox vaccination, diphtheria immunization, and the control of other diseases, depend, primarily at least, and sometimes entirely, on the health officer. Therefore we are interested in as well organized and efficient a health department as possible.

Among a list of twenty-seven current studies there are many whose interest to the company is obvious, for instance the studies of the Calmette vaccine in the treatment of tuberculosis, of common colds, of tuberculosis among school children, of tuberculosis and silicosis among miners, of the relation between climate and death rate. The list also includes, because of group insurance, personnel studies in the value of mental tests, a study of one and two day absence among employees by age and cost, and so forth.

Certain private agencies have been working with the Metropolitan for years, particularly in the health group: the National Tuberculosis Association interested the Metropolitan in putting on the seven year demonstration at Framingham; the American Public Health Association sponsored the study of municipal health department practices; the General Federation of Women's Clubs recently followed a suggestion of the company that its groups be interested in developing locally a less complete and less detailed study of health department practices and sanitary codes than could be made by the American Public Health Association, particularly in smaller places. For two years the various states have been competing in this activity, and over 200 studies have

been made and printed under the general caption of "Your Rights and Duties under the Health Laws of ———."

There is a problem which faces the Metropolitan now on which it would be glad to have advice in developing a program, and that is the safety problem. Looking at it from a business point of view, accident is a leading cause of death, one out of every eleven of the death claims paid being because of an accident.

I am not going to detail any further the Metropolitan program, but will draw from these a few deductions which might be kept in mind in handling the problems of business groups and their connection with social work agencies. First, business is increasingly invading the field, especially that of health. Whether we like it or not, it is there, and whatever its reason for being there, it can be of use to professional agencies. It is somewhat apologetic about its commercialism, and will take advice from agencies. Increasingly it is getting trained people on its staffs, and as a consequence increasingly it is becoming aware of standards and ethics. Second, in general, it is not interested or satisfied to make financial contributions and have no part in the development of the program. Third, most business has some special staff organization, much as the agency force in the case of the Metropolitan, which it will want to use in its program. With these three points in mind I would urge agencies to study business groups and suggest activities in which they can legitimately participate and which will be of value to the professional field also.

BUSINESS AS AN ALLY: THE PUBLIC HEALTH

*Clair E. Turner, Professor of Biology and Public Health, Massachusetts
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One of the commonest failures of man is to dwell upon differences of interest instead of points of agreement. Of course, so far as individuals are concerned, one can find good enough in the worst of us for a basis of friendship if he has the will and ability to draw it out. But the habit of dwelling upon differences between groups often keeps us apart. We look for something wrong in the other group, perhaps to alleviate our own inferiority complex and justify ourselves. You hear "the other group" described by one extreme difference, sometimes real, but more often supposed. Methodists are "people who believe in hell fire." Universalists "think everyone is going to heaven." Evolutionists believe "we were once monkeys." Fundamentalists "do not believe in natural law." Capitalists are "people who oppress the rest of us." These are childish, inane, unthinking, and unreasoned reflexes which might seem to arise in the sympathetic nervous system instead of in the cerebrum. If the Christian churches would spend one year in the accumulation and consideration on their points of agreement they might all unite.

But someone says there is a fundamental difference between public health and business. Public health is a profession, and a profession seeks to render the best possible service regardless of the return to the individual. Business is a trade, and a trade seeks the greatest possible return for every service. If we make this distinction we immediately find people in business who are professional and people in the professions who are really tradesmen.

Let us recognize at the outset that the business of business is to provide what the public wants. Civilization is the accumulation of aesthetic conditions and human conveniences. Education is the process of passing on this social heritage. Industry and business translate scientific discoveries into human progress. Business is basic. If we did not go into business it was because we believed, all told, we could get richer return by investing our lives elsewhere. We are entitled to no "holier than thou" attitude. If we can see the ultimate best interests of the community or the individual and substitute the highest self interest for immediate selfish return, many of our group differences disappear and many of our separate causes and objectives unite and become common.

In industrial health such progress as has been made has come through the recognition of common interest. No industrial hygiene service has ever succeeded as a philanthropy. Labor has objected in the past to physical examinations and many other elements of industrial health programs on the one assumption that if they were beneficial to capital they must be injurious to labor. In recent years there has been a recognition of industrial health service as a business arrangement with mutual advantages. We see this relationship as one not unlike that of the farmer who selects a sound and promising hired man and then provides conditions of work contributory to his health and happiness. Industry is even beginning to recognize that in every occupation the output is determined by certain physiological and psychological conditions. We are even wondering if something of the attitude of the amateur athlete cannot enter into the selection of and training for a factory job. Some industries are seriously asking whether it may not be possible to have all of the people who are working for them really desire to do so.

So far as business relationships for those who are outside of industries are concerned, it goes without saying that the scientist, in the social or exact sciences, owes complete loyalty to truth. To swerve from frank, honest, and complete truth, as nearly as it can be presented, is no less than traitorous. To aid any group or organization to misrepresent the facts, to suppress part of the truth, or to lead the public astray for selfish interests is a form of graft which reacts upon the unethical organization and destroys the standing of the pseudo-scientist. Truth and the greatest good must never be "sold out." The exploitation of health in the interest of a commercial product is entirely unethical. But cooperation with business does not mean this.

So far as business is concerned, the "here today and gone tomorrow"

philosophy is rapidly disappearing. Business interests are becoming larger and more permanent. Witness the continuing and costly bid which is being made for consumer good will. Business is seeking, first, to serve a fundamental social need, and second, to merit the confidence of the public by the quality of the service. On that basis its interests are common with ours up to the point of competition between competitive trade products. Naturally this union of business and public service is not, as the preachers say, "a thing to be entered into lightly or unthinkingly." There will be criticism from "in-laws" on both sides. If you develop such cooperation you will probably be fortunate enough to be criticized by the profession for being commercial, and by business for being an idealist. But let us see just what problems and what forms of possible cooperation lie ahead of us.

The first proposition is direct cooperation in the solution of a health problem. That type of relationship has just been described by Miss Crosby. There are many other examples. The goiter problem is being answered by persuading the salt industries to leave iodine in the product. Improvement in housing and in schoolhouse construction will come through architects and builders. Who is more interested in improving the quality of a local milk supply than the people whose income depends upon the development of the industry? I grant you that it is not always easy to make industry see that its problem is common with our own, but that is a challenge to our clarity of thinking and presentation. Let us keep in mind the possibility of a joint attack upon health problems and recognize that industry by itself is solving one problem after another in contributing to human health and comfort.

A second field of cooperative effort is that of health education, which has been described by Mr. Edlund. I am frank to say that, taken together, the source material contributed by business groups has been of better quality and quantity than that from any other single source. It has even made publishers abandon the type of physiology which Adam studied and produce more progressive texts. Business people appreciate the fact that progress usually comes through the expenditure of money for improved methods. The best of this material has been produced by people who know both health and education. The quality of much of it could not have been better, or perhaps as good, if it had been produced from public funds. The one person who deserves more credit than any other for this achievement is Miss Sally Lucas Jean, consultant to health education, who has served the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Cleanliness Institute, the National Dairy Council, and other groups. Her idealism, honesty, generosity, artistic taste, untarnished code of ethics, and keen analytical psychology as applied to the mind of the public and of the child have harnessed tremendous forces for the public health. The country owes a great debt to Miss Jean for her contribution to child health and for showing us ways in which business and social groups can work together.

Of course, source material is not the only problem of health education.

The time has come when the health education program for the public school has developed a technique and demonstrated its value. Health has been placed as the first objective of education, and no community can fail to recognize its responsibility to build a definite curriculum or program of health education for its school system. One of the perfectly definite things which you and I should seek insistently for our own communities is the development of a curriculum and the appointment of a trained director of health education in the school system who shall be responsible for the administration, operation, and measurement of the orderly, progressive, and vitalized program of child training in the habits, attitudes, and knowledge of health.

Source materials—tools to work with—do, however, form a very definite part of the picture. As I see it there are four types. First, there is the material issued by life insurance companies. The mutual companies are mutual benefit organizations composed of huge blocks of our population. They are semisocial institutions which serve the public health. Their returns go back to the members. They are interested in public health from many of the same aspects as the government itself. There seems every reason why they should promote the public health, and I can see no objection to using really good health education material from any such company so long as it is free from the attempt to sell insurance. Second, there are the materials issued by associations of companies. Such associations include, for example, the National Dairy Council and the Cleanliness Institute. They advertise no trade name and they may well be satisfied if they promote the use of milk or soap to the standard which you and I would set. It seems perfectly logical for them to help raise the standard of health practices, and for us to use their material if it is scientifically and pedagogically sound. Third, there is the "complimentary" health material from individual companies. Here we are on somewhat more dangerous ground, but just now we are considering only materials of sound scientific and educational value, which do not discuss the particular trade product and which carry only the compliments of the companies. To use this material is like listening to a symphony over the radio and being told at the end that the concert is being sent to you through the courtesy of a particular concern. School systems must have a policy in the use of all this material. Personally, I approve of allowing teachers to secure and use the material just described. Fourth, there are the materials advertising or promoting a particular product. I do not see how the schools can use the few hundred varieties of this material. To do so would be to allow a public institution to be exploited.

Enough of health education! Let us look to other forms of cooperation. One is the direct participation of business in our undertakings. The business man has a contribution to make to our plans. Every board of health should have a layman on it. Every board on plans and programs will profit by the viewpoint of the right kind of business judgment. Again, we may be able to borrow advertising space from business to announce our programs in plant

organs or in papers and magazines. This space is contracted for in advance. Sometimes there is a dearth of material for it, and often the industry will contribute a unit of space to announce a worth while project if we have the necessary contacts and the confidence of the executive and advertising departments.

You will notice that I have omitted reference to the processes of getting money from industry for our projects. That is a minor omission. The greater present need is for us to seek cooperation rather than donation from industry. There is one very different problem which I should like to present. That is unethical advertising in the health field. Our pure food and drug laws prohibit false statements on the labels, but not in advertising. The American Medical Association has done some splendid work in regard to patent medicines, but the problem does not end there, nor can a personally interested group like the medical profession solve the problem. One of the real tasks of the public schools is to guard the child against believing misleading health literature and advertisements. We do not realize the extent to which carefully prepared bunk in printed form pushes back the health movement. What can we do about it? I have no solution, but I believe the question is worthy of study. We cannot call attention to the bad. We might indorse the good. That psychology works out well in the public school and often changes bad habits to good ones in the child who wishes to merit public approval. In any case I believe this situation to be a major health problem, and I believe Mr. Chairman, that this group would do well to seek the appointment of a committee to investigate the possibilities. It should be so organized that it may work with similar groups from associations like the American Public Health Association or the National Education Association, should they develop similar activities.

In conclusion, then, let us look for common ground and common methods with business groups. Let us be willing to go with them as far as our way is common, with a clear vision as to where our own road is leading and a definite and friendly departure when the road forks. Let us use materials which are scientific and educationally sound and free from the promotion of a trade product. Let us ask business to join our council table and work with us for the advancement of social movements which affect their interest. They may announce our message through their publications and advertising space. They may change their product to secure a desired end. Let us support the new practical idealism of our best business groups and do righteous battle to those which seek to mislead the people.

BUSINESS AS AN ALLY

Howard Whipple Green, Secretary, Health Council, Cleveland

Health organizations are attempting to reduce mortality rates, to reduce morbidity rates, and to build positive health and vitality: to do this they must create in the public mind a desire for health. Business organizations are attempting to market, that is, to sell tangible things to the general public; to do this they must create in the public mind a desire for their product. Health organizations have a civic duty to perform; commercial organizations of necessity have a selfish objective and must show a dollars and cents profit. How can these two types of organizations be combined in a single cause to the advantage of both?

During the last decade certain educational trusts have been formed among similar businesses for the promotion of an idea rather than of a specific product. Outstanding in these are the paint and varnish people in their promotion of clean up week, the National Dairy Council in its promotion of child health, and now the Cleanliness Institute in its efforts on behalf of personal hygiene. Cooperation with these organizations from the local angle is interesting and effective. Since these people feel that the promotion of certain health ideals also promotes the use of their products they have become an ally to the health organizations.

In Cleveland the program of our clean up campaign has interested various business groups other than the paint and varnish men. The laundrymen, the dry cleaners, the seedsmen, the hardware people, the retail grocers, the druggists, the soap industry, and even the coal dealers have been interested and have united in the annual clean up and paint plan campaign. Their distribution resources and their advertising power have been utilized to promote the idea of the clean up campaign.

Cleaning up rubbish, cleaning out cellars and garrets, gains the interest of the public library in collecting the discarded books and magazines, the Associated Charities in collecting old clothing, and the Good-Will Industries in obtaining old furniture to repair and resell. The housecleaning process requires the brooms and brushes and other articles sold by the grocer, the druggist, and the hardware dealer. The soap marketed by the soap industry is also demanded. The housecleaning process requires the aid of the laundryman and the dry cleaner. The clean house and yard inspire the use of paint and varnish. The back yard, free from the piles of rubbish, makes space for the seeds of the seedsmen and the creation of a garden.

The Public Library, Associated Charities, and Good-Will Industries all aid the clean up campaign with leaflets and banners. The paint and varnish men supply 110,000 folders and buttons for the school children and for home distribution; they also supply window displays for every hardware dealer in the community. The laundrymen distribute in their packages of laundry 40,000

dodgers advertising clean up week. The dry cleaners do the same, and also fly clean up banners from their wagons. The hardware people, the retail grocers, and the druggists arrange window displays and call attention to the clean up campaign. The soap industry, through the Cleanliness Institute, provides an excellent speaker and 6,000 hand-washing posters for the schools. The coal dealers supply and distribute instructions for burning coal to produce a minimum amount of smoke. Is it little wonder that clean up material occupies eight full pages of newspaper space, for are not our allies collectively big advertisers? A smoke commissioner has been at work attempting to eliminate the pall of dirt and soot that hangs over Cleveland. Active with him have been the Ohio Coal Dealers' Association, preparing and distributing literature and working in close formation.

An analysis of the population of a large city by small constant areas, or census tracts, is imperative to intelligent planning for health and welfare work. Three cities in the United States have made such analyses. Although little difficulty was experienced in obtaining funds for the publication of the basic population and density data, the amount of money required to obtain detailed analyses by census tracts of data relative to sex, age, color, nativity, parentage, illiteracy, home ownership, etc., was too large to expect from private sources. A commercial organization was interested in investing a large amount of money in this project when it was shown that this information could aid them materially. The money has been invested, the project has been completed, and the data is available to health and welfare agencies; and the commercial organization is very much pleased to obtain an opportunity for an additional profit.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, through its finely worked out educational publications and through the purchase of nursing service for its policyholders, has promoted an amazing amount of health education for the general public as well as for its own clients. The recently published booklet, *The Great Imitator*, is the last word in social hygiene educational material, dealing with the venereal diseases and suitable for extensive distribution. Their carefully and completely worked out health films would be difficult to improve. This insurance company is surely a worthy and valued ally.

The Builders' Exchange has interested itself in better homes and in housing; the retail grocers, under the guidance of the Anti-Tuberculosis League, have taken an active part through window displays and in other ways in the promotion of the proper selection of food. In department stores, a baby week has been worked out less satisfactorily than other bits of cooperation, but nevertheless indicates interesting possibilities.

What does all of this mean? It simply means that everywhere people with things to sell are selling them on the basis of success, beauty, power, health, and efficiency. They are making use of these human desires sometimes, unfortunately, in ways far from desirable. They need guidance and the control of public opinion.

The formation of the educational trusts, with their corps of experienced and high caliber health experts, tends to raise the standards of this kind of advertising. Truth in advertising must be guarded. It would be disastrous to all for the people of the United States to get into the situation of the villagers whose shepherd, in order to get attention, called "Wolf, wolf!" when there was no wolf, and who, when finally the wolves came, was eaten alive.

For the common good the attention of all organizations able to form public opinion can well be directed toward the denunciation of publicity presenting untruths to the public. For the promotion of health and welfare, the honest, sincere, and truthful business organization is surely a welcome ally.

MAKING HUMAN GEOGRAPHY TALK

PART I. FORMULATION

Blanche Renard, Associate Director, Community Council; Budget Secretary, Community Fund, St. Louis

In making geography talk there are processes, three of which we would like to interpret: formulation, presentation, agitation. I beg you consider what I have to say about formulation on the basis of the method we are using.

Geography is being written in new terms these days, not topographical, in terms of the location of hills and valleys and the courses of streams, but conditioned on human values and the ebb and flow of the tide of human experiences. After all it makes little difference from the social point of view where the political boundaries lie, but it is of great importance to locate the boundaries of poverty, disease, and crime. It is through a full knowledge of these conditions that a community is aroused to consciousness of its own social needs, and out of a common interest in "doing something about it" that the community becomes willing to direct its own social program.

Comprehension of citywide problems in a city the size of St. Louis, with extremely diversified groups as represented in a heterogeneous population of about a million, is impossible. And similarly, cooperation is out of the question. But a city has many neighborhoods or small communities. Kenyon Butterfield describes them as a "sort of individualized groups of people" constituting "a real social unit" or "a sort of family of families." These groups have a natural interest in their immediate surroundings and can easily be aroused to the recognition of forces for good and for evil in their social environment. To these units you can talk, to them you can visualize the needs for mobilization of the forces of the community, to them you can bring the challenge of united effort for improved social conditions. The people of a small community know what you mean when you talk about "their" neighborhood parks, "their" schools, "their" health records, and "their" well being. They not only know what you mean, but in knowing are united in a purposeful social consciousness, which is the first step toward social action.

This psychology is the fundamental basis of both what we are doing in St. Louis and how we are doing it. Specifically assuming that self interest may stimulate self improvement, what really happens may be thus told:

Mrs. William Enders lives at 25 Wabada Avenue, Sherman Park district, in St. Louis. Her husband is employed in a large automobile industry located within ten blocks of their residence, on the outskirts of the district. Their three children attend the public school, six blocks away. Mrs. Enders is a member of the Mothers-Parents-Teachers Association and is actively interested in her church and its groups, all the meetings of which are within walking distance of her home. Mr. Enders belongs to the Sherman Park Improvement Association. They patronize their neighborhood stores and associate with other families living on their block and around the corners. Mrs. Enders reads the *Globe Democrat*, St. Louis' morning paper. It is her daily method of finding out what is "going on."

On a particular morning you might visualize her looking over the pages of the morning newspaper. She notices incidentally and quite casually that there is an epidemic of scarlet fever in the city; she passes on without reading the article, because she is quite certain there are "no cases" on her block. On another page she sees in large headlines that the board of aldermen are being asked to make an appropriation for recreational facilities in certain of the city parks. She does not even know where the parks are, so this again does not affect her. She becomes more interested on page 4, in a situation with which she is more or less familiar. John Riley has been arrested for dumping rubbish on a city lot within a few blocks of the Enders home. The article suggests that this nuisance is prevalent in the district because of the hilly, open spaces, which are quite practical for dumping grounds. Mrs. Enders has heard of this before. The women in the clubs have been quite disgusted with the situation and someone has said that the Improvement Association ought to do something about it. That was over a year ago, and since then she has not heard it discussed further.

Mrs. Enders is any woman; 25 Wabada Avenue is any street. Moreover, Sherman Park district could be any district, and St. Louis, any city. The interest in living and social conditions which affect Mrs. Enders and interest her are exactly the same conditions and reactions which could be expected from the majority of people living all over these United States in cities of moderate size. People in general understand that which is personal, familiar, and graphic. The St. Louis plan of regional interpretation and consequent organization of district councils is based on this condition. Collecting enough social and human welfare statistics to suggest trends and make comparisons, we are working on the theory that we must visualize a neighborhood to a neighborhood and so interest the people of the neighborhood in the projects for social improvement that they will want to carry out their program of completing social investigation and consequent social planning. Mrs. Enders, of my story, is less fictitious than she seems; Sherman Park district is an actual district, one of the

twenty-six districts into which St. Louis is divided. The Community Council recently made a study of this district and organized a program to carry forward a message to the people who live there. How did we do it?

On March 26, announcements of a community meeting were scattered everywhere throughout the district, and on March 27 a program was carried out before an audience which tested to capacity the largest available hall in the neighborhood. The Boy Scouts stunt, how the Young Men's Christian Association performed, are performances well known to all of you. The heart of the program was its interpretation of what is happening and what is not happening in an environment which had much to do with the social development of the people who lived in Sherman Park. Mr. Street told the people, as he will now tell you, what we found out about conditions in their neighborhood and compared these social statistics to those of other districts in the city, showing clearly where the district ranked high and where low in social well being. He will interpret our method of presentation.

And after this program, what then? From the point of view of the interpretation you will be interested to hear what happened as a result of this kind of community planning. Miss Bertha Howell, who is secretary of the neighborhood department and is carrying out the work of permanent council organization, will tell what we mean by agitation, or stirring up people of the neighborhood to a permanent plan for coordination.

PART II. PRESENTATION

Elwood Street, Director, Community Council and Community Fund, St. Louis

In order that you may see how the facts of human geography are presented to the citizens of a district I shall give you as nearly as I can a reproduction of the stereopticon talk which was given before the seven hundred citizens of Sherman Park district in St. Louis who crowded themselves into the Howard Gymnasium of the Principia Academy on the evening of March 27.

Mr. Chairman, Citizens of Sherman Park District:

You are average St. Louis. You are typical of what St. Louis itself would be if it were averaged up, good and bad, and the result expressed in terms of living conditions and the character of its citizens. You have as a district good characteristics which can be made better, and you have bad characteristics which can be greatly improved. You can, if you desire to, raise yourself above the status of average district into the class of best district, and thereby incidentally raise the average of all St. Louis.

You include 52,554 people in 1,753 acres of territory (an average of 29 persons per acre) comfortably packed into the area between Page and Natural Bridge Boulevard and Marcus and the city limits. You draw your name from the chief park and breathing space, Sherman Park, in which is located that remarkably effective municipal community center, the Sherman Park Center, which has made and will make its attractive contributions to our evening's program with the activities of its young folks.

The essentially normal character of your district is well indicated by these photographs taken at the four corners of the district. One is of the dwellings at Page and Marcus Avenue, another of the store fronts and receding row of dwellings at Page Avenue and the city limits, a third of an old house still marking the ancient days of this district at Natural Bridge and Marcus Avenue, and a fourth at Natural Bridge Avenue and the city limits. You see here average St. Louis reflected.

You have 1,300 families, each occupying a dwelling or part of a dwelling in your district, with an average of 3.7 persons in each of these families.

Relatively little of your territory is high in its rentals. About one-third is high, one-third slightly above the average for all of St. Louis, one-sixth at the average and one-sixth slightly below the average. Your typical dwelling is the "St. Louis flat." You have several very beautiful residential streets, including Wabada Avenue and Hammett Place.

Considerable building is being done in your district in spite of your fair density of population. This is true notably in the northwest corner of your district, where a number of large apartment buildings are being constructed to house the automobile workers in the General Motors plant and their other industrial establishments just to the north of this district; while a considerable number of four family apartments are being built a little farther to the south. In spite of your large population you are adding population through new construction faster than most of the districts in St. Louis.

You are fairly well equipped with business establishments, as is indicated by this picture of a typical shopping district looking westward on Easton Boulevard across the city limits into that abode of clairvoyants and gamblers known as Wellston. You have 164 grocery stores, 71 confectioneries, 68 automobile accessory shops and garages, 38 dry goods stores, 38 drug stores, 35 bakery shops, and 28 shoe stores. Most of your needs can be met within this district.

While yours is not notably an industrial district, but is primarily residential, you still have several important industries. Here you see the plant of the William Leschen & Sons Rope Company. Before you now are the far spreading yards of the Goodfellow Lumber Company; and here, you may be surprised to know, is actually a large and active stone quarry in your limits. These industries employ many of your own residents.

You are well equipped with schools, as this chart shows. All of St. Louis has 210 schools, while you have 12 public schools, or 5.7 per cent of the total. Your school population is 3 per cent of the school population of St. Louis as a whole. You have 7,100 public school pupils. You have six grade schools, one Roman Catholic high school, four parochial schools, and one private school. Typical of these schools are the Emerson School, here shown, the McBride High School, and the Principia Academy which is hospitably allowing us to use its facilities for this evening's meeting. You also have the great stadium which the public school system maintains for all of its athletic contests.

Well equipped as you are in schools, you also are generously supplied with churches. While all St. Louis has 547 churches, you have 22, or 4 per cent of the total. All of St. Louis has one church for each 1,695; but you have one for each 2,388, indicating the large and prosperous nature of your congregations. Your churches include four Roman Catholic, three Baptist, three Methodist, three Jewish, two Presbyterian, two Lutheran, one Congregational, one Evangelical, one Christian, one Episcopal, and one Christian Science. Yours is evidently a religious district of substantial churchgoing people.

It is by virtue of these many advantages of dwelling, business, industry, recreation, and religion that in the figures of human well being you rank twelfth out of the twenty-six districts into which St. Louis is divided. The best district, Northwest, is about twice as free from poverty, disease, unsanitary conditions, and delinquency as you are. You may take comfort from the fact, however, that the worst district, Mill Creek, for the year 1927 was two and a half times as bad off in these respects as you are.

In dependency or number of families receiving help from charitable organizations, your district ranks in the best third of St. Louis districts. Still you have many families cared for by our Provident Association and similar agencies, such as the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Jewish Community Center, which help people up the steps of hope, employment, comfort, and happiness into the garden of independence. The Red Cross is always ready to minister to the families of ex-service men and to aid the victims of disaster as it did in the tornado of last autumn which so fortunately missed your own district. Many of your children are cared for by the Children's Aid Society, which in turn has in your district a goodly number of foster homes where kindly mothers take care of dependent children as they would their own. Moreover, you have what is said to be the best children's institution of its sort in the country, the Christian Orphans' Home, within your very boundaries. It is giving aid and home care to children of diverse religions and nationalities. You gain by having your own people cared for by agencies which are serving the rest of St. Louis. The community's equipment is always ready to help your own.

Your average standing is pulled down by the fact that you rank in the third quarter of the city in unsanitary conditions as reported by the city health division. This low rank is quite possibly due to the fact that you have a public dump of large proportions in your northeast corner where objects of all sorts are deposited, from tin cans to great pieces of unwanted machinery. You could improve your standing in the twenty-six districts by eliminating some of these unsanitary conditions.

Sherman Park stands among the first third of our districts in freedom from disease. Many of your people are cared for without charge in our hospitals, where they get the benefit of the facilities available from childhood to old age and for every kind of sickness, which, being available at all times for the peo-

ple of all St. Louis, are also ready to serve your own people. The visiting nurses come daily to your district to care for sick people in their homes. At your disposal are as good facilities for caring for the sick as are possessed by any city in the country.

You rank well also in freedom from delinquency. You are in the first third of our districts again in this respect. You are served by the Young Men's Christian Association, for example, whose Employed Boys' Brotherhood includes boys from your district who, except for this constructive activity, might well have become gangsters; by the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Hebrew Association. You have already seen exemplified on the stage here the work of your Boy Scouts and of your Girl Scouts which are kept on an efficient plane of service by the citywide supervision of their central organizations. Your standing in freedom from delinquency would probably be better if you had more parks and playgrounds. You have far less than the average of St. Louis in the way of park acreage. You have 2,343 persons per park acre; the average for all of St. Louis is only 290. Yet, outside of your own Sherman Park so effectively used, you have plenty of room for such park facilities in the unsettled and wooded area in your northwest corner. It might well be turned into a splendid play space and breathing space for your people and for those of the rest of St. Louis.

At your disposal are all of the resources of our community, ready to serve you, and ready, if you are willing, to help you improve your average standing among the districts of St. Louis. Their efforts are united in the Community Council which is known as Team Work for a Better St. Louis. Fifty of these agencies are financed economically and effectively by the community fund, to which I am sure most of you are already contributors. You may be happy in your gift, not merely because you have helped to serve people throughout St. Louis, but also because those gifts have been of direct help to your fellow citizens in your own district of Sherman Park.

The future of your district depends much upon yourselves. You have seen some of its assets and its liabilities this evening. It is perfectly possible for you to form a district council which will unify the efforts of all your local civic, educational, business, and religious agencies much as the Community Council federates the social agencies at large. By your own united endeavors you can strengthen your strong points and greatly reduce the evils which I have described. Thus Sherman Park, through the efforts of yourselves here assembled and of its other 52,000 citizens, may rise from its position of being an average St. Louis district and become one of the best districts of all St. Louis for its people to live, to work, and to play.

PART III. AGITATION

Bertha B. Howell, Assistant Director, Community Council, St. Louis

Mrs. Enders is shocked to learn that her neighborhood ranks twelfth in

human well being among the twenty-six districts. She had no idea that they were not one of the best in the city. When she discovers that nine delinquent children were taken through the juvenile court last year from her own neighborhood and that one has already gone through the court this year, when she discovers that there have been twenty-two arrests for other than traffic violations during the first three months of 1928, she decides that something must be wrong. Mr. Street had told the meeting that other districts have begun to solve their problems through the organization of permanent district councils. Mrs. Enders and John Jones are not quite clear in their own minds how this can be done, but they are willing to give it a trial. They vote to organize.

The first task in perfecting the organization of a permanent council is to make sure that there is a nucleus of intelligent, socially minded key people who understand the council type of organization and who have a clear vision of what it can do for their own neighborhood. This groundwork has to be laid principally through individual interviews, aimed not only at elucidation of the questions which naturally arise in the minds of the key people but also at the stimulation of discussion among neighborhood groups. If the organizer can make the council the topic of dinner table and back yard conversation; if she can get John Jones to introduce it as a topic of discussion at the Rotary Club meeting before the songs and speeches have begun, the ground is well laid and the time for an organization meeting is ripe.

An invitation signed by the chairman of the district meeting is now sent to all the key people who have been trained to act as a nucleus for the council, and to the president of each organization in the district. It is most important to be sure that the mailing list is all inclusive, and that a blanket invitation is issued through the newspapers to such organizations as are not on the list. Each invitation includes a list of the organizations invited and a suggestion that the names of prospects not included be sent to the secretary. This invitation further stimulates local discussion, which is carried to its logical conclusion in the organization meeting where everyone has his say.

John Smith, commissioner of public works of the city of St. Louis, expresses his conviction that only through knowing one's local problems can one attain a citywide civic consciousness. Peter Jones, member of the Knights of Pythias, the Optimists' Club, elder of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, member of a bowling team in the Young Men's Christian Association, etc., expresses his conviction that the district is already overorganized and objects to anything that will take him away from his wife and children one more night each month. His next door neighbor, one of the cultivated key people, immediately rises in defense of a council which will eliminate the overlapping and interference of various organizations, and may even eventually cut down the total number of demands upon one's leisure time. The chairman, a member of many boards and organizations, explains how by combining forces the council may result in fewer good meetings rather than in more mediocre meetings. A

school principal active in local civic affairs states his conviction that members of this district are not sufficiently well acquainted with resources offered by citywide social agencies. He knows many instances where Big Brothers and Big Sisters could be used effectively, while children who present minor behavior problems develop into major behavior problems because those most intimately in touch with them are not aware of the resources offered by the child guidance clinic. He suggests that through some such medium as a district council it is quite possible that the people throughout the district will become more keenly aware of the service which such organizations are prepared to offer them. They could thus secure full service from such organizations as the Visiting Nurse Association, the Provident Association, and the Big Brothers as they are not now securing it. A disgruntled leading citizen rises to state his conviction that the district never has been represented in the management of citywide agencies anyhow. Someone immediately suggests that through some such organization as a district council the leadership in the Sherman Park district may become articulate, developing material for the boards of citywide organizations and through their manifest interest securing better representation.

So goes the discussion, every member saying his say, every objection thoroughly discussed, but no discussion allowed to proceed to the point of boredom. The final motion to organize is followed quickly by the appointment of committees to draft constitution and by-laws and to nominate officers.

The committee work completed, another invitation goes out to a more complete list of organizations. It is amazing how many new organizations develop as the district becomes more and more keenly interested in this new plan. A revised list of organizations accompanies the call to this meeting, as does a copy of the proposed constitution and by-laws, and the slate prepared by the nominating committee. The "red tape" of organization, adoption of constitution and by-laws, election of officers, etc., is relieved by a live discussion and program. Mr. Jones is especially interested in securing better transportation for his own little remote corner of the district, and wants the council to take a definite stand on the establishment of a bus line for that corner. After some discussion the members decided that this is a matter for individual action of the constituent agencies and vote to call the attention of the agencies to the plans on foot, requesting the Improvement Association to take the lead in arranging for better transportation and allowing each agency which is interested to act individually in accordance with a plan worked out. Mrs. Enders is still worried about the delinquent children who may be going to school with her children, and wants to know what is the matter with a district that has any delinquency problems. She would like to have a committee appointed to find out why those children are delinquent, where they live, what's the matter with their parents, and what can be done to prevent further difficulties of this sort. Mr. Smith is concerned about the dump heap in an old rock quarry and wants to have the lot cleaned up and used for a playground. They finally agree that

the next meeting shall be devoted to a special study of the reasons for delinquency in the district, a report to be prepared by a committee of which Mrs. Enders is chairman and of which the juvenile probation officer in the district is an important member.

This committee has a most interesting time. They discover all sorts of things about their own community, things which touch their civic pride. They discover that the only public playground open the year round is in a far corner of the district, that the only opportunity for organized play, boys' clubs or girls' clubs, is in the community center in that park, and that boys' gangs are meeting all over the district because they have nothing else to do. They discover that there are several influential politicians who have the habits of "fronting" for delinquents; that the police station in this outlying district is considered a "styx" to which incompetent officers or those who are in disfavor are consigned for burial; that, being on the border of the city, various bootlegging joints, so called fortune telling parlors, dance halls, and disreputable places are luring their children just over the line for improper amusements; and, most challenging of all, it appears that opportunities for supervised recreation are extremely limited, and, in the case of the school playground, inadequately promoted.

Presentation of this report brought inevitable action. The meeting immediately adopted as its major project for the summer the promotion of more adequate recreational facilities, as follows: first, the parent-teacher organizations, all of which are members of this Council, unite in a continuous program to back public school playgrounds and to make them more effective during the coming summer; second, the district improvement association agrees to see what can be done about clearing the cluttered vacant lots; third, the service clubs agree to cooperate in conducting a series of vacant lot playgrounds on these spaces in cooperation with the St. Louis Park and Playground Association, thus insuring adequate supervision in cooperation with a citywide plan; fourth, the Young Men's Christian Association agrees to consider the establishment of community boys' clubs for the gangs in less privileged parts of the district. Plans for the coming winter include similar analyses of the causes of disease and dependency, and plans for doing something about the conditions revealed.

Sherman Park district is beginning to know itself. It has learned how to improve the conditions that make for dependency and delinquency in its own dooryard, and in so doing it is learning to use communitywide resources and is learning to recognize problems in a larger citywide sense. It will not be many years before this district has increased many times over its effective participation in plans for citywide social improvements.

MAKING HUMAN GEOGRAPHY TALK

Virginia R. Wing, Executive Secretary, Anti-Tuberculosis League, Cleveland

Facts have dynamic power of interesting people. Facts about one's city, about one's community, always have a certain pulling value, but facts must be analyzed, interpreted, and compared in such fashion that a person unused to maps and charts can understand the significance of the research material before the full weight and value of the facts can be obtained.

In Cleveland, Howard Whipple Green, secretary of the Cleveland Health Council, has, with the cooperation of the United States Census Bureau, made available population data for 1910 and 1920 for the 182 census tracts in Cleveland, and 100 additional districts for the county outside of the city. He has further made these facts pictorial by a series of maps which make it possible for any district in Cleveland to compare itself with any other district, to understand its park areas, its residential areas, its cases of communicable disease, its delinquency, its homes owned and rented, and many other facts which are at once of interest because of the community situation and because of the relationship to the whole city.

Nationality groups, population drift between 1910 and 1920, estimates as to probable future growth of suburban territory based on past figures—all of these things are of importance to communities, to citywide programs, to social agencies, to business houses. Through the "residence finder" included in the book which has been issued in connection with the census tract project it is possible to distribute individuals in the proper census tracts in the city and to make spot maps on any subject where the addresses of individuals are known.

To illustrate the use of this material: One district in Cleveland was being severely criticized because of the vice conditions rampant there and because of high death rates and delinquency rates. A study of the city by census tracts indicated a population of 128 per acre, higher than the average density for the city of 42 persons per net acre, and showing extremely congested conditions. Additional maps showed cases of certain communicable diseases, of tuberculosis, the prevalence of prostitution, delinquency, illegitimate births, all more prevalent in this district than in other districts in the city. Information such as this moved the city council members to definite action toward the improvement of housing and toward providing further service to this district. These facts, presented in a graphic form, moved them as no emotional appeal could possibly have done.

As an interpreter to the general public of social and civic needs, I find a ready response to any material prepared on this fact basis of census tracts. Interpretation, of course, must be simple, but facts as an ally in a publicity program are as important as gas in the engine. They furnish the motive power which carries publicity and educational interpretation along.

Further illustration of the use of this material from the community fund

angle is the accumulation of calls by case working agencies, service by nurses, use of settlement houses, hospital service, and groups such as Scouts, Camp Fires, etc., set up in a bright colored map of a part of the metropolitan area. This chart, coupled with the census information regarding the population make-up and the financial strata, made very clear the need for community fund service in that area, interpreted the expenditure of the money, and gave simple talking points for solicitors. This is of especial importance since the metropolitan house to house solicitors must have, not impressions, but facts of service and need if they are to adequately represent the social program of the city.

Finally, the place of facts in a program of interpretation must be accepted. Facts, however, without interpretation, are insufficient. Facts without comparisons with other localities where similar facts are available are without force. To get the best out of facts they must be of continuing fact value, that is, an old fashioned fact is almost worse than no fact at all, and thus the census material gathered every ten years is surely of service to a city if properly set up for practical use and interpretation.

Mr. Green, with the cooperation of the United States Census Bureau, has made this material available for Cleveland social agencies, and on it through the years to come we hope to build our program with base strongly rooted on the rock of certainty and the towers reaching up into the clouds of hoped for ideals.

THE USE OF CENSUS DATA IN LOCAL COMMUNITY STUDIES

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The study now being carried on by Vivien M. Palmer of "The Social History of Local Communities of Chicago," under the direction of the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago, finds that there are eighty local communities or districts within the city limits. These districts will not only in the future serve as local units for sociological studies, but they have been adopted, in principle, as the basis for the working out of a system of uniform districts by the social agencies of the city.

Each of these eighty local communities, divided from its neighbors by barriers of various sorts—geographical, as by river, elevated railroad, park, or boulevard; historical, as by political or traditional boundaries—tends to become, with the growth of the city, more and more differentiated from other communities by characteristics that can be statistically compared. But at the same time each local community falls into parts which differ markedly from each other. It is for the purpose of determining these differences that the population data tabulated by the Census Bureau for five hundred small tracts becomes invaluable.

In order to make a clear statement of this point, the Lower West Side community of Chicago is presented. The Lower West Side is a typical older industrial district, not as picturesque as the Lower North Side area,¹ with its Gold Coast, Little Sicily, art colony, and underworld Rialto, nor as cosmopolitan as the near West Side, with its Hull House, its market, its hobohemia, its Greek town, its valley gang, and its medical center. The Lower West Side is by contrast a drab, unromantic area of some 85,000 inhabitants, according to the last census, somewhat apart from the main currents of city life.

At present this district, lying south of Sixteenth Street and west and north of the south branch of the Chicago River, is completely surrounded by industry. Indeed, the zoning law as recently revised affords protection only to the western half of the district against the further encroachment of business and industry. This invasion of business has been going on for some years, as indicated by the fact that the entire area lost 16.7 per cent in population from 1910 to 1920, while the city as a whole gained 23.6 per cent during the same period. But this loss on the Lower West Side was not evenly distributed over its entire area, as is shown by the statistics for each of its thirteen census tracts. The census tract located in the extreme eastern end of the community lost 45 per cent, almost one-half of its population. In general, the tracts in the eastern section, with only one exception, sustained heavy losses of one-quarter or more of their inhabitants, while the western tracts suffered a loss of from 8 to 12 per cent, except the two tracts farthest west, which lost 39 and 21 per cent, respectively, and one tract that stood still with a gain of only one per cent.

When the change in population is viewed by census tracts, the conclusion becomes inescapable that the residents are moving westward outside the district, and that the eastern section of the district has lost and will continue to lose heavily in population. These facts on the basic trends in population movement are important for every social agency at work in the community.

Although the Lower West Side is completely occupied by residence, business, and industry, the census data for enumeration districts, which are even smaller units than the tracts, show that certain areas are six and seven times as densely settled as other areas. Then, too, while the foreign born white constitute 33.5 per cent of the city's population, they number 44.3 per cent of the inhabitants of the Lower West Side, ranging in importance in the different tracts from 38 to 50 per cent. The Lower West Side is without question an industrial immigrant community of first settlement.

The first inhabitants were Irish and German, who now in a hopeless minority, but often individually influential, are found scattered over the districts. The Lithuanians at present are the dominant group in the eastern end of the district; the Bohemians and a smaller group of Jugoslavs occupy the center; while the Poles, now the strongest group numerically, are solidly entrenched in

¹ See Harvey W. Zorbaugh, "The Gold Coast and the Slum" (University of Chicago Press, 1928).

the western part, except for the southwestern tip of the area, where the Italians, two thousand in number, have gained a foothold. The entire district, overwhelmingly Slav, is organized, not as a unit geographically, but by national origin, and often, as with the Poles, on parish lines.

While home ownership varies as we would expect, rising from 15 per cent in the eastern part to 25 per cent in the west, the average size of the family, 4.3 persons, curiously enough is the same as for the city as a whole. The occupations of gainfully employed males show wide variation from that of all Chicago. While 44.7 per cent of men with occupations in Chicago are employed in making goods, 64.6 per cent are thus at work in the Lower West Side. Similar percentages for transporting goods are 10.7 for the entire city, as against 9.7 for this area; for selling goods, 18.7 as against 11.7; public service, 2.5 as against 1.6; professional service, 4.7 as against 1.2; domestic and personal service, 6.1 as against 4.1; and clerical occupation, 12.1 as against 6.5. These figures indicate conclusively that this is an area of the unskilled and semi-skilled worker, employed, as we know, from other sources very largely in the surrounding factory, lumber yard, and railroad enterprises.

The leisure time and recreational institutions of this district may be divided into privately supported, publicly supported, and commercial. The four private social centers, comprising two institutional churches, one settlement, and a boys' club, are well located with reference to each other. Maps of attendance distribution indicate that each center reaches a radius of one-half mile, and that the entire district is relatively well covered by the combined attendance. The four public centers, two small parks, and two playgrounds are not so well placed to provide for the recreational needs of the area. But as in other immigrant areas, these eight settlements and playgrounds seem almost submerged when plotted on a map by clusters of pool halls, dance halls, bowling alleys, and motion picture theaters, with a grand total of sixty-five enterprises of commercialized recreation. Interesting segregations of these recreational clusters are found, as an all pool hall grouping in a Lithuanian neighborhood, a bowling alley nucleus in a Bohemian community, and a dance hall center in a Polish district.

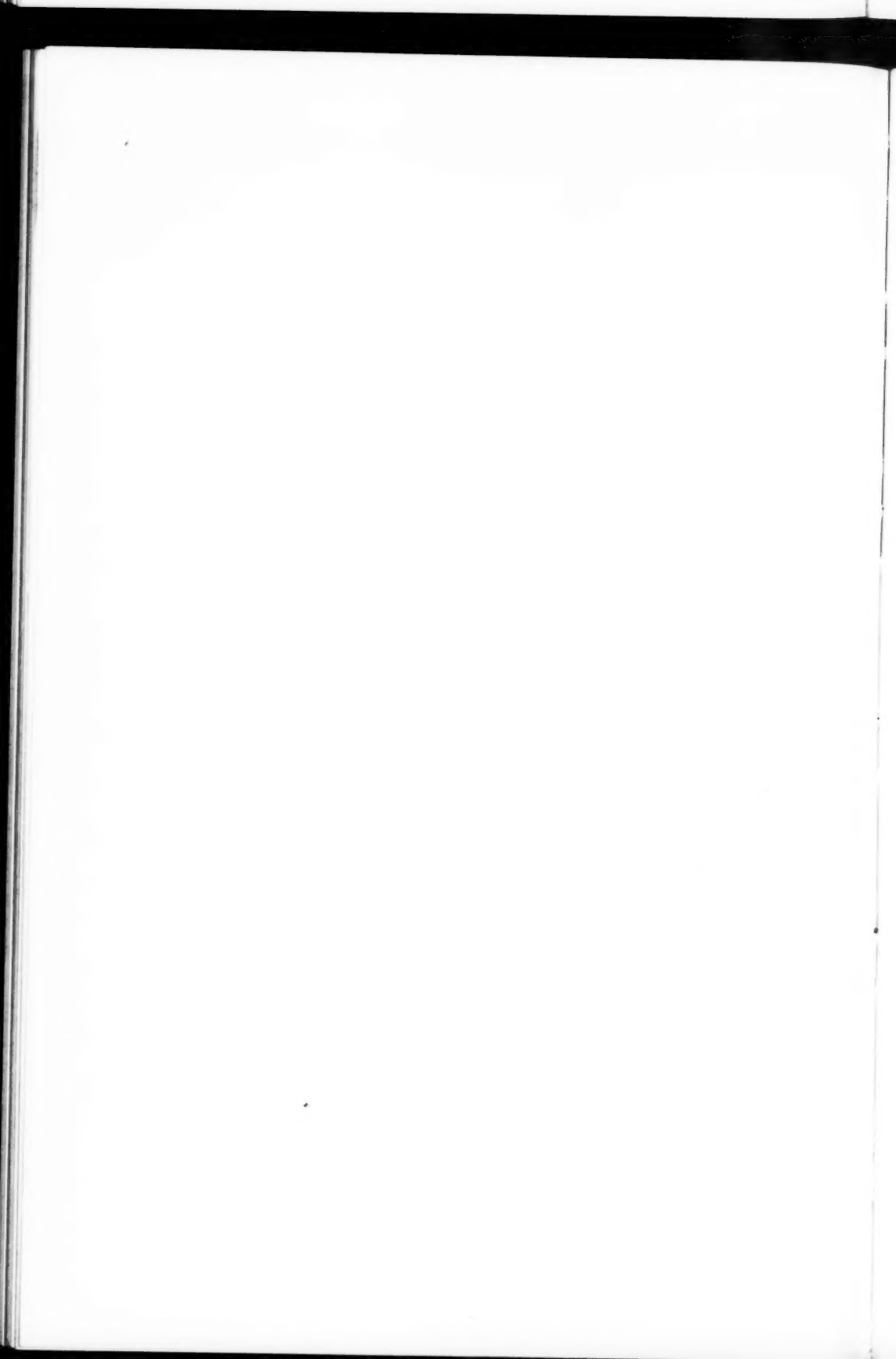
The use of population data by small census tracts makes it possible to compute the rates of incidence for certain social problems. The percentage of families receiving material relief from the United Charities varies from tract to tract, ranging from 0.5 to 8.3 per cent of all families in the northwestern end of the district. Similarly, the percentage of boys of juvenile court age handled by juvenile police officers varies widely from 1.8 to 18.0 per cent.² The lowest percentages of juvenile delinquency are in the central tracts, while the very highest rates are found in both the extreme eastern and western ends of the community, a fact that invites further research. The cases of "moonshine"

² Data furnished by Clifford R. Shaw, sociologist of the Institute of Juvenile Research, Chicago.

deaths are too few for statistical tabulation, but 15 out of a total of 18 fall in the eastern division of the community. Murders, on the other hand, plotted by the residence of the victim, are much more evenly distributed, but are somewhat concentrated in the eastern and northwestern sections of the Lower West Side.

The use of census data by small tracts seems absolutely basic to sociological research upon the social forces and trends of urban life. Is it not also fundamental to constructive social work and to a new form of social publicity and education?

C. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS



C. BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

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Leon W. Frost (1928).....	Detroit	Margaret Reeves (1930).....	Sante Fe
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A. T. Jameson (1930).....	Greenwood, S.C.	Elsa Ueland (1928).....	Flourtown, Pa.
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Katherine F. Lenroot (1930).....	Washington	C. V. Williams (1930).....	Chicago
Emma O. Lundberg (1928).....	New York		

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Brother Barnabas (1930).....	Toronto	Valeria H. Parker, M.D. (1928).....	New York
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Edward R. Cass (1930).....	New York	John J. Sonstebly (1930).....	Chicago
Lincoln Frost (1930).....	Lincoln, Neb.	Miriam Van Waters (1928).....	Los Angeles
Max Handman (1928).....	Austin	Franklin Wilson (1929).....	Muncy, Pa.
Hastings H. Hart (1930).....	New York		
Mrs. Jessie Hodder (1929).....	Framingham		
A. L. Jacoby, M.D. (1929).....	Detroit		
Edward R. Johnstone (1928).....	Vineland, N.J.		

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Robert W. Kelso (1930).....	Boston	Rachelle S. Yarros, M.D. (1929).....	Chicago
H. E. Kleinschmidt, M.D. (1929).....	Toledo		
A. J. Lanza, M.D. (1928).....	New York		
John A. Lapp (1930).....	Chicago		

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Secretary, Francis H. McLean, New York.

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Elinor Blackman (1929).....	New York	Anna Kempshall (1928).....	New York
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Lucia B. Clow (1930).....	Milwaukee	Nell Scott (1930).....	Pittsburgh
Lucile K. Corbett (1929).....	Cleveland	Amelia Sears (1929).....	Chicago
Elizabeth Dutcher (1929).....	Brooklyn, N.Y.	Gertrude Vaile (1930).....	Ames, Ia.

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Elizabeth Christman (1929).....	Chicago	Owen R. Lovejoy (1929)	St. Petersburg, Fla.
Eleanor Copenhaver (1930).....	Chicago	Robert E. Lucey (1928).....	Los Angeles
Paul H. Douglas (1929).....	Chicago	James Mullenbach (1929).....	Chicago
John A. Fitch (1928).....	New York	Laura Parker (1930).....	New York
Emil Frankel (1930).....	Harrisburg	Jessie O. Thomas (1930).....	Atlanta
Mrs. R. F. Halleck (1930)....	Louisville		
Sidney Hillman (1929).....	New York		
Charles S. Johnson (1929)....	New York		

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Secretary, Aubrey Williams, Madison.

Jane Addams (1928).....	Chicago	Paul U. Kellogg (1929).....	New York
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LeRoy E. Bowman (1928)....	New York	Mary E. McDowell (1929).....	Chicago
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Grace H. Chaffee (1930).....	Iowa City	R. Maurice Moss (1930).....	Baltimore
Charles C. Cooper (1929)....	Pittsburgh	Elmer Scott (1930).....	Dallas
Robbins Gillman (1930)....	Minneapolis	Mrs. Eva W. White (1930).....	Boston
Frances Ingram (1928).....	Louisville	Aubrey Williams (1928).....	Madison

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Dorothy Crounse (1929).....	Louisville	Grace Marcus (1930).....	New York
Almena Dawley (1930).....	Philadelphia	Helen L. Myrick (1928).....	Chicago
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		E. Koster Wickham (1928).....	Cleveland

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 Richard K. Conant (1929).....Boston
 Louise Cottrell (1929).....Iowa City
 H. Ida Curry (1930).....New York
 Emil Frankel (1930).....Harrisburg
 Lillian T. Franzen (1928)...Albuquerque
 John L. Gillin (1928).....Madison
 Charles H. Johnson (1928).....Albany
 Judge J. E. Jones (1928).....Toronto
 Rhoda Kaufman (1929).....Atlanta

Frank E. Kimball (1929)...Jefferson City
 James S. Lakin (1928)...Charleston, W.Va.
 A. Percy Paget (1930).....Winnipeg
 Ellen C. Potter, M.D. (1928)...Harrisburg
 Louis H. Putnam (1930).....Providence
 William J. Sayers (1928)...Muncie, Ind.
 H. H. Shirer (1929).....Columbus, Ohio
 Gertrude Vaile (1930).....Ames
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 Mrs. Harry M. Bremer (1928)...New York
 Mrs. Gertrude Brown (1928)...Minneapolis
 Elizabeth Clark (1928)...New York
 Mrs. Elisabeth Louise Clark (1928)
 Los Angeles

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 Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell (1928)
 Pittsburgh

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 Georgia Ely (1928)...Boston

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 Bruno Lasker (1928)...New York
 Don D. Lescossier (1928)...Madison
 Read Lewis (1928)...New York
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 Mary E. McDowell (1928)...Chicago
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 Irene Farnham Conrad (1929)
 New Orleans

Neva R. Deardorff (1928)...New York
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 Philip Klein (1929).....New York

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 New Orleans

Bruno Lasker (1929).....New York

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Rhoda Kaufman.....	Atlanta	Miriam Van Waters.....	Los Angeles
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A. H. Stoneman.....	Detroit		

TERM EXPIRES 1930

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A. T. Jameson.....	Greenwood, S.C.	Margaret Reeves.....	Santa Fe
Katherine Lenroot.....	Washington	C. V. Williams.....	Chicago
Mrs. W. L. Murdoch.....	Birmingham		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

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Douglas Falconer.....	Buffalo		

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Jessie P. Binford.....	Chicago	Carrie Weaver Smith.....	Trenton
Mrs. Jessie Hodder.....	Framingham, Mass.	Franklin Wilson.....	Muncy, Pa.

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Brother Barnabas.....	Toronto	Herbert C. Parsons.....	Boston
Edward R. Cass.....	New York	Carolina Penniman.....	Middletown, Conn.
Lincoln Frost.....	Lincoln	John J. Sonstebly.....	Chicago
Hastings H. Hart.....	New York		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Sheldon Glueck.....	Cambridge, Mass.	Miriam Van Waters.....	Los Angeles
Jane M. Hoey.....	New York	Charles Vasaly.....	St. Cloud, Minn.
Howard W. Odum.....	Chapel Hill	August Vollmer.....	Berkeley, Calif.
E. H. Sutherland.....	Minneapolis		

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TERM EXPIRES 1929

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H. E. Kleinschmidt, M.D.....	New York	Rachelle S. Yarrow, M.D.....	Chicago
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.....	Stanford University, Calif.		

TERM EXPIRES 1930

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Anna Drake.....	Cincinnati	William F. Snow, M.D.....	New York
Robert W. Kelso.....	Boston		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

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Richard Bowderick.....	Oakland	Jessie I. Lummis.....	Denver
Courteney Dinwiddie.....	New York	Helen McMurchy, M.D.....	Ottawa
Mary L. Hicks.....	Louisville	Mary E. Murphy.....	Chicago
William F. Higby.....	San Francisco		

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Elinor Blackman.....	New York	Elizabeth Dutcher.....	Brooklyn
Adaline A. Buffington.....	New York	Amelia Sears.....	Chicago

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Harriet E. Anderson.....	New York	Helen W. Hanchette.....	Cleveland
W. S. Bixby.....	Nashville	Nell Scott.....	Pittsburgh
Lucia B. Clow.....	Milwaukee	Gertrude Vaile.....	Ames

TERM EXPIRES 1931

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Josephine C. Brown.....	St. Paul	Mary Russell.....	Memphis
Cora Jacobs.....	Madison	Eva Smill.....	New Orleans

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Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1929

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Edward I. Benson.....	Cleveland	Charles S. Johnson.....	New York
Linna Bresette.....	Washington	Rev. F. E. Johnson.....	New York
Robert Bruere.....	New York	William Leiserson.....	Yellow Springs, Ohio
Elizabeth Christman.....	Chicago	Owen R. Lovejoy.....	New York
Paul H. Douglas.....	Chicago	James Mullenbach.....	Chicago

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Eleanor Copenhaver.....	New York	John A. Lapp.....	Milwaukee
Emil Frankel.....	Trenton	Laura Parker.....	New York
Mrs. R. F. Halleck.....	Louisville	Jesse O. Thomas.....	Atlanta
Mrs. Florence Kelley.....	New York		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

John B. Andrews.....	New York	A. A. Heist.....	Denver
Katharine B. Edson.....	California	Paul U. Kellogg.....	New York
John A. Fitch.....	New York	Rev. Frederick Seidenberg.....	Chicago

DIVISION VI—NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY LIFE

Chairman, Lea D. Taylor, Chicago.

Secretary, Robert K. Atkinson, New York.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1929

George A. Bellamy.....	Cleveland	E. C. Lindeman.....	New York
Mrs. Edith T. Bremer.....	New York	Mary E. McDowell.....	Chicago
Charles C. Cooper.....	Pittsburgh	J. H. Montgomery.....	Richmond
Paul U. Kellogg.....	New York		

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Grace H. Chaffee.....	Iowa City	Elmer Scott.....	Dallas
Robbins Gilman.....	Minneapolis	Mrs. Eva W. White.....	Boston
R. Maurice Moss.....	Baltimore		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Jane Addams.....	Chicago	Irene Farnham Conrad.....	New Orleans
Leroy E. Bowman.....	New York	Corinne Fonde.....	Houston

DIVISION VII—MENTAL HYGIENE

Chairman, Frederick Allen, M.D., Philadelphia.
Vice-Chairman, Henry Schumacher, M.D., Cleveland.
Secretary, Grace O'Brien, Cleveland.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1929

Dorothy Crouse.....	Louisville	Esther L. Richards, M.D.....	Baltimore
Kate A. Dinsmore.....	Dallas	Jessie Taft.....	Philadelphia
Mrs. W. F. Dummer.....	Chicago	Ralph P. Truitt, M.D.....	New York

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Herbert Chamberlain, M.D.....	Minneapolis	Grace Marcus.....	New York
Almena Dawley.....	Philadelphia	Christine Robb.....	New York
Elizabeth Dexter.....	Newark	Sarah Swift.....	New York
E. Van Norman Emery, M.D....	Los Angeles		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Sylvia Allen, M.D.....	Charleston, S.C.	Dr. Murphy.....	Denver
Hester Crutcher.....	New Haven	Emerson A. North, M.D.....	Cincinnati
Sarah Ivins.....	New York	E. Perry, M.D.....	Dallas
Nancy Johnson.....	St. Louis	George Stevenson, M.D.....	New York

DIVISION VIII—ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES

Chairman, Rowland Haynes, Chicago.
Vice-Chairman, Margaret F. Byington, Hartford.
Secretary, Edwin C. Ecklund, Springfield, Ill.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1929

William Hodson.....	New York	David Holbrook.....	New York
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TERM EXPIRES 1930

C. M. Bookman.....	Cincinnati	Howard Odum.....	Chapel Hill
Robert W. Kelso.....	Boston	Elizabeth H. Webster.....	Chicago

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Otto Bradley.....	Minneapolis	Arthur Dunham.....	Philadelphia
Raymond C. Clapp.....	Cleveland	Mary Stotsenberg.....	Louisville
Mrs. George H. Clarke.....	Los Angeles		

DIVISION IX—PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman, Richard K. Conant, Boston.
Vice-Chairman, Earl E. Jensen, Sacramento.
Secretary, Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1929

Roy J. Battis.....	Springfield, Ill.	Frank E. Kimball.....	Jefferson City
Amos W. Butler.....	Indianapolis	Mrs. E. H. S. McCauley.....	Harrisburg
Richard K. Conant.....	Boston	H. H. Shirer.....	Columbus, Ohio
Mrs. Kate B. Johnson.....	Raleigh	George S. Wilson.....	Washington
Rhoda Kaufman.....	Atlanta		

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Herman Adler, M.D.....	Chicago	Emil Frankel.....	Trenton
Frank Bane.....	Richmond	William C. Headrick.....	Nashville
Grube B. Cornish.....	Augusta, Me.	A. Percy Paget.....	Winnipeg
Louise Cottrell.....	Iowa City	Louis H. Putnam.....	Providence
H. Ida Curry.....	New York		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Jeffrey R. Brackett.....	Boston	John L. Gillin.....	Madison
Mrs. Amy S. Braden.....	Sacramento	Charles H. Johnson.....	Albany
John A. Brown.....	Indianapolis	James S. Lakin.....	Charleston, W.Va.
William J. Ellis.....	Trenton		

DIVISION X—THE IMMIGRANT

Chairman, Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer, New York.*Vice-Chairman*, Read Lewis, New York.*Secretary*, Merle Henock, New York.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1929

Mrs. George Herbert Clark.....	Los Angeles	Elmer Scott.....	Dallas
Mrs. Ann Reed Longstroth.....	San Francisco	Charles Thompson.....	New York
R. D. McKenzie.....	Seattle	Mrs. Mary O'Donnel Turner.....	Detroit
Eliot G. Mears.....	Stanford University		

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Georgia Ely.....	Boston	Mrs. Ruth Crawford Mitchell...	Pittsburgh
Mary McDowell.....	Chicago	Forrester B. Washington.....	Atlanta
Leifur Magnusson.....	Washington	Aghavnie Yeghenian.....	New York
Mrs. Adena Miller Rich.....	Chicago		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Edith Abbott.....	Chicago	Philip Parsons.....	Eugene
Sophonisba P. Breckenridge.....	Chicago	Cecilia Razovsky.....	New York
Herbert A. Miller.....	Columbus, Ohio	Marion Schibsky.....	New York
Bruce Mohler.....	Washington		

DIVISION XI—PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS AND EDUCATION

Chairman, Jesse F. Steiner, New Orleans.*Vice-Chairman*, Walter Pettit, New York.*Secretary*, Irene Farnham Conrad, New Orleans

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1929

Joanna C. Colcord.....	Minneapolis	Howard W. Odum.....	Chapel Hill
Irene Farnham Conrad.....	New Orleans	Rev. Frederick Siedenbug.....	Chicago
Philip Klein.....	New York		

TERM EXPIRES 1930

C. C. Carstens.....	New York	Arthur J. Todd.....	Evanston
Dorothea de Schweinitz.....	Bethlehem	Gertrude Vaile.....	Ames
Philip A. Parsons.....	Eugene		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Henrietta S. Additon.....	Bryn Mawr	C. E. North.....	Columbus, Ohio
F. Stuart Chapin.....	Minneapolis	Kenneth L. Pray.....	Philadelphia
Elizabeth Dixon.....	Chicago		

DIVISION XII—EDUCATIONAL PUBLICITY

Chairman, Evart G. Routzahn, New York.*Vice-Chairman*, Louise Clevenger, St. Paul.*Secretary*, Irene Farnham Conrad, New Orleans.

COMMITTEE

TERM EXPIRES 1929

George Bedinger.....	Philadelphia	Bruno Lasker.....	New York
Margaret F. Byington.....	Hartford, Conn.	Mary Ross.....	New York
Irene Farnham Conrad.....	New Orleans		

TERM EXPIRES 1930

Paul Bliss.....	St. Louis	Bernard C. Roloff.....	Chicago
Homer W. Borst.....	Indianapolis	Mary Swain Routzahn.....	New York
Louise Clevenger.....	St. Paul		

TERM EXPIRES 1931

Glen Adams.....	Chicago	Olga Gunkle.....	Denver
Louise Bache.....	New York	Robert Horan.....	Dallas
Thomas Devine.....	Memphis		

PART 3

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

Saturday, May 4, 1928, 9:00 A.M.

The President called the meeting to order and presented the report of the Committee on the International Conference of Social Work. Credentials have been issued to 139 accredited delegates to represent the United States at the International Conference. In addition, other persons had taken membership in the International Conference with the expectation of attending, though not as accredited delegates. It is probable that about 200 social workers and lay leaders from the United States will attend the International Conference of Social Work.

Mr. Kingsley called attention to the contribution of \$1,000 pledged by the National Conference to the International Conference at the meeting in Des Moines a year ago. In reply to a letter sent from the office of the entire membership, \$1,437.50 has been received from approximately 500 contributors. The pledge of \$1,000 has been forwarded to Paris, and the balance of the fund devoted to a partial payment of the unusual expenses involved in the work for the International Conference done by the office of the National Conference. The total cost of this work, estimated on a conservative basis, has been in excess of \$800.

Mr. Kingsley announced that the Executive Committee of the Conference, upon recommendation of the Committee on the International Conference, had appointed Mr. Homer Folks as chairman of the accredited delegation from the United States, and Mr. Howard R. Knight as secretary. This simple organization had been effected in order that our delegation might be prepared to act as a unit if desirable.

At the request of the President, the General Secretary announced the following Committees:

Committee on Election: Mr. Robert W. Kelso, Chairman, Mr. Burr Blackburn, Mrs. Mary B. Holsinger, Mr. Arch Mandel, Mrs. Elizabeth Clark, Mr. William C. Headrick, Mr. Aaron M. Lopez, Mr. Robert E. Bondy, Mrs. Alice Read Saxby, Mrs. Irene Farnham Conrad, and Mr. Otto Bradley.

Committee on Tellers: Mr. Arthur Dunham, Chairman, Mr. Walter West, Miss Louise Cottrell, Mrs. Ruth W. Atkinson, and Mr. L. A. Halbert.

The President announced that the Executive Committee had authorized a special committee to consider a proposed plan of selecting the meeting place for the Conference two years in advance instead of one year, this committee to report to the Executive Committee at its meeting on Monday, May 7. The

committee is as follows: Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, Chairman, Mr. Homer W. Borst, and Miss Dorothy C. Kahn.

In the absence of the Treasurer, the auditor's report¹ as of April 15 was read by the General Secretary, and after motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the report be received and placed on file.

Upon being recognized by the Chair, Miss Rhoda Kaufman, one of the nominees for third vice-president, requested that her name be withdrawn from the ballot in favor of Miss Mary Russell, of Memphis, in appreciation of Miss Russell's contribution to social work in the South and to this meeting of the Conference held in Memphis. She requested that the election be made unanimous.

After motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to adjourn.

Tuesday, May 8, 1928, 4:00 P.M.

The President called the meeting to order.

The General Secretary announced the nomination of officers and committee members of divisions.

After motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the General Secretary be instructed to cast a ballot for these nominations (see Organization of Conference for 1929, p. 645).

The report of the Conference election was made by the chairman of the Committee on Tellers, Mr. Arthur Dunham, as follows: President, Mr. Porter R. Lee; First Vice-President, Mr. C. C. Carstens; Second Vice-President, Mr. James L. Fieser; Third Vice-President, Miss Mary Russell; members of the Executive Committee, Miss Jane Addams, Mr. Frank J. Bruno, Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, Miriam Van Waters.

Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, Chairman of the Committee on Working Procedure of the Time and Place Committee, presented a report as follows:

Pursuant to the action of the Executive Committee on Friday, May 4, your special committee begs to submit the following report:

We recommend that the Conference instruct the Committee on Time and Place for the Conference of 1929 to report on invitations for the Conference of 1930 and 1931 and make recommendations accordingly.

We further recommend that at subsequent meetings of the Conference this policy of selecting the meeting two years in advance become the policy of the National Conference of Social Work.

(Signed)

HOMER W. BORST

DOROTHY C. KAHN

OWEN R. LOVEJOY, *Chairman*

After motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to accept the report and adopt its recommendations.

¹ The auditor's report is on file in the office of the General Secretary and the Treasurer. The financial report for the fiscal year ending May 31, 1928, is published in the August Conference *Bulletin*.

The report of the Committee on Time and Place was presented by Mr. Otto Davis, Chairman, as follows:

Your Committee on Time and Place respectfully reports that cordial invitations, supported by entirely satisfactory guaranties, were received from six cities: Boston, Philadelphia, Atlantic City, Detroit, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. The last city, to protect the Conference from any possible financial loss if it went West, not only guaranteed sixty extra institutional members (equivalent to \$1,500), but, backed by Los Angeles and other coast cities, guaranteed to reimburse the Conference if any financial loss should result.

In view of this generous offer, coupled with a united plea from all the coast cities and the fact that only in 1905, when the Conference went to Portland, and in 1913 when it met in Seattle, has the Conference met west of Denver in forty years, your Committee unanimously recommends that the 1929 Conference be held in San Francisco, the exact date to be determined by the Executive Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

RUTH ATKINSON, Florida
WILLIAM CARL HUNT, District of Columbia
WILLIAM G. HEADRICK, Tennessee
CHARLES L. CHUTE, New York
PEARL SALSBERY, Minnesota
MRS. E. T. BRIGHAM, Missouri
RICHARD K. CONANT, Massachusetts
W. S. BIXBY, Tennessee
PAUL BENJAMIN, Kentucky
MARY SWAIN ROUTZAHN, New York
ANNA CAMERON, Nebraska
OTTO W. DAVIS, Ohio, *Chairman*

The Chairman, Mr. Davis, moved that the report be adopted.

The motion was seconded by Mrs. Elizabeth Clark, of Los Angeles, in a speech full of cordiality in behalf, not only of San Francisco, but of Los Angeles and the other cities of the west coast.

Mr. Moise, official representative of Atlantic City, invited the Conference for 1930.

The question being called for, it was voted that the report be accepted and its recommendation of San Francisco as the Conference city for 1929 be adopted.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to thank the Committee on Time and Place for the skill and intelligence displayed in its report. *Wednesday, May 9, 1928, 1:00 P.M.*

Mr. L. A. Halbert, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, presented the report of that committee as follows:

WHEREAS, The City of Memphis, and especially its social and civic agencies, have entertained the Fifty-fifth Annual Conference of Social Work in a most gracious manner far exceeding the formal agreement made by them in their invitation to the Conference a year ago; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, as a Conference, express our most sincere and heartfelt thanks for their hospitality and for their tireless efforts in our behalf.

We cannot convey how much we mean by this without mentioning some of the out-

standing things that have added to our pleasure and delight. In the first place, we are impressed with the beauty of the city itself and with the many evidences of progress since our visit here in 1914. The Auditorium with its many committee rooms and meeting places is unusually convenient and attractive.

The arrangement of booths for exhibits and places of personal conference has been ideal, and we wish to express our especial thanks to Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Bird, through whose unusual efforts at the last minute this feature was made possible.

The hospitality of the citizens and social workers of Memphis has not only been officially perfect, but it has been personal and charming. We thank the residents who have opened their homes and furnished so many teas and receptions, as well as the organizations, agencies, and especially Southwestern University, and we recognize our debt of gratitude to those who furnished automobiles to transport us to these places.

We congratulate the city on its very commodious and attractive hotels and on their courteous and efficient service.

We appreciate the flowers and music that have embellished our evening meetings.

We cannot pass unnoticed the various helps to the Conference afforded by the churches, and particularly the courtesies extended to the visiting clergy by St. Peter's Catholic Church and the Calvary Episcopal Church, and the First Methodist Church for the use of its meeting rooms.

We thank the press of the city for the splendid publicity given the Conference, and we want the daily papers to know that each of them, the *Press-Scimitar*, the *Commercial Appeal*, and the *Evening Appeal*, have a warm place in our hearts.

We know that most of all we are indebted to Mr. Milton S. Binswanger, the chairman of the local committee on arrangements, and to Miss Mary Russell, its secretary, and to all its members for their most efficient manner of handling all the arrangements for the Conference. They have supplied every convenience we could think of and things we never knew we needed.

There are many of whom we do not even know the names who have contributed to the pleasure of the Conference. We thank them all.

Memphis has exemplified the famous southern hospitality and added to its fame.

Respectfully submitted,

L. A. HALBERT, *Chairman*
ALEXANDER JOHNSON
MRS. W. L. MURDOCK

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was unanimously voted to adopt the report.

PART 4

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION

Preamble

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

Membership

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

Officers

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the assistant secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

Committees

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President, and the Treasurer, ex-officio; the chairmen of all of the Division Committees, ex-officio; and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

Annual Meetings

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

General Secretary

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

Amendments

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

1. Membership Fees

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. Duties of Officers

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. Finance

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. Appointment of Committees

Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the next meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A Conference Program Committee of seven members, to consist of the retiring President, the newly elected President, who shall act as chairman, the General Secretary, and four persons to be appointed by the newly elected President for a term of one year. This committee, subject to action by the Executive Committee, shall have entire responsibility (1) for preparing all programs for general sessions of the Conference, (2) for harmonizing and coordinating the programs of the several Divisions.

d) A Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

The appointment and personnel of all committees shall be published in the *Bulletin* next following the appointment.

5. Divisions

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions, of which the following shall be continuous: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) The Family; (5) Industrial and Economic Problems; (6) Neighborhood and Community Life; (7) Mental Hygiene; (8) Organization of Social Forces; (9) Public Officials and Administration.

b) Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

c) Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Division members and elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d) Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Division shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

f) Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year elect a Division Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. Kindred Groups

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. Submission of Questions

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such question with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. Business Sessions

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided: (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting and, (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of non-payment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

9. Voting Quorum

At any business session fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

10. Division Meetings

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairman of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. Minutes

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. Local Arrangements

All local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. Nomination and Election of Officers

1. The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:15 P.M. of the second day of the annual meeting.

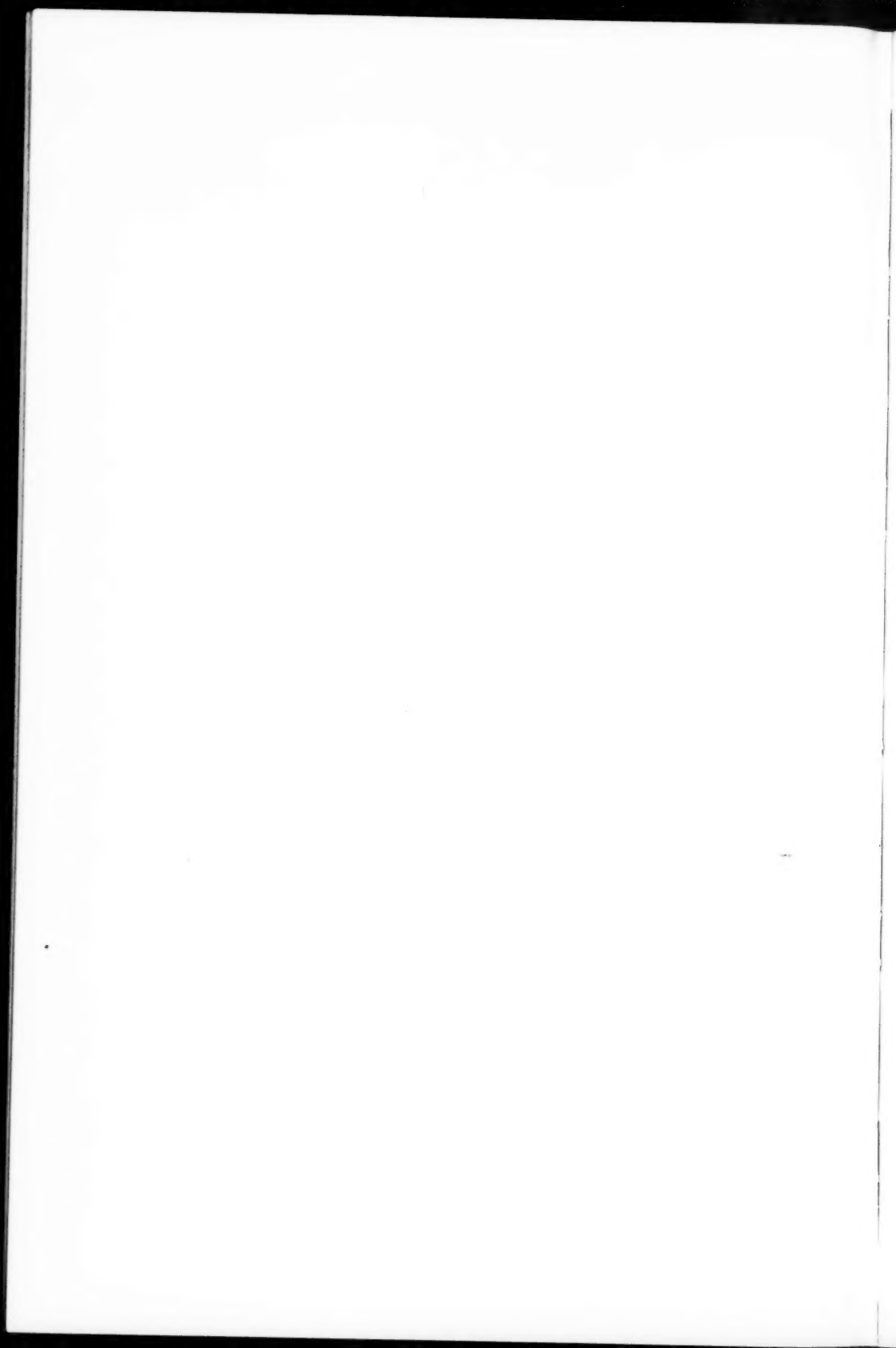
4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the second day of the Conference.

5. At any time either before or following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee. Such nominations shall be received up to 1 P.M. on the third day of the annual meeting.

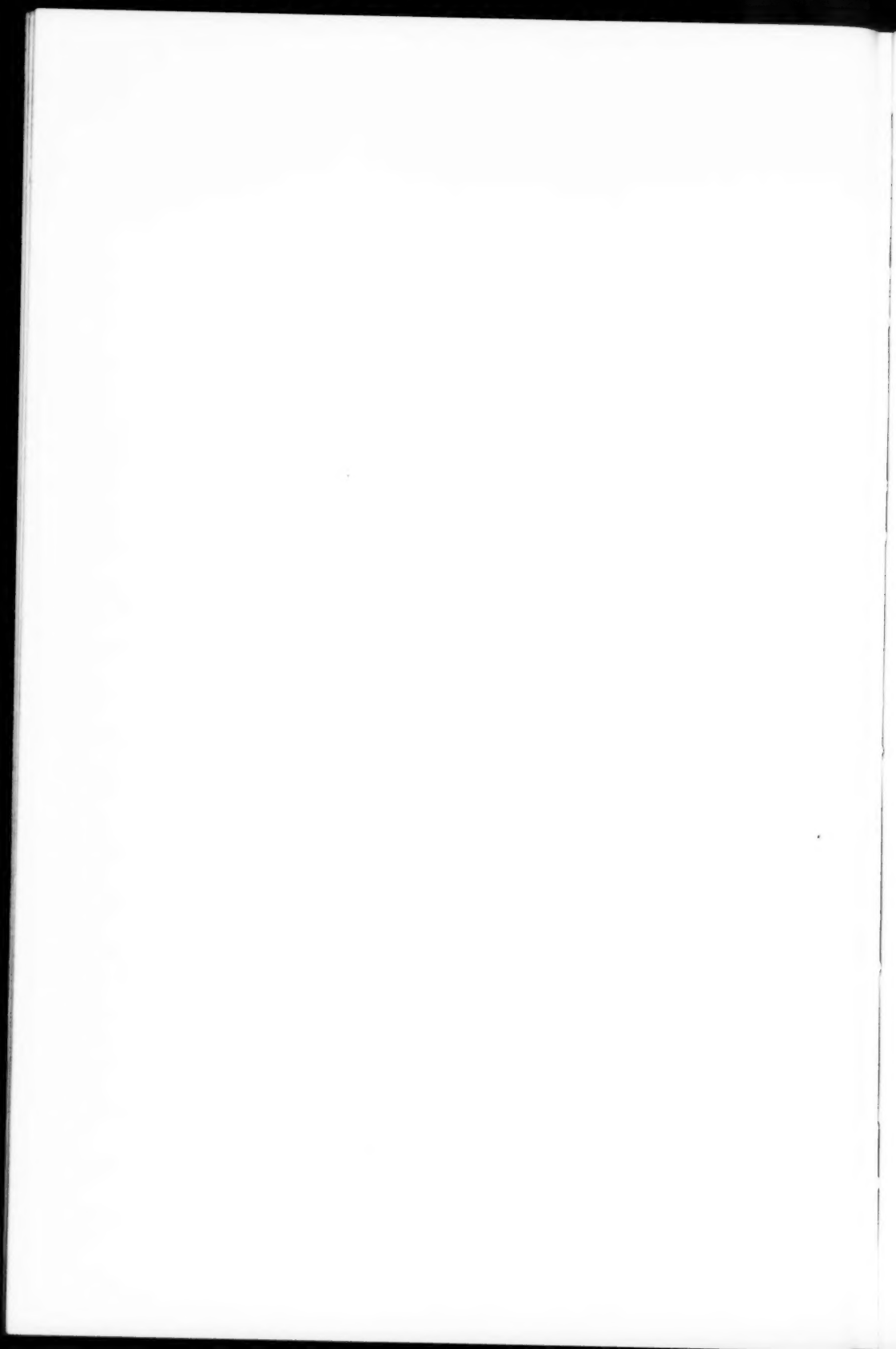
6. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fourth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday. Should the fourth day fall on Sunday, such publication shall be made on the morning of the fifth day.

Ballots shall be supplied to all members who are entitled to vote and who present themselves for voting.

A polling place shall be established and maintained on the fourth day of the Conference to be open for at least four hours at such time as may be decided upon and announced by the Executive Committee. The polling place shall also be maintained between the hours of 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired the ballots shall be counted by three tellers appointed by the President and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by plurality of the votes cast.



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D. INDEX

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